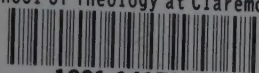


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A HISTORY

OF

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

IN THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST

BY THE LATE

PROFESSOR EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D.

AUTHORISED ENGLISH TRANSLATION

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES

EACH COMPRISING ONE DIVISION

(INDEX VOLUME ADDITIONAL)

FIRST DIVISION

(TWO VOLUMES IN ONE)

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PALESTINE, FROM B.C. 175 TO A.D. 135

VOL. I

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. SCOPE AND LITERATURE.

IN the fulness of time the Christian religion sprang out of Judaism ; as a fact, indeed, of divine revelation, but also inseparably joined by innumerable threads with the previous thousand years of Israel's history. No incident in the gospel story, no word in the preaching of Jesus Christ, is intelligible apart from its setting in Jewish history, and without a clear understanding of that world of thought - distinction of the Jewish people.

Thus it becomes the bounden duty of Christian theologians to examine into and describe that realm of thought and history in which the universal religion of Christ grew up. Nor is it enough to know simply that older literature which has been collected together in the canon of the Old Testament. On the contrary, the gospel of Jesus Christ is much more closely connected with its immediately contemporary surroundings, and the tendencies of thought prevailing in that particular age. The recognition of this has already led many investigators to devote special attention to the *History of the Times of Jesus Christ*. Besides such scholars as have continued the history of Israel in a comprehensive manner down to the period of Christ and His apostles, Schneckenburger and Hausrath, in particular, have treated separately of that era under the title, *History of New Testament Times*. The present work, too, in its first edition, was published under

that designation. Though the name is now abandoned on account of its indefiniteness, the purpose and scope of the work remain practically the same. The task, however, which we set before us is more limited than that proposed by Schneckenburger and Hausrath. While Schneckenburger undertakes to describe the condition of the Jewish and Gentile world in the times of Christ, and Hausrath even adds to that the history of primitive Christianity, we shall here attempt to set forth only the *History of the Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ*, for this alone in the strict and proper sense constitutes the presupposition of the earliest history of Christianity.

The predominance of Pharisaism is that which most distinctly characterized this period. The legalistic tendency inaugurated by Ezra had now assumed dimensions far beyond anything contemplated by its originator. No longer did it suffice to insist upon obedience to the commandments of the scripture Thora. These divine precepts were broken down into an innumerable series of minute and vexatious particulars, the observance of which was enforced as a sacred duty and even made a condition of salvation. And this exaggerated legalism had obtained such an absolute ascendancy over the minds of the people, that all other tendencies were put entirely in the background.

This Pharisaic tendency had its origin in conflicts of the Maccabean age. During the course of those national struggles the legalistic party not only obtained the victory over those favourably inclined toward Greek learning and customs, but also secured the entire confidence of the people, so that they were encouraged to put forth claims of the most extravagant and immoderate description. The scribes were now the rulers of the people. No other intellectual or political force was sufficiently strong to counteract their influence in any appreciable degree.—The battles of the Maccabean age, how-

ever, were also epoch-making in the political history of the Jews. By them was the foundation laid for the construction of an independent Jewish commonwealth, and for its emancipation from the dominion of the Seleucidae. This deliverance was wholly effected in consequence of the Syrian empire. Judea became an independent state under native princes, and continued in this position until conquered by the Romans.—On the ground, therefore, of spiritual development and political history, we are justified in beginning our exposition with the history of the Maccabean age.

In determining also the point at which we should close our investigations, a glance at the spiritual as well as the political history will lead to the same result. Political independence was in some measure preserved under the domination of the Romans. In place of the priestly dynasty of the Maccabees, the new order of the Herodians made its appearance. After this line of rulers had been set aside by the Romans, Palestine was for a long period governed by a series of imperial procurators. But even under them there was still a native aristocratic senate, the so-called Sanhedrim, which exercised most of the functions of government. It was not until the time of Nero and Vespasian that all political independence was taken from the Jewish people in consequence of the great revolt which they had endeavoured to carry out. The complete abolition of all Jewish national freedom was finally effected on the suppression of the outbreak under Hadrian.—And just as the concluding of our inquiry with the age of Hadrian recommends itself on outward or political grounds, so also it will be found to correspond to the course of the spiritual development of the people. For it was just during the reign of Hadrian that the Jewish scholars for the first time committed to writing the hitherto only really communicated traditional law, and in this way laid the foundation of the Talmudical code. With

the age of Hadrian, therefore, a new epoch begins also for the intellectual and spiritual development of the people, the Talmudic, in which no longer the Thora of Moses, but the Talmud, forms the basis of all juristic discussion. All the same, this, too, is the period in which Pharisaism, in consequence of the overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth, becomes a purely spiritual and moral power, without, however, thereby losing, but rather gaining in its influence over the people. For with the overthrow of the temple the Sadducean priesthood was also set aside, and in the Dispersion the lax and inconsistent Hellenistic Judaism could not permanently maintain itself over against the strict and consistent Judaism of the Pharisees.

The state of the sources of information at our disposal makes it impossible for us to follow step by step the inner development of the people in connection with each particular institution that comes under consideration. We are therefore under the necessity of appending to the outline of the political history a description of the inner condition of the people in a separate division. The political history falls into two main periods: the period of independence, and the period of the Roman domination. In reference to the internal conditions, the following points should be kept prominently in mind.

We shall have to describe, first of all, the general character of the culture prevailing throughout Palestine, with a particularly careful account of the spread of Hellenism on the confines of the Jewish territory and within that territory itself (§ 22). Then, as supplementary to the political history, the church constitution of the Gentile communities of Palestine as well as of the Jewish people must be explained, which belongs to the inner or spiritual history, inasmuch as it brings into consideration the self-administration of the communities in contradistinction to the political schemes

and undertakings of the whole land. The exposition of the Jewish communal constitution gives the opportunity also to add the history of the Sanhedrim and of the Jewish high priest (§ 23). The two chief factors in the internal development, however, are, on the one hand, the priesthood and the temple services (§ 24), and, on the other hand, the institution of Scribism (§ 25). Inasmuch as the priests occupying prominent and official positions during the Greek era were more absorbed by worldly and political than by religious interests, those who were still zealous for the law now formed themselves into an opposition party under the leadership of the scribes. The party of the Sadducees grouped themselves around the official priests, while around the scribes gathered the party of the Pharisees (§ 26). The erection of schools and synagogues served to preserve and spread the knowledge of the law among all classes of the people (§ 27). In order to give a general view of the results to which the efforts of the scribes and Pharisees led, we have sought in another section to describe life under the law (§ 28). Zeal for the law, however, has its nerve-centre in the Messianic hope. For the gracious reward of God, which one regards himself as being made worthy of receiving by a life in accordance with the law, is thought of pre-eminently as one that lies in the future and is heavenly (§ 29). Zeal for the law and the Messianic hope are therefore the two centres around which the life of the Israelite moves. Then, after the exposition of the inner conditions of the everyday Palestinian Judaism in its main features has been concluded by a description of those two powerful tendencies just mentioned, it remains for us to glance at the Jewish monastic institution of the Essenes (§ 30), and at the much more influential, and even for the early history of Christianity much more important, Judaism of the Dispersion (§ 31). Finally, we have to show from what remains of the Jewish literature of our

period how, in spite of the predominance of Pharisaism, the intellectual interests and spiritual struggles of Judaism spread out in various directions. This is seen even in the Palestinian literature (§ 32), but in a still higher degree in the Hellenistic literature (§ 33); and last of all, though really belonging to this group just named, the Jewish philosopher Philo, on account of his very peculiar importance, may have his writings and his speculation treated of in a distinct section (§ 34).

LITERATURE.

- PRIDEAUX**, *The Old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations from the declension of the kingdom of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ.* 2 vols. London 1716–1718. 10th ed. 1749.—This once celebrated work, which appeared both in German and in French translations, though necessarily inadequate, may still be referred to on many points with advantage.
- EWALD**, *History of Israel.* 8 vols. London 1867–1886. Vol. v. *The History of Ezra and of the Hagiocracy in Israel to the time of Christ.* Vol. vi. *The Life and Times of Christ.* Vol. vii. *The Apostolic Age.* Vol. viii. *The Post-Apostolic Age.*—In these volumes the history of Christ and the Apostles is connected with the history of the people of Israel.
- HAUSRATH**, *History of New Testament Times: The Time of Jesus.* 2 vols. London 1878.—This work treats not only of the Jewish history of the period, but also of the life of Jesus; while later volumes, not yet translated, discuss the history of primitive Christianity, and introduce many details of Roman history.
- RAPHALL**, *Post-Biblical History of the Jews from the close of the Old Testament, about the year 420, till the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70.* 2 vols. London 1856.
- MILMAN**, *The History of the Jews from the earliest period down to modern times.* 3 vols. 3rd ed. London 1863.—The first volume closes with the suppression of Jewish worship by Antiochus Epiphanes; the second continues the history from the appearance of Mattathias down to the third century of the Christian era.
- JOST**, *History of the Jews from the Maccabees to the present day.* New York 1848.—From the rationalistic standpoint of Reform-Judaism.

- STANLEY, Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. Third series : From the Captivity to the Christian Era. London 1876.
- REDFORD, Four Centuries of Silence ; or, from Malachi to Christ. London 1885.
- STAPFER, Palestine in the Time of Christ. London 1886. — More archaeological than historical. A "series of studies on the social and religious life of the Jews in the first century," using as sources the New Testament, the writings of Josephus, and the Talmud.
- KEIM, History of Jesus of Nazareth. 6 vols. London 1873-1884. — In the first volumes this work deals with the history of Herod and the Roman Procurators, and with the state of the Jews generally during that period.
- WIESELER, Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. London 1864.
- DÖLLINGER, The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ. ■ vols. London 1862. — The exposition here given of Judaism is much shorter than that given of Heathenism. In the discussion of the state of the heathen world the special value of this work lies.
- PRESSENSÉ, The Ancient World and Christianity. London 1888. — Confined to an examination of the pagan religion and the state of the heathen world in the times of Christ.
- LECHLER, The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times. 3rd ed. 2 vols. Edin. 1886. Vol. i. pp. 67-87, Relation of Jewish Christians to the Israelite People ; pp. 144-160, Relation of Jewish Christians with non-Christians.
- SCHNECKENBURGER, Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. Edited from his MS. by Löhlein. Frankfort 1862.
- HOLTZMANN, Judenthum und Christenthum in Zeitalter der apokryphischen und neutestamentlichen Literatur. Also under the title, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, by Weber and Holtzmann. 2 vols. 1867. — Extends from the time of Alexander the Great to Hadrian, after the manner of Ewald, but considerably shorter, connecting the history of primitive Christianity with the history of the Jewish people.
- HITZIG, Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im J. 72 nach Chr. 2 vols. Leipzig 1869. — Treats of the later history from the time of Alexander the Great with comparative fulness.
- WELLHAUSEN, Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. A contribution to the inner history of Judaism. Greifswald 1874. — This short monograph

gives more information about the inner history of Judaism during our period than many an extensive work.

REUSS, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften alten Testaments*. 1881.—

Properly only a history of the literature ; it gives this in connection with the history of the people.

SEINECKE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. Vol. ii. From the Exile to the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. 1884.

HERZFELD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. From the completion of the Second Temple down to the Deposition of Simon Maccabee from the Priesthood and Government. 2 vols. Nordhausen 1855.—The first volume treats of the political history from the completion of the Second Temple down to B.C. 135 ; the second volume gives the inner history of the same period.

JOST, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*. 3 Bde. 1857–1859.

—Gives a history of the inner development of Judaism from the exile to the present day. The first volume reaches to the destruction of Jerusalem.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*. Bd. iii.–xi. 1853–1870.—Deals with period from B.C. 160 to A.D. 1848. Bd. iii. 3 Aufl. 1878 appeared also under the title : *Geschichte der Juden von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergang des jüdischen Staates*. Bd. iv. 2 Aufl. 1866 appeared also under the title : *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*.—Bd. i. ii., the latter in two divisions, appeared later, 1874–1876. The second division of the second volume goes from the Babylonian exile to the death of Judas Maccabaeus.

GEIGER, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums*. 1857.—Seeks particularly to show how the inner development of Judaism in the post-exilian period has been peculiarly influential upon the formation of the Old Testament text.

GEIGER, *Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte*. Bd. i.–iii. 1864–1871.

—Describes only the main features of the inner development of Judaism. Vol. i. carries the history down to the destruction of the Second Temple ; vol. ii. down to the end of the twelfth century ; vol. iii. to the end of the sixteenth century. The concluding vol. iv. has not yet appeared. — Compare also : *Innere Geschichte der zweiten Tempelperiode und deren Behandlung* (*Jüd. Zeitschrift für Wissensch. und Leben*, 1868, pp. 247–277).

SALVADOR, *Histoire de la domination Romaine en Judée et de la ruine*

de Jérusalem. 2 vols. Paris 1847. Also in German under the title : *Salvador, Geschichte der Römerherrschaft in Judäa und der Zerstörung Jerusalems*. 2 Bde. 1847.—Treats of the period from Pompey to the destruction of Jerusalem ; but gives almost nothing beyond a bare reproduction of documents.

WIESELER, *Beiträge zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* (Studien und Kritiken, 1875, pp. 516–556). Compare also : *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien und der evangelischen Geschichte*. 1869.

HIMPEL, *Politische und religiöse Zustände des Judenthums in den letzten Jahrhunderten vor Chr.* In *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1858, pp. 63–85.

BAUMGARTEN, *Der nationaljüdische Hintergrund der neutestamentlichen Geschichte nach Josephus*. In *Jahrb. für Deutsche Theologie*, 1864–1865.—In four divisions : I. The Literary Character of Josephus, 1864, pp. 616–648. II. The Idumean-Roman Rule in Judea, 1865, pp. 605–635. III. Last Struggle and Defeat of the Jewish Nation, 1865, pp. 636–668. IV. Outlines of the Effects produced on one another by the last Struggles of the Jewish Nation on the one hand, and the New Testament history on the other, 1865, pp. 668–693.

DERENBOURG, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine, d'après les Thalmuds et les autres sources rabbiniques*. P. I. *Histoire de la Palestine depuis Cyrus jusqu' à Adrien*. Paris 1867.—Does not give a history of the people of Israel during the period named, but only a collection of rabbinical traditions relating to that history.

BOST, *L'Époque des Maccabées, histoire du peuple juif depuis le retour de l'exil jusqu' à la destruction de Jérusalem*. Strassbourg 1862.

LÉDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israël*. 2 vols. Paris 1879–1882.—Treats most fully of the Graeco-Roman Age.

DE SAULCY, *Histoire des Machabées ou princes de la dynastie asmonéenne*. Paris 1880.

CHAMPAGNY, *Rome et de la Judée au temps de la chute de Neron*. From A.D. 66 to A.D. 72. 2 vols. Paris 1865.

LOOMAN, *Geschiedenis der Israëlitén van de babylonische ballingschap tot op de komst van den Heere Jezus Christus*. Meteen aanhangsel, inhoudende de geschiedenis der Israëlitén van den dood van Herodes 1 tot op de verwoesting van Jeruzalem. Amsterdam 1867.

On Jewish doctrines and customs during the times of Christ:—

DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah. A critical history of the Messianic idea among the Jews from the rise of the Maccabees to the closing of the Talmud.* London 1877.

STANTON, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah: a Study in the Earliest History of Christianity.* Edinburgh 1886.

VITRINGA, *The Synagogue and the Church.* Condensed from the original work, *De Synagoga vetere*, of A.D. 1726. London 1842.

REVILLE, *A Manual of Religious Instruction.* London. Pt. i. ch. v., Judaism, pp. 52-73.

KUENEN, *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State.* 3 vols. London 1881-1882.

HARTMANN, *Die enge Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen.* Hamburg 1831.—Seeks to show how the Old Testament was treated and expounded in the time of Christ, and in this connection discusses very thoroughly the Sanhedrim and the Synagogue.

GFROERER, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils.* 2 vols. Stuttgart 1838. Also under the title: *Geschichte des Urchristenthums.* Bd. i. ii.—Gives a systematic view of Judaism in the time of Christ.

LUTTERBECK, *Die Neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe oder Untersuchungen über das Zeitalter der Religionswende, die Vorstufen des Christenthums und die erste Gestaltung desselben.* 2 vols. 1852. The first volume treats chiefly of the religious condition of Judaism in the time of Christ.

NOACK, *Der Ursprung des Christenthums. Seine vorbereitenden Grundlegungen und sein Eintritt in die Welt.* ■ vols. 1857.—The first volume treats of preparatory circumstances and conditions, but in a very superficial manner.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi.* 1866.—Gives, like Gfroerer, a systematic description of the Jewish theology in the time of Christ, but is distinguished from Gfroerer by declining to use as sources the later Jewish literature of the Talmud and Midrashim.

WEBER, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud dargestellt.* Edited after the author's death by Delitzsch and Schnedermann. Leipzig 1880.—A good independent account, drawn from the sources of Jewish theology in the Talmudic Age.

- NICOLAS, Des doctrines religieuses des Juifs pendant les deux siècles antérieurs à l'ère chrétienne. Paris 1860.
- REVILLE, Le peuple juif et le judaïsme au temps de la formation du Talmud (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1867, Nov. number, pp. 104-137). Also Le judaïsme depuis la captivité de Babylone, d'après Kuenen (in the same Review, 1872, March, pp. 114-141).
- STAPFER, Les idées religieuses en Palastine à l'époque de Jésus-Christ. 2nd ed. Paris 1878.

Contributions to the Jewish history of our period will be found in the following Dictionaries, Encyclopaedias, and Magazines:—

- SMITH, Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its antiquities, biography, geography, and natural history. 3 vols. London 1860-1863. The American edition, New York 1871, in 4 vols., by Hackett & Abbot, is considerably enlarged and improved.
- FAIRBAIRN, Imperial Bible Dictionary, historical, biographical, geographical, and doctrinal. 2 vols. London 1864-1866.
- KITTO, Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature, 3rd ed., re-edited and recast by Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander. 3 vols. London 1869-1876.
- SCHAFF-HERZOG, A Religious Encyclopaedia; or Dictionary of biblical, historical, doctrinal, and practical theology. 3 vols. Edinburgh 1884. A condensed reproduction of the great work of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck, in 18 vols. Leipzig 1877-1888.
- M'CLINTOCK and STRONG, Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology and Ecclesiastical Literature. New York 1866 ff.
- RIEHM, Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums für gebildete Bibelleser. 2 vols. 1874-1884.
- WINER, Biblisches Realwörterbuch. 2 vols. 3rd ed. Leipzig 1847-1848.
- SCHENKEL, Bibel - Lexikon. Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche und Gemeindeglieder. 5 vols. Leipzig 1869-1875.
- HAMBURGER, Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud. Division I. Biblical Articles, 1870. Division II. Talmudical Articles, 1883.
- THE JEWISH QUARTERLY, edited by Abrahams and Montefiore, London; begun in 1888, "devoted to the interests of Jewish literature and theology, history and religion."

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR JÜDISCHE THEOLOGIE, edited by Geiger. 6 vols. 1835-1848.

DER ORIENT, Berichte, Studien und Kritiken für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur. Together with "Literaturblatt des Orients," edited by Fürst. 12 vols. 1840-1851.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE RELIGIÖSEN INTERESSEN DES JUDENTHUMS, edited by Frankel. 3 vols. 1844-1846.

MONATSSCHRIFT FÜR GESCHICHTE UND WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTHUMS, edited from 1851 to 1868 by Frankel ; from 1869 by Grätz.

JÜDISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFT UND LEBEN, edited by Geiger. 11 vols. 1862-1875.

JAHRBÜCHER FÜR JÜDISCHE GESCHICHTE UND LITERATUR, edited by Brüll, vol. i. 1874, vol. ii. 1876, vol. iii. 1877, vol. iv. 1879, vols. v and vi. 1883, vol. vii. 1885, vol. viii. 1887.

MAGAZIN FÜR DIE WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTHUMS, edited by Berliner and Hoffmann, beginning in 1876.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES, Quarterly publication of the *Société des études juives*. Paris 1880 sqq.

§ 2. AUXILIARY SCIENCES.

By way of supplement to the literature given in § 1, we mention here the more important works under those departments which may be regarded as auxiliary to that branch of study now before us. To this class belong the following:—I. Biblical and Jewish Antiquities or Archaeology, which has to describe the religious and civil institutions, manners, and customs of the Jewish people. II. The Geography of Palestine. III. Jewish Chronology. IV. Jewish Numismatics. V. Jewish Inscriptions. The Geography and Chronology afford us the framework, not to speak of space and time, in which the history with which we are concerned is contained; the Numismatics and Inscriptions afford the original documentary materials.

A.—JEWISH ARCHAEOLOGY.

A rich collection of older monographs on Biblical and Jewish Archaeology was made by Ugolini in his *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrum*, in 34 folio vols., Venice 1744–1769. The shorter handbooks treat for the most part either of the whole range of “Antiquities,” or of particular departments, such as the religious worship of the civil law and constitution. The material of Archaeology is also dealt with in the various Biblical Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias. Finally expositions of Jewish institutions and usages in post-Talmudic times afford supplementary details.

A very complete list of the older literature is given by Meusel, *Bibliotheca historica*, i. 2. 118–207. Lists of the more recent literature are

given in Winer, *Handbuch der theol. Literatur*, i. 133 ff. ; Rüetschi in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. i. 608 f.

- KEIL, *Manual of Biblical Archaeology*. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1887-1888.
- EWALD, *The Antiquities of Israel*. London 1876.
- JAHN, *Biblical Antiquities*. 3rd ed. Oxford 1836.
- MICHAELIS, *Commentaries on the Law of Moses*. 4 vols. London 1814.
- RELAND, *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum*. Utrecht 1708, Jena 1713. — *Notas adj.* Eb. Rau, Herborn 1743. — A. Blasio Ugolino *amplissimo commentario illustratae*, in Ugolini *Thes.* t. ii. 1744. — Edited, with the notes by Rau and Ugolini, by Vogel. Halle 1769.
- IKEN, *Antiquitates hebr. secundum triplicem Judaeorum statum, ecclesiasticum politicum et oeconomicum*. Bremen 1730.
- WAEHNER, *Antiquitates Ebraeorum de Israeliticae gentis origine, fatis, rebus sacris civilibus et domesticis*. 2 vols. Göttingen 1743.
- CARPZOV, *Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum sacri codicis*. Frankfurt 1748. Properly a reprint of an older work : Goodwin's "Aaron and Moses" of 1616, but with notes which in extent and importance far exceed the original text.
- DE WETTE, *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie nebst einem Grundriss der hebräisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, new ed. by Rübiger. Leipzig 1864.
- SAALSCHÜTZ, *Das Mosaische Recht, nebst den vervollständigenden Talmudisch-Rabbinischen Bestimmungen*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Berlin 1853. — Also by same author, *Archaeologie der Hebräer*. 2 vols. Königsberg 1855-1856.
- SCHOLZ, *Die heiligen Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*. In 2 parts. Regensburg 1868.
- HANEBERG, *Die religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel*. Munich 1869.
- SCHEGG, *Biblische Archaeologie*, edited by Wirthmüller. Freiburg 1887.
- BODENSCHATZ, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlicherer in Deutschland*. 4 vols. 1748-1749.
- SCHRÖDER, *Satzungen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Judenthums*. Bremen 1851.

B.—GEOGRAPHY.

The exploration of the Holy Land has been conducted during the present century with such energy that it is diffi-

cult out of the enormous literature to select the works that are most important. We distinguish among these two classes—1. Comprehensive treatises by authors who have not been themselves upon the scene, but who work up the materials brought them; and 2. The researches carried on in the land itself. Under the former category there are two great works which stand out from all the rest in the rich abundance of their materials, Reland presenting the older material, and Ritter the more recent. These two works will long be indispensable to the student. A convenient handbook is that of Raumer, of which, however, we have no more recent edition than that of 1860. Among treatises that embody original research, mention should be made, first of all, of the American Robinson's epoch-making work, which furnished a profusion of new and important facts. Still more completely and systematically has the French scholar Guérin explored and described the whole of the country west of the Jordan from place to place. Both of these writers, along with a communication of the results of their research, give a very full account of the historical associations. The *Memoirs*, which accompany by way of explanation the large English map, deal simply with the Palestine of the present day. The topography of Jerusalem forms a science by itself.—Two magazines, an English and a German, are devoted to the recording of the more recent discoveries.—Among historical atlases which show clearly the political history from step to step, that of Menke is to be specially recommended. In the department of map-drawing, all earlier productions have been put in the shade by the great English map, in twenty-six sheets, produced on the spot by the Palestine Exploration Society during the years 1872–1877, according to exact topographical measurement of the country west of the Jordan. The English have also supplied the best groundwork for a topography of Jerusalem. In the years 1864–1865 Sir Charles Wilson

made a topographical survey of Jerusalem, and in the years 1867–1870 the English Palestine Exploration Society conducted the most thorough excavations and measurements on the site of the temple, to which the labours of the Germans could only contribute some further details.

A complete list of the older Palestinian literature is to be found in Meusel, *Bibliotheca historica*, i. 2. 70–118. A good survey of that literature down to 1840 is given in Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii., Appendix A, pp. 1–28.—An oppressively complete list of Palestinian literature is given in Tobler, *Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae*, Leipzig 1867. A yet fuller catalogue of the earlier travellers' accounts down to the tenth century after Christ than is given there, may be found in Tobler's *Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae ab anno CCCXXXIII. usque ad annum, M. Dresdae*, 1875 (reprinted as a separate monograph from Petzholdt's *Neue Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekwissenschaft*, 1875).—Continuations of and additions to Tobler's work have been made by Ph. Wolff in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1868 and 1872; Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande*, Berlin 1880, pp. 541–648; and Socin and Jacob in their yearly summaries and reviews, in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. i.–ix., by Socin; later volumes by Jacob.—A sketch and review of the literature is also given by F. W. Schultz, in article "Palästina," in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. Bd. xi. (1883) pp. 800–804.

1. *Treatises presenting Results.*

RELAND, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*. Utrecht 1714.

RITTER, *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*. 4 vols. Edin. 1866. This is a translation of portions of *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen*, 2nd ed., greatly enlarged and partly rewritten. Parts xiv.–xvii. Berlin 1848–1855. Of this work Part xiv. (1848) treats of the Sinai Peninsula; xv. 1 (1850), of the Great Depression of the Jordan Valley, the Course and the Region of the Jordan; xv. ■ (1851), of the country west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea (Perea); xvi. (1852), of Judea, Samaria, Galilee; xvii. 1 (1854), of Phoenicia, Lebanon, and the mountain lands of Northern Syria; xvi. 2 (1855), the Course of

the Orontes in the flat country of Northern Syria with the Amanus Range.

PORTER, Holy Land, Syria, Palestine, Peninsula of Sinai, Edom, Syrian Deserts, Petra, Damascus, and Palmyra; with Maps and Plans. In Murray's Handbook Series.

SOCIN, Traveller's Handbook to Palestine and Syria. In Baedeker's Series. London 1876.

HENDERSON, Handbook on Palestine. Edin. [1886].

RAUMER, Palästina. 4th ed. Leipzig 1860.

QUANDT, Judäa und die Nachbarschaft im Jahrhundert vor und nach der Geburt Christi. Gütersloh 1873.—Short, but independent.

BOETTGER, Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Josephus. Leipzig 1879.—Collects all the material out of Josephus.

NEUBAUER, La géographie du Talmud. Paris 1868.—Gathers together material from rabbinical literature, but by no means in a complete or thorough way.

In the Dictionaries of Smith, Fairbairn, Kitto, M'Clintock and Strong, Winer, Schenkel, Riehm, place-names occurring in the Bible are dealt with.

2. *Records of Original Research.*

ROBINSON, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrea. A journal of travels in the year 1838 by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to biblical geography. 3 vols. London 1841. Also: Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions. A journal of travels in the year 1852 by E. Robinson, E. Smith, and others. Drawn up from the original diaries, with historical illustrations by E. Robinson. London 1856. Physical Geography of the Holy Land. London 1865.

STANLEY, Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History. London 1856.

WILSON, Lands of the Bible visited and described in an extensive journey undertaken with special reference to the promotion of biblical research. 2 vols. Edin. 1847.

VAN DE VELDE, Journey through Sinai and Palestine. 2 vols. Edin. 1854.

VAN LENNEP, Bible Lands and Customs. 2 vols. London 1875.

THOMSON, The Land and the Book; or, biblical illustrations drawn from the manners and customs, the scenes and scenery of the Holy Land. London 1859.

- THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE.** This is the general title of the work, the several portions of which have the following special titles : Special Papers on topography, archaeology, manners and customs, etc., contributed by Wilson, Warren, Conder, Kitchener, Palmer, George Smith, Greville-Chester, Clermont-Ganneau, etc. London 1881.—Arabic and English Name Lists, collected by Conder and Kitchener, transliterated and explained by Palmer. London 1881.—Memoirs of the topography, orography, hydrography, and archaeology, by Conder and Kitchener. 3 vols. London 1881–1883.—Jerusalem, by Warren and Conder. London 1884.—The Fauna and Flora of Palestine, by Tristram. London 1884.—All together in 7 vols., with the large map referred to below and the large plans of excavations in Jerusalem. See two papers in the *Expositor*, one by Socin criticizing the work of the English Exploration Society (*Expos.*, third series, vol. ii. pp. 241–262), the other a defence by Conder (*Expos.*, third series, vol. iii. pp. 321–335).
- CONDER**, *Tent Work in Palestine*. Published by Palestine Exploration Fund Committee. 2 vols. London 1878.
- TRISTRAM**, *Topography of the Holy Land*. London 1876.
- TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS**, *An Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine : its waterways, plains, and highlands*. London 1881.
- MERRILL**, *A record of travels and observations in the countries of Moab, Gilead, and Bashan during 1875–1877*. New York 1881.
- TOBLER**, *Bethlehem in Palästina*. 1849.—*Golgotha : seine Kirchen und Klöster*. 1851.—*Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*. 1852.—*Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*. 1853.—*Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*. 2 vols. 1853–1854.—*Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina im Jahre 1857*. Ritt durch Philistää, Fussreisen im Gebirge Judäas und Nachlese in Jerusalem. 1859. *Nazareth in Palästina*. 1868.
- SEPP**, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land ; Pilgerbuch nach Palästina, Syrien und Aegypten*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Schaffhausen 1873–1876.
- DE SAULCY**, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*. 2 vols. Paris 1865. *Jerusalem*. Paris 1882.—On earlier works of De Saulcy, see Tobler, *Bibliographia geographica*, p. 180 f.
- GUÉRIN**, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. I. Judée. 3 vols. Paris 1868–1869. II. Samarie. 2 vols. Paris 1874–1875. III. Galilée. 2 vols. Paris 1880.—The volume promised on Jerusalem has not yet appeared.

3. *Topography of Jerusalem.*

Topographical descriptions of Jerusalem are given in the books above mentioned of Ritter, Raumer, Robinson, Socin, de Saulcy, Sepp, and Tobler.

In addition to these we may name the Monographs of Olshausen, Schultz, Krafft, etc. WILLIAMS, *The Holy City*. London 1845. 2nd ed. 1849. THRUPP, *Ancient Jerusalem*. London 1855. BESANT and PALMER, *Jerusalem, the city of Herod and Saladin*. London 1871. CASPARI, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*. Edinburgh 1876. Appendix: *Topography of Jerusalem*, pp. 256-308. Also various essays in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, by Schick (vol. i. 15-23), Alten (i. 61-100, ii. 18-47, 189-200, iii. 116-176), Klaiber (iii. 189-213, iv. 18-56, xi. 1-37), and Spiess (xi. 46-59); and of these Klaiber makes contributions of special value.

Materials for the topography, especially in reference to the site of the Temple, are given in the reports of the Excavations and Researches of the English Society. A good general sketch will be found in: WILSON and WARREN, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, edited by Morrison, London 1871; and *Our Work in Palestine*, being an account of the different expeditions sent out to the Holy Land by the Palestine Exploration Fund since 1865. London 1877. WARREN, *Underground Jerusalem*. London 1876. Schick, *Beit el Makdas oder der alte Tempelplatz zu Jerusalem wie er jetzt ist*. Jerusalem 1887.

4. *Atlases, Charts, and Plans.*

SMITH and GROVE, *Atlas of Ancient Geography*, biblical and classical, intended to illustrate Smith's Classical Dictionaries, and especially the Dictionary of the Bible. London 1875 (43 maps).

MENKE, *Bibelatlas in acht Blättern*. Gotha 1868.

KIEPERT, *Bibelatlas*. Berlin 1847. 3rd ed. 1854.

OORT, *Atlas voor bijbelsche en merkelyke geschiedenis*. Groningen 1884.

VAN DE VELDE, *Map of the Holy Land*, with memoir to accompany it. London 1858.—The best map before that of the English Society had appeared.

MAP OF WESTERN PALESTINE, in 26 sheets, from surveys conducted for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Conder and

Kitchener during the years 1872–1877. Photozincographed for the Committee at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton. London 1880.—This map is of the highest value, but the printing is not so clear as could be wished. The scale is 1 inch to the mile.—Another smaller edition on the scale of $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch to a mile has been issued under a similar title. London 1881.—This map, in 6 sheets, is most suitable for ordinary use. In clearness of printing it is far behind that of Van de Velde.

WILSON, Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem during 1864–1865.—This plan of the Jerusalem of to-day in respect of accuracy and exactness supersedes all earlier attempts.

WARREN, Plans, Elevations, Sections, etc., showing the results of the excavations at Jerusalem, 1867–1870, executed for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Warren. London 1884.—Contains fifty plans on a large scale, with the most minute details on the topography of the Temple site.

5. Journals.

Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement.—Issued since 1869.
Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, edited by the Committee carrying on the work under the direction of Hermann Guthe.—Issued since 1878.

C.—CHRONOLOGY.

The various methods of time-reckoning among all nations and in all ages have been collected and set forth by Ideler in his Handbook, which, notwithstanding the great amount of research since his day, has not yet been antiquated. For Roman chronology the *Fasti consulares* form unquestionably the most reliable source of information.—Chronological surveys of Hellenistic and Roman history, with references to the original sources, will be found in the works of Clinton, Fisher, and others.

IDELER, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie. 2 vols. Berlin 1825–1826. Lehrbuch der Chronologie. Berlin 1831.

GUMPACH, Hilfsbuch der rechnenden Chronologie. 1853.

MOMMSEN, Die römische Chronologie bis auf Cäsar. 2 Aufl. Berlin 1859.

MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. iii. (2 Aufl. bes. von Wissowa 1885), pp. 281–298, 567 ff.—An excellent summary account of the Roman Calendar.

MATZAT, *Römische Chronologie*. 2 vols. Berlin 1883–1884.

MÜLLER, art. “Aera,” in Pauly’s *Real-Encyclop. der class. Alterthums-wissenschaft*, i. 1, 2 Aufl. pp. 404–422.

BOUCHET, *Hémérologie*. Paris 1868.

On the Jewish Calendar, see Appendix iii. at the end of vol. ii.

Fasti consulares ab A.U.C. CCXLV. ad A.U.C. DCCLXVI. qui supersunt inter se collati cura Th. Mommseni (Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. i. pp. 481–552).

KLEIN, *Fasti consulares inde a Caesaris nece usque ad imperium Diocletiani*. Lips. 1881.

CLINTON, *Fasti Hellenici: The civil and literary chronology of Greece and Rome*, vol. iii. From the CXXIVth Olympiad to the death of Augustus. Oxford 1830. 2nd ed. 1851.

CLINTON, *Fasti Romani: the civil and literary chronology of Rome and Constantinople from the death of Augustus to the death of Justin II.* 2 vols. Oxford 1845–1850.

FISCHER, *Römische Zeittafeln von Roms Gründung bis auf Augustus’ Tod*. Altona 1846.

PETER, *Zeittafeln der römischen Geschichte zum Handgebrauch*. 4 Aufl. Halle 1867.—Considerably shorter than Fischer.

ZUMPT, *Annales veterum regnorum et populorum imprimis Romanorum*. ed. 3. Berol. 1862.—A summary sketch without quotation of authorities.

KNAAKE, *Wie rechnet Josephus die Jahre der römischen Kaiser?* (Zeitschrift für luth. Theol. 1871, pp. 224–247).

WIESELER, *Ueber die Regierungsjahre der römischen Kaiser nach Josephus* (Zeitschrift für luth. Theol. 1872, pp. 55–63).

SEYFFARTH, *Chronologie der römischen Kaiser von Cäsar bis Titus in Bezug auf das Neue Testament* (Zeitschrift für luth. Theol. 1873, pp. 50–76).

On Biblical Chronology.

LEWIN, *Fasti Sacri; or, a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament*. London 1865.—An able survey, in the form of annals, not only of the biblical, but also of the Roman and Jewish history, from B.C. 70 to A.D. 70, with abundant quotations from original sources after the style of Clinton.

- CASPARI, Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ. Edinburgh 1876.
- WIESELER, Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels, translated by Venables. London 1864. [German original. Hamburg 1843.]
- FAIRBAIRN, Hermeneutical Manual or Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the New Testament Scriptures. Edinburgh 1858.
- SEYFFARTH, Summary of Recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology. New York 1882.
- ELLICOTT, Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, *being Hulsean Lectures for 1859*. London 1860.
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- WURM, Astronomische Beiträge zur genäherten Bestimmung des Geburts- und Todesjahres Jesu. In Bengel's Archiv für die Theologie, 1816, pp. 1-39; 1817, pp. 261-313.
- WIESELER, Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien der evangelischen Geschichte. Gotha 1869.
- SEYFFARTH, *Chronologia sacra*, Untersuchungen über das Geburtsjahr des Herrn und die Zeitrechnung des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Leipzig 1846.
- QUANDT, Zeitordnung und Zeitbestimmungen in den Evangelien (also under the title: Chronologisch-geographische Beiträge zum Verständniss der heiligen Schrift, i. 1). Gütersloh 1872.
- SEVIN, Chronologie des Lebens Jesu. 2 Aufl. Tübingen 1874.
- LJUNGBERG, Chronologie de la vie de Jésus, deux études. Paris 1879. (1. On the day of Jesus' death, 2. On the year of Jesus' birth, see *Lit. Centralbl.* 1879, p. 537.)
- MÉMAIN, La connaissance des temps évangéliques. Paris 1886 (543 pp.).—A French companion treatise to Wieseler's Synopsis.
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The following works treat specially of the year of Jesus' birth and the year of Herod's death:—

- SANCLEMENTE, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*. Romæ 1793.—The classical work on the subject.
- RÖSCH, Zum Geburtsjahr Jesu, in *Jahrbb. für deutsche Theologie*, 1866, pp. 3-48. Compare also his reviews of the work of Caspari, Zumpt, and Sevin in the *Stud. und Krit.* 1870, pp. 357-388; 1871, pp. 515-538; 1875, pp. 585-596.

ZUMPT, Das Geburtsjahr Christi. Leipzig 1869.

RIESS (S. J.), Das Geburtsjahr Christi. Freiburg 1880.

SCHEGG, Das Todesjahr des Königs Herodes und das Todesjahr Jesu Christi. 1882.

RIESS, Nochmals das Geburtsjahr Jesu Christi. 1883.

EWALD, History of Israel. London 1885. Vol. vii. "The Apostolic Age," especially pp. 37-43, "The Chronology of this Period."

WURM, Ueber die Zeitbestimmungen im Leben des Apostels Paulus (Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie, 1883, 1 Heft, pp. 3-103).

ANGER, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*. Lips. 1833.

WIESELER, Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters. Göttingen 1848 (in which also on pp. 6-9 we shall find lists of more of the older literature).

LEHMANN, Chronologische Bestimmung der in der Apostelgeschichte, Cap. 13-28, erzählten Begebenheiten (*Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1858, pp. 312-339).

ABERLE, Zur Chronologie der Gefangenschaft Pauli (*Theol. Quartalschr.* 1883, pp. 553-572).

D.—NUMISMATICS.

A rich abundance of coins, which is being constantly increased by new discoveries, is helpful in illustrating: 1. The History of the Seleucidae; 2. The History of the Phœnician and Hellenistic cities; 3. The Jewish History. The Jewish Numismatics in particular has been developed with special zeal since A.D. 1854, when De Saulcy's *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque* appeared.

1. Seleucid Coins.

GOUGH, Coins of the Seleucidae, Kings of Syria; from the establishment of their reign under Seleucus Nicator to the termination of it under Antiochus Asiaticus. With historical memoirs of each reign. Illustrated with twenty-four plates of coins, from the cabinet of the late Matthew Duane. London 1803.

GARDNER, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. The

Seleucid Kings of Syria. With twenty-eight plates. London 1878.—Rich in material, and extremely serviceable. The twenty-eight plates give good photographs, with coin portraits of the successive Seleucid kings.

BUNBURY, Rare and unpublished Coins of the Seleucidan Kings of Syria.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, pp. 65–107.

HEAD, *Historia numorum*, a Manual of Greek Numismatics, London 1887, pp. 637–649.

ECKHEL, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, t. iii. (1794) pp. 209–249.—The classical work on the subject.

MIONNET, Description des médailles antiques, t. v. (1811) pp. 1–109.

Supplément, t. viii. (1837) pp. 1–81.—The classical work on the subject.

TRÉSOR, de numismatique et de glyptique (edited under the direction of Lenormant), Numismatique des rois grecs, Paris 1849, pp. 83–114, planches xxxiv.–lv. (folio).

DE SAULCY, Mémoire sur les monnaies datées des Séleucides. Paris 1871 (publication de la Société française de Numismatique et d'archéologie).

DE SAULCY, Monnaies des Séleucides munies de contremarques (*Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. i. 1875, pp. 45–64).

DE SAULCY, Monnaies inédites de Tryphon, frappées dans les villes maritimes de la Phénicie (*Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, pp. 76–84).

FRIEDLÄNDER and **SALLET**, Das königliche Münzkabinet [at Berlin]. Geschichte und Uebersicht der Sammlung nebst erklärender Beschreibung der auf Schautischen ausgelegten Auswahl (2 Aufl. 1877), pp. 122–131.

FRIEDLÄNDER in Sallet's *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, vi. 1879, p. 7; vii. 1880, pp. 224–227.—On coins of Antiochus VIII. and IX.

IMHOOF-BLUMER, Monnaies grecques (in *Verhandelingen der koninkl. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, veertiende deel, Amsterdam 1883), pp. 422–438.

IMHOOF-BLUMER, Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen hellenischer und hellenisirter Völker, Leipzig 1885, pp. 28–32, Tafel iii. n. 8–28; iv. n. 1–13 (admirable photographs).

2. Coins of the Free Cities.

a. Phœnician.

HEAD, Coinage of Lydia and Persia. In the *International Numismata Orientalia*. London 1878. At p. 31 ff., Phœnician coins with figures of Persian kings.

- SIX, Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, pp. 177-241.—The most complete treatise on the subject.
- BRANDIS, Das Münz-, Maass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien. Berlin 1866.
- REICHARDT, Beiträge zur phönischen Numismatik (*Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, ii. 1870, pp. 1-16).
- IMHOOF-BLUMER, Monnaies grecques, 1883, pp. 440-449.
- L. MÜLLER, Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand. Copenhagen 1855.—The bilingual coins of Alexander form the transition from the Phoenician to the Greek. On the Alexander coins of Akko, in *Div. ii. vol. i. p. 91*.

b. Greek and Roman.

- REICHARDT, Unpublished Greek Imperial Coins. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1862, pp. 104-122.
- HEAD, *Historia numorum*, London 1887, pp. 662-681.
- ECKHEL, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, iii. pp. 328-445.
- HUBER, Unedirte Bronzemünze in Tiberias Galilaeae unter Commodus geprägt (*Wiener Numismat. Zeitschr.*, Bd. i. 1869, pp. 401-414).
- MIONNET, Description des médailles antiques, v. 281-552. Supplément, viii. 192-377.
- DE SAULCY, Numismatique de la Terre Sainte, Description des monnaies autonomes et impériales de la Palestine et de l'Arabie Pétrée. Paris 1874.

3. Jewish Coins.

The more recent literature, since A.D. 1849, is enumerated by Madden in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, pp. 222-234; and in *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 317-324.

a. Comprehensive Treatises.

- MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews*. London 1881.—Now the classical work on Jewish Numismatics. We have here an earlier work: *History of Jewish Coinage of money in the Old and New Testament*, London 1864, rewritten, with all more recently discovered material incorporated, including various papers exhibited to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, 1875, 1876.
- ECKHEL, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, iii. 445-498.
- LEVY, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*. Leipzig 1862.

- MERZBACHER, Untersuchungen über althebräische Münzen (Sallet's Zeitschr. für Numismatik, iii. 1876, pp. 183-215 ; iv. 1877, pp. 350-365 ; v. 1878, pp. 151-176, 292-319).
- MIONNET, Description des médailles antiques, v. 552-576. Supplément, viii. 377-381.
- TRÉSOR, De numismatique et de glyptique (edited under the direction of Lenormant), Numismatique des rois grecs, Paris 1849, pp. 118-130, planches lvii.-lxii.
- CAVEDONI, Biblische Numismatik oder Erklärung der in heil. Schrift erwähnten alten Münzen. From Italian. 2 Thl. Hannover 1855, 1856.
- DE SAULCY, Catalogue raisonné de Monnaies Judaïques recueillies à Jérusalem en Novembre 1869 (Numismatic Chronicle, 1871, pp. 235-255).
- DE SAULCY, Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque. Paris 1854.—Contributes a large abundance of new material.

b. Shorter Treatises on Matters of Detail.

- REICHARDT, Inedited Coins of Judea, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1862, pp. 268-277.—Also: Remarks on some Jewish coins and some inedited coins of Phoenicia, Judea, etc., in Numismatic Chronicle, 1864, pp. 174-189.—Also: Unpublished coins of John Hyrcanus, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1882, pp. 306, 307.
- POOLE, article "Money," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 1863.—Very complete.
- MADDEN, Coins of the two revolts of the Jews, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1866, pp. 36-65.—Also: Rare and unpublished Jewish coins, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1879, pp. 13-22. Also: article "Money," in Kitto's Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature.
- HEAD, *Historia numorum*, a Manual of Greek Numismatics, London 1887, pp. 681-685.
- LEWIS, Shekel of the year five, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1876, p. 322.
- The Academy, vol. vi. (July-December 1874) pp. 277 (5th Sept.), 296 (12th Sept.), 321 (19th Sept.), 459 (24th Oct.), 486 (31st Oct.), 536 (14th Nov.).—Correspondence in regard to the genuineness of a Jewish Shekel found by Besant, Evans, and Conder at Jericho.
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- HULTSCH, Griechische und römische Metrologie (2 Bearbeit. 1882), pp. 456 ff., 602 ff.
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same part contains other two treatises, pp. 3-25, and the above named, pp. 26-56. The several memoirs are, as a rule, published separately under a special title).—Also: Note sur quelques monnaies d'Ascalon (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. iii. 1868-1873, pp. 253-258).—Notes sur les monnaies de Philippe le tétrarque (*ibid.* pp. 262-265).—Numismatique de Tibériade (*ibid.* pp. 266-270).—Also: Numismatique des Macchabées (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, vol. xxiii. 1872, pp. 1-19).—Also: Description de quelques monnaies judaïques nouvelles insuffisamment connues (*Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, pp. 85-94).

DE VOGÜÉ, Monnaies Juives, Eléasar (*Revue Numismatique*, 1860, pp. 280-292).

RÉVILLOUT, Note sur les plus anciennes monnaies hébraïques (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. viii. 1884, pp. 113-146. Revised reprint from *Revue Egyptologique*).—Seeks to show that the Hebrew-Phoenician shekel was first reckoned equal to four drachmas by the Ptolemies, whereas the old Hebrew shekel was only half the weight, viz. two drachmas.—Compare also the correspondence between Lenormant and Révillout in *Annuaire*, viii. 1884, p. 210 sqq. ; ix. 1885, p. 89 sqq.

REINACH, Une monnaie hybride des insurrections juives (*Revue des études juives*, t. xv. 1887, pp. 56-61).—Les monnaies juives (*Revue des études juives*, 1887, p. cxxxi.-ccxix.).

RENAN, L'église chrétienne, 1879, pp. 546-551.—On the coins of Barcochba.

SALLET, Die Silbermünzen des Barcochba (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, pp. 110-114).

GARRUCCI, Monete delle due rivolte giudaiche (*Dissertazioni archeologiche di vario argomento*, vol. ii., Roma 1865, pp. 31-39).

E.—INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions falling under our consideration here are of various kinds: Non-Jewish and Jewish, Palestinian and extra-Palestinian; written in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Aramaic.—1. The non-Jewish Greek and Latin inscriptions from Palestine and neighbouring countries have been collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iii., and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii. Both collections,

especially the former, have meanwhile been largely supplemented by the discoveries of Wetzstein, Waddington, and others. The inscriptions referred to afford highly important information regarding the state of civilisation and culture in the pagan districts of Palestine (see § 22). Besides the Palestinian inscriptions, many that have been found in other places are of interest in connection with the history of our period, as are also many Semitic inscriptions in Palestine and outside of it, among which the Nabatean inscriptions collected by De Vogüé and Euting are specially important.—2. Of the Jewish inscriptions, those in Hebrew have been collected by Chwolson in the Quarterly edited by him. More numerous are those in Greek and Latin, mostly epitaphs on tombstones in Palestine and outside of it; and most numerous and important of all are those taken from the Jewish catacombs at Rome.

1. *Non-Jewish Inscriptions.*

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM GRAECARUM, t. iii. 1853, n. 4444–4669.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM, t. iii. 1873, n. 86–211, 6027–6049.

Additional inscriptions from the Haurân and the eastern desert of Syria, communicated by G. C. Graham, and edited with a preface and notes by John Hogg (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, second series, vol. vi., London 1859, pp. 270–323).

ALLEN, Greek and Latin inscriptions from Palestine (American Journal of Philology, vi. 1885, pp. 190–216).

WETZSTEIN, Ausgewählte griechische und lateinische Inschriften, gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Haurângebirge (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie, 1863, philol.-histor. Classe, pp. 255–368).—Compare also: Wetzstein, Reisebericht über Hauran und Trachonen. Berlin 1860.

MORDTMANN, Griechische Inschriften aus Arabia (Trachonitis) (Rhein. Museum, xxvii. 1872, pp. 146–148, 496).—Only six inscriptions, mostly fragmentary, of which two, the most complete, were previously given by Waddington.—Also: Griechische Inschriften aus dem Hauran (Archäol.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, viii. 1884, pp. 180–192).—Also: Beiträge zur Inschriftenkunde Syriens (Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, vii. 1884, pp. 119–124).

GILDEMEISTER, Bemerkungen zu den griechischen Inschriften Frei's und Schuhmacher's (Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, xi. 1888, pp. 38-45).

WADDINGTON in : Le Bas et Waddington, Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure. The inscriptions from Syria are in vol. iii. 1870; the text in Pt. 1, pp. 449-625, the explanations in Pt. 2, pp. 435-631.—The number of new discoveries communicated by Waddington is very considerable.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Inscriptions grecques inédites du Haurân et des régions adjacentes (Revue archéologique, troisième série, t. iv. 1884, pp. 260-284).—Single inscriptions may be found quoted in various reports of travel in Palestine.

Inscriptions referring to the Herodian princes have been collected by me in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftl. Theologie, 1873, pp. 248-255.—To this collection may be added : *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, t. iii. pars 1, 1878, n. 550, 551, 556. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, n. 2502 (Herod Antipas in Coos). *Bulletin de corres. hellénique*, t. iii. 1879, p. 365 sq. (Herod Antipas in Delos). *Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, viii. 1884, p. 189 f. = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, p. 121 f. (Agrippa II.).

The Roman inscriptions referring to the Jewish history from Vespasian to Hadrian have been collected by Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, t. i. 1880, pp. 32-55.

The Semitic inscriptions have been collected in the most complete manner in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, which has been in course of publication at Paris since 1881.

Up to the present only the Phoenician inscriptions have been issued. With reference to one of these, the inscription of Eschmunazar which gives dates important for the history, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. p. 88, 89. The most interesting in relation to our subject of the non-Jewish Semitic inscriptions are the Nabatean, which have been made available to us in the editions of DE VOGÜÉ, 1868, and Euting, 1885. For further particulars regarding these, see Appendix II. at close of second volume.—It is only the slightest possible sort of connection with our subject that can be claimed for the numerous Aramaic and Greek inscriptions of Palmyra (edited by DE VOGÜÉ, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*. Paris 1868), among which, especially the bilingual *Tariff of Taxes of Palmyra*, discovered in

1881, belonging to the age of Hadrian, is most important. The Aramaic text is edited in the best style by Schroeder, *Sitzungsb. der Berliner Akad.* 1884, pp. 417-436; the Greek text by Dessau, in *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, pp. 486-533.

2. Jewish Inscriptions.

MADDEN gives a list of Jewish Inscriptions in his *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 34-39.

CHWOLSON, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*, containing epitaphs from the Crimea and other epitaphs and inscriptions in the old Hebrew square characters, as well as specimens from manuscripts of ninth and fifteenth centuries. St. Petersburg 1882.—Besides the epitaphs from the Crimea, it gives a collection of all inscriptions in the Hebrew square characters down to the eleventh century after Christ.—A partial list is also given by Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.* i. 360-362.

Among the oldest inscriptions collected by Chwolson, the following are elsewhere treated of separately :—1. The epitaph of the *Bené Chesir* on the so-called tomb of St. James at Jerusalem, belonging to the Herodian period (de Vogüé, *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. ix. 1864, pp. 200-209). Also : Le temple de Jérusalem, pp. 45, 130 sqq., pl. xxxvii. n. 1. De Saulcy, *Revue archéolog.*, nouv. série, t. xi. 1865, pp. 137-153, 398-405. Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.* i. 360 sq.).—2. Some Synagogue Inscriptions in the north of Galilee, from the time of the Roman Emperors (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 761-783). To these may also be added a similar one from Palmyra, which contains the beginning of the Jewish Schma *Deut.* vi. 4-9 (Landauer, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1884, p. 933 ff.).—3. The numerous Jewish Epitaphs. Among the latter are those from the Crimea of a much later date than previously Chwolson, on the basis of false dates attached to them by Firko-witsch, supposed them to be (for the literature, see *Div.* ii. vol. ii. p. 219); the Palestinian inscriptions are older, but very short. On these, partly in Hebrew, partly in Greek, the following authors, before and after Chwolson, specially treat :—

CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Nouveaux ossuaires juifs avec inscriptions grecques et hébraïques* (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xxv. 1873, pp. 398-414).—Also : *Ossuaire juif de Joseph fils de Jean* (*Revue archéol.*, nouv. série, t. xxxvi. 1878, pp. 305-311). Hebraic.

- VIKTOR SCHULTZE, Sarkophage und Grabinschriften aus Jerusalem (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iv. 1881, pp. 9-14).
- GRÄTZ, Die jüdischen Steinsarkophage in Palästina (*Monatsschrift. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1881, pp. 529-539).—Treats not so much of the inscriptions, as of the tablets on which they are engraved.
- CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Epigraphes hébraïques et grecques sur des ossuaires juifs inédits (*Revue archéol.*, troisième série, t. i. 1883, pp. 257-276).—Also: Un nouveau titulus funéraire de Joppe (*Revue critique*, 1885, n. 27, p. 14 sq.). Greek.
- EUTING, Epigraphische Miscellen (*Sitzungsberichte der berliner Akademie*, 1885, pp. 669-688, Tafel vi.-xii.).—Principally Palmyrene inscriptions and Hebrew-Greek epitaphs from Palestine.

Apart from the epitaphs, Greek inscriptions of Jewish origin are rarely met with in Palestine. The most interesting are the Warning Tablet on the entrance to the Outer Court of the Temple (see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 266, note 166), and the Greek inscription among the ruins of the synagogue at Casiun (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 774=Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 447 sq.).

The extra-Palestinian Greek and Latin inscriptions, in so far as they are of any value at all, are given in § 31, i. and ii. 1 (Div. ii. vol. ii. pp. 220-242). Special attention may be called to the great inscription of Berenice (Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 231).¹ Something may also be learned from Caspari, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, iii. 1875, pp. 268-274.—Among these, too, the majority are epitaphs. Most numerous are the inscriptions from the Catacombs of Rome and Venosa, which, together with some others, are collected in the following works:—

¹ In addition to the above, the interesting communications of Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, t. vii. 1883, pp. 161-166; x. 1885, pp. 74-78; xii. 1886, pp. 236-243 = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1886, pp. 327-335 (all from Asia Minor), may be consulted.—Also the two inscriptions on the temple of Pan at Apollonopolis Magna in Egypt, in which Jews offer their obeisance to the "god," ought to have been referred to in the exposition (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, t. ii. p. 252 = Corp. Inscr. Graec. n. 4838c).—Of Jewish origin is probably also the inscription of Hammam-Lif, referred to in Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 64. See Renan, *Revue archéologique*, troisième série, t. i. 1883, pp. 157-163; t. iii. 1884, pp. 273-275, pl. vii.-xi.; Kaufmann, *Revue des études juives*, t. xiii. pp. 45-61; Reinach in same Review, pp. 217-223.

- BURGON, Letters from Rome, 1862, pp. 168-174. Quoted by Madden in his Coins of the Jews.
- GREPPO, Notice sur des inscriptions antiques tirées de quelques tombeaux juifs à Rome. Lyons 1835.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, t. iv. n. 9894-9926 (edited by Kirchhoff).
- LEVY, Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden, in Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden (edited by Goldschmidt), Bd. ii. 1861, pp. 259-324.
- LENORMANT, Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde, vol. i. pp. 264-267.
- GARRUCCI, Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini. Roma 1862.—These inscriptions from the newly-discovered Catacombs of the Vigna Randanini have very considerably enriched our materials.—Also: Dissertazioni archeologiche di vario argomento, vol. ii., Roma 1865, pp. 150-192.—Forms a useful supplement to the preceding work.
- HIRSCHFELD, Bullettino dell' Istituto di corrisp. archeol. 1867, pp. 148-152.—Gives the first notice of the Catacombs of Venosa in South Italy, discovered in 1853.
- FIGURELLI, Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Raccolta epigrafica, ii. Iscrizioni Latine (Napoli 1868), n. 1954-1965.—Describes the inscriptions now to be found in the Museum of Naples from the Catacombs of Rome.
- ENGSTRÖM, Om Judarne i Rom under äldre tider och deras Katakomber. Upsala 1876.
- SCHÜRER, Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt. With forty-five Jewish inscriptions. Leipzig 1879.
- ASCOLI, Iscrizioni inedite o mal note greche, latine, ebraiche di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano. Torino ■ Roma 1880.—Gives the inscriptions from the Catacombs of Venosa; of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, however, only those which also have a Hebrew paraphrase. Compare Theolog. Literaturzeitung, 1880, 485-488; Grätz, Monatsschr. 1880, pp. 433-451; Chwolson, Corp. Inscr. Hebr. col. 149 sqq.; also: Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 240.
- Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, t. ix. 1883, n. 647, 648, 6195-6241.—The Greek and Latin inscriptions from Venosa are given more completely than in Ascoli.
- LENORMANT, La catacombe juive de Venosa (Revue des études juives,

t. vi. 1883, pp. 200–207).—Gives a part of the inscriptions after new copies.

NIC. MÜLLER, *Le catacombe degli Ebrei presso la via Appia Pignatelli* (Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäolog. Instituts, Römische Abtheilung, Bd. i. 1886, pp. 49–56).—A communication in regard to a newly-discovered Jewish catacomb. According to a statement on p. 49, the author seems to entertain the idea of writing a Monograph on “The Old Jewish Cemeteries of Italy.”—For an explanation of the inscriptions communicated by Müller, compare also the remarks of Gomperz in: *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, x. 1886, p. 231 f.

§ 2. THE SOURCES.

THE chief sources of information in regard to the spiritual and intellectual life of the Jewish people during our period must evidently be such literary works of the Jews as had their origin in that period, and have come down to us. In regard to these, we can here only refer to the accounts of that literature given in § 32-34. Among these documents is included the New Testament, in so far as it was composed by Jewish writers or makes reference to Jewish affairs. The coins and inscriptions, of which the literature has been given in the last section, are also to be ranked among the documents of primary importance.

All these works and documents, however, would not afford us material for writing a history of our period if we had not been possessed of the two Books of Maccabees and the works of Josephus, which relate the main incidents in the course of events, and, indeed, often go into very minute details. They form the most important, yea, almost the only, source of information in regard to the political history. As supplementary to them, we have, on the one hand, the Greek and Roman writers, who treat in a comprehensive way of the general history of that age; and, on the other hand, the rabbinical literature, contained in Mishna, Talmud, Midrash, Targum, which sets forth the results and preliminary summing up of the work of the scribes, who were at the very height of their activity during this period, and is, in so far at least, an indirect witness to the state of matters at that time.—Before considering the information supplied us by Josephus, we shall take a general view of the non-extant sources, partly in order

that we may obtain a glimpse into the circumstances and conditions of an earlier age, partly and mainly in order to secure solid material for answering the question about the sources drawn upon by Josephus. This will give us the following five divisions:—1. The two Books of Maccabees; 2. The non-extant Documents; 3. Josephus; 4. Greek and Roman Writers; and 5. The Rabbinical Literature.

A.—THE TWO BOOKS OF MACCABEES.

The First Book of Maccabees is the main source to be relied upon for the first forty years of our history, from B.C. 175 to B.C. 135. The second book treats only of the first fourteen of those years, B.C. 175 to B.C. 161; but in respect of credibility stands far below the first, and can scarcely be said to be of independent value except in regard to the period that precedes the rise of the Maccabees. On the character of both of these works and the circumstances of their origin, all that is necessary will be found under § 32 and 33, in Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 6–13, 211–216. All that we are required to do here is to determine what is to be regarded as the starting-point of the Seleucid era, in accordance with which both of these books fix their dates. The usual Seleucid era begins with autumn 312 B.C. But it is open to question whether in the two Books of Maccabees, or whether even in one of them, this usual starting-point is presupposed. In order to help to a decision, we set down in order the examples of dating by months given in the First Book of Maccabees:—

- Chap. i. 54: τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Χασελεῦ.
 „ i. 59: τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνός.
 „ iv. 52: τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνός τοῦ ἐννάτου, οὗτο, ὁ μὲν Χασελεῦ.
 „ vii. 43: τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός Ἀδάρ.
 „ vii. 49: τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Ἀδάρ.

- Chap. ix. 3: τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πεντηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ.
- „ ix. 54: μηνὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ.
- „ x. 21: τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἔτους ἑξήκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐν ἑορτῇ σκηνοπηγίας.
- „ xiii. 51: τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς ἔτους ἐνὸς καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ. For the same occurrence the Megillath Taanith gives the date 23rd Ijjar.
- „ xiv. 27: ὁκτωκαίδεκάτῃ Ἑλούλ, ἔτους δευτέρου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ.
- „ xvi. 14: ἐν μηνὶ ἑνδεκάτῃ, οὗτος ὁ μὴν Σαβάτ.

From these dates it is put beyond all doubt that the author reckoned the months from the spring season. With him Ijjar or Zif is the second month (chap. xiii. 51); Tizri, therefore, the month of the Feast of Tabernacles, was the seventh (chap. x. 21); Chisleu is the ninth (chap. iv. 52), and Shebat is the eleventh (chap. xvi. 14). The numbering of the months, therefore, begins with Nisan or Abib, that is, in the spring (see list in Appendix III. at the end of vol. ii.). From this it seems to be put beyond all reasonable doubt that the year by which the author reckoned also began in the spring season. But the Seleucid era, according to which he reckons, is usually supposed to start with autumn,¹ just as it was customary in Syria generally to commence the year in the season of harvest. Among the Jews, too, it was the custom in very early times (Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22) to begin the year in autumn,—a custom older probably than that of starting with the spring.² In the post-exilian times we certainly have both of these methods of reckoning the beginning

¹ Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 444 ff. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 372 ff.

² The passages referred to, Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22, belong to the very oldest portions of the Pentateuch, whereas the Priestly Code numbers the months throughout from the spring, and expressly insists upon this numbering (Ex. xii. 2). The question, which of the two systems of numbering is the older, is therefore of great importance in the criticism of the Pentateuch. See, on the one hand, Wellhausen, *History of Israel*;

of the year existing side by side. The cycle of religious festivals begins in the spring season; and so from it the months are counted in the First Book of Maccabees as well as in the Priestly Code. But just as even the Priestly Code could not prevent the celebrating of the new moon of the month Tizri with a religious festival (Lev. xxiii. 23–25; Num. xxix. 1–6), in later times the beginning of the year came to be counted from that day, ראש השנה. The Mishna, indeed, says distinctly that “for the year” simply, therefore for the numbering of its months, the beginning is made with the 1st of Tizri.¹ According to Josephus, too, the beginning of the year with Nisan, as ordained by Moses, holds good with reference only to sacred things; whereas, on the other hand, “for buying and selling and other business,” the year begins with Tizri according to the more ancient pre-Mosaic ordinance.² In these circumstances it is quite possible that the First Book of Maccabees too, notwithstanding the numbering of the months from the spring season, may have reckoned its dates from the autumn. We should indeed have felt ourselves obliged, if no very decided reasons could be

and, on the other hand, Dillmann, in the Exeget. Handbuch, on Ex. xii. 2, xxiii. 16, and Lev. xxiii. 23.

¹ Mishna, *Rosch haschana* i. 1: “There are four different beginnings of the year. The 1st Nisan is the new year for the kings and the festivals. The 1st Elul is the new year for the tithing of cattle; R. Elieser and R. Simon say, the 1st Tizri. The 1st Tizri is the new year for the civil year (סיוט), for the Sabbath year and the year of jubilee, for planting of trees and sowing of seed. The 1st Shebat is the new year for the gathering of fruit; so says the School of Shammai; but the School of Hillel says, the 15th of the month.”

² Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 3. 3: συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἐξακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἥδη Νόχου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουλῶν δ' ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων· οὕτω γὰρ [therefore beginning the year in autumn] ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισῶν, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ᾤρισε, κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών. Οὗτος ὁ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς το θεῖον τιμὰς ἤρχεν· ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράξεις καὶ ὠνάς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε.

adduced against such a supposition, to accept this as the most probable explanation, seeing that it is from autumn as a rule that the dates in the Seleucid era are reckoned. This is the view taken by Wernsdorff, Clinton, and myself in the first edition of this work. But now it seems to me that weighty grounds can be given for thinking that the era of our book begins with the spring.

1. According to 1 Macc. vii. 1, Demetrius I. withdrew from Rome in the year 151 of the Seleucid era, and became king of Syria. After this we meet with no other note of time in the First Book of Maccabees until we come to the 43rd and 49th verses of the 7th chapter, where we are told that Nicanor lost the battle and his life in fighting against Judas on the 13th Adar. The year is not thereby determined. But in chap. ix. 3 it is further said that in the first month of the year 152 of the Seleucid era a new army was sent by Demetrius into Palestine. According to this statement, it must then be assumed that the defeat of Nicanor took place on the 13th Adar of the year 151 of the Seleucid era. Since, then, by the "first month" of the year 152, after what had just been stated, the month Nisan of that year must evidently be understood, and since, further, Nisan follows immediately after Adar, if we suppose the year to begin, not on 1st Nisan but on 1st Tizri, a space of three months would intervene between the one event and the other. But according to the context of the story it is much more probable that the one followed almost immediately upon the other, and that therefore the beginning of the year was counted from 1st Nisan.

2. According to 1 Macc. x. 1, Alexander Balas raised himself to the Syrian throne in the year 160 of the Seleucid era. According to chap. x. 21, Jonathan put on the high priest's garments for the first time "in the seventh month" of this same year 160 of the Seleucid era, at the Feast of

Tabernacles, therefore on the 15th Tizri. If, therefore, the year had begun on 1st Tizri, it would follow that all the occurrences reported in 1 Macc. x. 1-21 would have taken place within fourteen days, which is impossible. Should we insist upon putting the beginning of the year in the autumn, we would be obliged to set it later than the Feast of Tabernacles, and then that festival would be thrown into the end of the year, as indeed is presupposed in the old legislation of Ex. xxiii. 16, **בַּצֵּאת הַשָּׁנָה**. But after what has been said above about the New Year Festival on the 1st Tizri, on the supposition of the year beginning generally in the autumn, for our period only the 1st of Tizri can come into consideration.

3. When in the year 150 of the Seleucid era, which date is given us in 1 Macc. vi. 20 and vii. 1, Antiochus V. Eupator and Lysias came into Palestine with a great army, the garrison of Bethzur was obliged to submit to them, and those besieged in the fortress of Mount Zion suffered the direst privations (1 Macc. vi. 48-54). And both of these disasters happened from their being deprived of the means of sustenance on account of the Sabbatical year, "the year of rest to the land" (1 Macc. vi. 49, 53). This seventh year of rest was counted from autumn to autumn, as is shown in the passage quoted above from *Rosch haschana* i. 1. The want of victuals, however, could not have been felt before the middle of the seventh year, after the stores of the previous year had been used up and no new fruits were coming in during spring and summer. On the other hand, at the time when these events occurred, the Sabbath year had not yet expired (chap. vi. 49: *σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῇ*; vi. 53: *διὰ τὸ ἑβδομον ἔτος εἶναι*). They must therefore have taken place in the period between spring and 1st of Tizri. But we know that the siege of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius also occurred during a Sabbath year (Josephus, *Antiq.*

xiv. 16. 2; comp. xv. 1. 2). That siege, however, is certainly to be dated in the summer of B.C. 37 (see below, § 14). Thus the year B.C. 38–37 was a Sabbath year. If, then, we reckon back from this, we shall find that the year B.C. 164–163 reckoned from autumn to autumn was also ■ seventh year of rest. The occurrences in question must therefore fall to the summer of B.C. 163. But the year B.C. 163–162 corresponds with the year 150 of the Seleucid era. Had that been counted from autumn, this reckoning would not tally. It will agree only if the Seleucid era is made to begin with spring.

As ■ confirmation of our understanding of the Sabbath year, may be quoted the somewhat late rabbinical note that it was מוצאי שביעית when the temple was destroyed by Titus (*Seder Olam*, ed. Meyer, p. 91 ff. : אותו היום מוצאי שבת היה ומוצאי שביעית היתה. So, too, *Arachin* 11b, *Taanith* 29a). By מוצאי שביעית, according to the well-established usage, is certainly to be understood the year after the Sabbath year (see *Schebiith* v. 5, vi. 4; *Sota* vii. 8; *Machschirin* ii. 11; comp. מוצאי שבת, meaning the day after the Sabbath, and ערב שבת, meaning the day before the Sabbath, in *Chullin* i. *fin.*). Accordingly the year A.D. 68–69 was a Sabbath year. And if we reckon back from this, we shall find that also the years B.C. 164–163 and B.C. 38–37 were Sabbath years.

Only one historical date on a Sabbath year stands opposed to the views that have been here set forth. According to 1 Macc. xvi. 14, Simon Maccabeus died in the month Shebat of the year 177 of the Seleucid era. Since Shebat corresponds in part with our February, this date, whether one counts the Seleucid year from spring or from autumn, must be rendered February B.C. 135. But, according to the report of Josephus, after the murder of Simon, John Hyrcanus besieged Simon's murderer in the fortress of Dagon, and was then obliged after some time to raise the siege when the Sabbath year came round in which the Jews are required to rest. His words are these: "The year of rest came on upon which the Jews rest every seventh year as they do on every seventh day" (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 4). "That year on which the Jews used to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year as they do every seventh day" (*Antiq*

xiii. 8. 1). The year B.C. 135–134 must therefore have been ■ Sabbath year, whereas according to our calculations we should have expected it to have been B.C. 136–135. The statement of Josephus, however, is open to suspicion on other grounds. The reason given there to show the necessity of raising the siege is that rest is enjoined during the seventh year as on the seventh day. This was indeed the idea that prevailed among Gentile writers. So Tacitus says, *Hist. v. 4: dein blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum*. But in the Pentateuch rest in general during the seventh year is by no means enjoined, but only the leaving of the fields unsown (see Lev. xxv. 1–7). And so far as my knowledge goes, even the later refinements on the interpretation of the law have never gone farther than this. There is therefore good reason for the suspicion that Josephus, who is in this place following Gentile authorities, as is certain on other grounds, has simply transcribed without sifting the statements which were before him. It would also appear that the real occasion of the raising of the siege was not the coming round of the Sabbath year, but the failure of provisions during the course of that year of rest to the land. If this interpretation be accepted, then B.C. 136–135 will be the Sabbath year in full agreement with the other dates.—Wieseler, who indeed places the Sabbath year in B.C. 136–135, sets down the death of Simon as occurring in Shebat, or February B.C. 136; and seeing that this, according to our reckoning, would be the Shebat of the year 176 of the Seleucid era, he makes the Seleucid year of the First Book of Maccabees begin in accordance with the Roman practice in January,—an eccentricity of view that need not now be seriously criticized.

—Against the cycle of the Sabbath year here adopted I argued in the first edition of this work that the year A.D. 40–41 could not have been a Sabbath year, as according to our cycle it must have been. For the Jews omitted to sow the seed in the last month before Caligula's death, during November A.D. 40, not because it was the Sabbath year, but because for weeks they were going in great crowds to lay before Petronius their complaints on account of the profanation threatened to the temple (*Antiq. xviii. 8. 3; Wars of the Jews, ii. 10. 5*). From this it would appear that the sowing of the fields during that year had been expected. But we are obliged to admit that this indirect argument, when put over against other possible explanations that may still be given, is not strong

enough to overturn the very positive proofs that have been advanced in favour of regarding this year as a Sabbath year.¹

Compare generally on the reckoning of the historically attested Sabbath year in our periods (which by many are made about a year later than by us): Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, Lips. 1833, p. 38 (and the earlier works of Scaliger, Petavius, etc., there quoted).—Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender*, Brussels 1848.—Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Jisrael*, ii. 458 ff.—Zuckermann, *Ueber Sabbathjahrcyklus und Jobelperiode*, Breslau 1857 (and the older literature quoted there, pp. 2, 3).—Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. (3 Aufl. 1878) pp. 636–639, note 7.—Wieseler, art. "Aere," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* 1 Aufl. i. 159 f. Also: *Stud. und Krit.* 1875, p. 527 ff.—Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, 1876, pp. 23–28. Also: *Die geschichtlichen Sabbathjahre* (*Stud. und Krit.* 1877, pp. 181–190).—Rösch, *Stud. und Krit.* 1870, p. 361 f., and 1875, p. 589 ff.—Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. 1874, p. 58 ff.—Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi* 1880, pp. 45 f., 229–236.

Besides the reasons which we have adduced for believing that the Seleucid years of our book begin with the spring, we may also add the important fact that it is also from the spring that it numbers the months. Even had it not been otherwise impossible to suppose that its cycle of years began in autumn, this circumstance would have caused very great difficulty, especially in those passages in which the name of the month is not mentioned, but only the number of the month and the year. Thus we read "in the first month of the year 152," chap. ix. 3, etc. This form of expression would scarcely have been adopted unless a uniform mode of determining the order of the month had prevailed.

We assume then, with the great majority of critics, that the Seleucid era of the First Book of Maccabees begins, not

¹ Wieseler (*Studien u. Kritiken*, 1875, p. 529 f.) assumes that these events had occurred in the autumn of A.D. 39. Had this been so, then every difficulty would be removed. But according to the connection of the narrative, the events must have taken place a few months before Caligula's death.

in autumn, but in spring. And however extraordinary it may at first sight appear that in Palestine they had a Seleucid era which differed to the extent of about half a year from that current in the rest of Syria, this will no longer appear extraordinary to one who is acquainted with the circumstances. Almost every one of the more important cities in the neighbourhood of Palestine had during the Graeco-Roman period its own era, yea, even its own calendar (see § 23). It is therefore quite conceivable that the Jews on adopting the imperial era should modify it in accordance with their calendar. We find, too, that exactly this same era was in use in the city of Damascus. The year began in Damascus and in the Roman province of Arabia in the spring (see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 413, 437). But the coins of Damascus are dated according to the Seleucid era. And although on an inscription discovered in recent times a specifically Damascene era is spoken of, this can mean nothing else than the Seleucid era beginning in spring, just as in our book.¹

By all that has been said, the question is not yet settled as to whether the era of our book begins half a year before or half a year after the date usually assigned, whether in spring B.C. 312 or in spring B.C. 311. The French scholar Gibert pronounces in favour of the former view. But the opinion generally accepted, that spring of B.C. 312 is the starting-point, can be proved to be certainly the right one. It will be enough here, apart from all other grounds, to refer to the remarks made in reference to the Sabbath year. If the year 150 of the Seleucid era were to be regarded, as Gibert desires, as equivalent to B.C. 162-161, then the Sabbath year must be fixed a year later, which would be in direct conflict with

¹ *Revue archéologique*, troisième série, t. iv. 1884, p. 267: *κατὰ Δαμασκοῦ ἔτους* θπχ' [689]. And in addition the explanations of Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 267-269.

the date of the siege of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, with which Gibert can reconcile himself only by very artificial and far-fetched reasoning.

The era of the Second Book of Maccabees is still more open to dispute than that of the first book. We have also an apologetic interest in determining the era, inasmuch as certain dates of the second book are reconcilable with those of the first only if the years in each era were reckoned according to different eras. And, indeed, the era of the second book seems to have a later starting-point than that of the first. But in regard to this matter, too, the most diverse opinions prevail. Some assume half a year's difference, some a whole year's, and some a year and a half. The last mentioned is the view of Ideler, who dates the epoch of the first from spring B.C. 312, and that of the second from autumn B.C. 311. The dates upon which arguments are based are indeed very few; practically only the following two:—1. The death of Antiochus Epiphanes is set down in 1 Macc. vi. 16 at the year 149 of the Seleucid era; whereas, according to 2 Macc. xi. 33, he must have died at the latest in the year 148 of the Seleucid era, for there a decree of his successor Eupator is quoted, bearing the date of that year. 2. The second campaign of Lysias, according to 1 Macc. vi. 20, was undertaken in the year 150 of the Seleucid era; whereas, according to 2 Macc. xiii. 1, it is placed in the Seleucid year 149. But in reference to the former date, the facts of the case are different from what at first appears. The subject treated of in 2 Macc. xi. 33 is not really the date of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, but rather the date of the first campaign of Lysias. And although 2 Macc. xi. 33 assigns that event to the Seleucid year 148, this is quite reconcilable with 1 Macc. iv. 28, 52. The difference consists, therefore, not in a diverse mode of reckoning time, but simply in this, that the Second Book of Maccabees erroneously sets

down the first campaign of Lysias after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, while both books agree in assigning it to the year 148 of the Seleucid era. In the other pair of passages, however,—1 Macc. vi. 20 and 2 Macc. xiii. 1,—we actually do come upon a diversity of dates. But Grimm on 2 Macc. xiii. 1 has justly remarked, after repeating his own earlier opinion, that one “certainly does too much honour to the abounding historical and chronological errors of which the author of the second book has been convicted, by a great expenditure of combinations either in reconciling diversities, or in seeking, by the assumption of a different beginning of the Seleucid era, to explain the chronological difference between him and the First Book of the Maccabees.”—There is therefore no sufficient ground for assuming a special era for the Second Book of the Maccabees. We have therefore before us the choice of regarding the era of that book as the Palestinian Seleucid era employed in the First Book of the Maccabees, or as the Seleucid era prevailing throughout the rest of Syria.

Compare on the eras of the two Books of Maccabees: Froelich, *Annales compendiarum regum et rerum Syriae* (ed. 2, 1750), Proleg. p. 22 sqq.—Wernsdorff, *De fide historica librorum Maccabaicorum*, 1747, pp. 18–31 (contests the view previously maintained by Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, Prideaux, Foy-Vaillant, des-Vignoles, Froelich, and others, that the era of the First Book of Maccabees begins with a spring year).—Gibert, *Mémoire sur la chronologie de l’histoire des Machabées* (*Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, alte série, t. xxvi. 1759, pp. 112–156).—Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 375–382.—Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 531–534.—Wieseler, *Die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel*, 1839, p. 110 ff. Also: *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, 1864. Also: art. “Aere,” in Herzog’s *Real-Encyclop.* 1 Aufl. i. 159 f. Also: *Stud. und Krit.* 1875, pp. 520–532; and 1877, p. 510 ff.—Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, iii. 11 f., iv. 186 f. Also: Bissel and Wace (in Speaker’s Comm.) in their Introductions to Maccabees.

B.—NON-EXTANT SOURCES.

The following survey embraces—1. All special works on the Jewish history of our period known to us only through quotations or fragments, whether they are used by Josephus or not; and 2. Those of the more general historical works now lost, to which the exposition of Josephus is directly or indirectly indebted. To one or other of these categories belong all the works enumerated in the following paragraphs:—

1. *Jason of Cyrene.*

He wrote a work in five books on the history of the Maccabean rising, from its beginning down to the victory of Judas over Nicanor in B.C. 161. All this period is treated of in one book in our so-called Second Book of Maccabees: "All these things being declared by Jason of Cyrene in five books, we shall essay to abridge in one volume," 2 Macc. ii. 23. He is supposed to have lived not long after the events which he narrates, somewhere about the middle of the second century B.C.; comp. Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 211.

2. *The History of John Hyrcanus.*

A history of John Hyrcanus was known to the writer of the First Book of Maccabees: "The chronicle of his priesthood," 1 Macc. xvi. 24. This book, in a style similar to that of the First Book of Maccabees, described his long and honourable career. It seems to have got lost at an early date, for it was evidently unknown even to Josephus. Comp. Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 13.

3. *Posidonius of Apamea.*

The celebrated Stoic philosopher and historian Posidonius, from Apamea in Syria, lived chiefly in Rhodes, where he founded a Stoic School. He is hence called "the Rhodian."

Since he was also a scholar of Panätius, who at latest must have died B.C. 110, he cannot have been born later than B.C. 130. In the seventh consulship of Marius, B.C. 86, he went as ambassador to Rome, and there saw Marius shortly before his death (Plutarch's Marius, chap. xlv.). Immediately after Sulla's death (B.C. 78), Cicero heard him in Rhodes (Plutarch's Cicero, chap. iv.). Pompey visited him there repeatedly. During the consulship of Marius Marcellus B.C. 51, he went once more to Rome (Suidas, Lexicon, art. Ποσειδώνιος). He may therefore be described as having flourished between B.C. 90 and B.C. 50. According to *Lucian. Macrob.* chap. xx. he lived to the great age of eighty-four years. Of his numerous writings, it is his great historical work that here interests us. It is frequently quoted in the historical sketches of Athenäus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others. From the criticisms in Athenäus it would appear to have consisted of at least forty-nine books. It is not, therefore, open to doubt that Suidas (Lexicon, under the word Ποσειδώνιος) has this work in view when he makes the erroneous remark about the Alexandrian Posidonius: ἔγραψεν Ἱστορίαν τὴν μετὰ Πολύβιον ἐν βιβλίῳ νβ'. The extant fragments, too, make it probable that the work begins where Polybius ends, with B.C. 146. How far down it carried the history is uncertain. It went on, according to Suidas, ἕως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου. Müller (*Fragm. hist. graec.* iii. 250) believes that instead of this we ought to read ἕως τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ, that is, down to Ptolemäus Apion of Cyrene, who died B.C. 96. The fact, too, that the fragments that have been preserved from the 47th and 49th books refer to the period from B.C. 100 to B.C. 90, goes to confirm this supposition. But, according to a fragment of considerable extent quoted by Athenäus, it appears that Posidonius also gave a detailed account of the history of the Athenian demagogue Athenio or Aristion, B.C. 87–86. And

further, according to a notice in Strabo (xi. 1. 6), he also treated of the history of Pompey: *τὴν ἱστορίαν συνέγραψε τὴν περὶ αὐτόν*. From this Müller concludes that Posidonius had dealt with the period after B.C. 96 in a "second part," or a continuation of his great work. This elaborate hypothesis, however, has no substantial support in the evidently corrupted words of Suidas. The fifty-two books may have quite easily embraced the period from B.C. 87–86, and the work, as Scheppig maintains, may have been brought down to that time. Arnold would have it carried down even to B.C. 82. Much further it certainly could not have extended, since in the 47th and 49th books the writer had got no farther than the period B.C. 100–B.C. 90. The history of Pompey must therefore have formed a separate work.

The great work of Posidonius was held in high esteem by later historians, who seemed to have used it as they did Polybius, as a principal source for the period of which it treats. It is certain that Diodorus has drawn upon it (Müller, *Fragmenta*, t. ii. p. 20, t. iii. p. 251). But even Trogus Pompeius refers to it as an authority (see Heeren in: *Com. Soc. Sc. Gött.* t. xv. 1804, pp. 185–245; Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 258. 4, and the literature given there). And so probably it was used by most who treated of this period. It is therefore highly probable that the passages in Josephus which deal with that time are essentially based upon Posidonius,—not indeed directly, but indirectly, as he had found him quoted and used by Strabo and Nicolaus Damascenus.

Josephus used Strabo and Nicolas as authorities of the first order for the period referred to. That Strabo had made use of Posidonius in the composition of his history is abundantly evident, for he quotes him frequently and with great respect in his *Geography* (ii. 102, xvi. 753). In Nicolaus Damascenus, too, there are unmistakeable traces of use having been made of Posidonius (Müller, iii. 415).—Josephus mentions Posidonius

only once, in his Treatise against Apion, ii. 7. Strongly marked resemblances, however, are discernible between his exposition and that of Diodorus and Trogus Pompeius. Compare the account of the conquest of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 2-3, and in Diodorus, xxxiv. 1; and that of the Parthian war of Demetrius II. in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 11, and in Justin, *i.e.* Trogus Pompeius, xxxvi. 1. 3. If, then, these two—Diodorus and Trogus Pompeius—rely upon Posidonius, then so also does Josephus. Further details in Nussbaum, *Observ. in Fl. Jos. Antiq.* xii. 3-xiii. 14; Destimon, *Die Quellen*, § 52; J. G. Müller on Josephus "Against Apion," 214 ff., 258 f.

The historical and geographical fragments of Posidonius are collected by C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, iii. 245-296. Compare generally, Fabricius, *Bibliothec. graec.* ed. Harles, iii. 572-574, iv. 34.—Bake, *Posidonii Rhodii reliquae doctrinae*, Lugd. Bat. 1810.—Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. under years 143, 86, 78, 62, 60, 51.—Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, i. 1842, 357-363.—Toepelmann, *De Posidonio Rhodio rerum scriptore*, Bonnae 1867.—Scheppig, *De Posidonio Apamensi rerum gentium terrarum scriptore*, Halis Sax. 1869.—Nicolai, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, ii. 182 f., 242 f.—Blass, *De Gemino et Posidonio*, Kiel 1883.—Arnold, *Untersuchungen über Theophanes von Mytilene und Posidonius von Apamea*, in *Jahrb. für class. Philologie*, 13 Supplementalband, 1884, pp. 75-150 (seeks to prove that Appian in his *Mithridatica* has used both of these authors).—Schühlein, *Studien zu Posidonius Rhodius*, Freising 1886; ■ careful sifting and arranging of biographical detail. Zimmermann in : *Hermes* xxxiii. pp. 103-130; on the use made of Posidonius in the Geography of Strabo.—On Posidonius as a philosopher, see Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 185, 189; and Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, London 1869. Also: Wendland, *Posidonius Werk περὶ θεῶν* (*Archiv für Geschichte der Philos.*, Bd. i. 1888, pp. 200-210).

4. Timagenes of Alexandria.

Timagenes, by birth probably a Syrian, had been taken prisoner in Alexandria by Gabinius during his Egyptian campaign in B.C. 55. He was then carried off to Rome, where he continued ever afterwards to reside (Suidas, *Lexicon*, under the word *Τιμαγένης*). He was notorious for his loose

tongue, on account of which he was forbidden by Augustus to enter his house. He was nevertheless held in high esteem, and enjoyed the intimate friendship of Asinius Pollio. Seneca in his *de ira*, iii. 23, says: *Timagenes in contubernio Pollionis Asinii consensuit, ac tota civitate dilectus est: nullum illi limen praeclusa Caesaris domus abstulit.* His numerous works were much prized on account of their learning and their elegant rhetorical form. Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 9, speaks of Timagenes as *et diligentia Graecus et lingua.* Even Quintilian, x. 1. 75, names him among the most famous historians. The few extant fragments are not sufficient to lead us to form any definite judgment upon the contents and style of his work.—The quotations in Josephus are confined to the history of Antiochus Epiphanes (Treatise against Apion, ii. 7), of the Jewish king Aristobulus I. (Antiq. xiii. 11. 3), and of Alexander Jannäus (Antiq. xiii. 12. 5). It is evident, however, that Josephus did not use the work of Timagenes at first hand, but borrowed his references from other historians. In Antiq. xiii. 11. 3, he introduces a quotation in this fashion: “as Strabo bears witness in the name of Timagenes, who says thus.” So, too, the quotation in Antiq. xiii. 12. 5 is taken from Strabo, who is himself immediately afterwards quoted in Antiq. xiii. 12. 6.

The fragments of Timagenes are collected by C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, iii. 317–323. Comp. also Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 2nd ed. p. 573 ff.—Westermann in Pauly's Real-Encyclop. vi. 2. 1971, and the literature quoted there.—Nicolai, *Griechische Literaturgesch.* ii. 188.—Gutschmid in a paper on “Trogus and Timagenes,” in *Rhein. Museum*, vol. xxxvii. 1882, pp. 548–555, seeks to show that Trogus Pompeius is only a Latin reproduction of an original Greek work, and assumes that the latter was the work of Timagenes.

5. *Asinius Pollio.*

C. Asinius Pollio, the well-known friend of Caesar and Augustus, composed, besides other works, a history of the civil

war between Caesar and Pompey, in 17 books, in the Latin tongue. This, at least, is the most probable rendering of the confused statements in Suidas' *Lexicon*, under the names *Πωλίων* and *Ἀσίνιος* (see Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 221. 3). Plutarch, Appian, and others made use of the work (*Plutarch. Pompeius*, c. 72; *Caesar*, c. 46; *Appian. Civ.* ii. 82). Since it was an authority of the first order, as being the work of a contemporary man of affairs, an investigator like Strabo naturally did not allow it to escape him. From a notice in Josephus it would appear that Strabo had used it and quoted from it in the history of Caesar's Egyptian campaign. In his *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 3, Josephus thus introduces a quotation: "Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus in the name of Asinius."

Compare on Asinius Pollio generally, Teuffel in Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* i. 2, 2 Aufl. pp. 1859–1865; Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 221, and the literature quoted in both places.—Something may also be found in Hübner, *Grandriss zu Vorlesungen über die römische Literaturgesch.* 1878, p. 181.—On the history of the Civil War, Thouret, *De Cicerone, Asinio Pollione, C. Oppio rerum Caesarianarum scriptoribus* (Leipz. Stud. zu class. Philol., Bd. i. 1878, pp. 303–360; on Asinius Pollio, pp. 324–346). A discussion is being carried on in regard to the authorities used by Appian, but nothing definite has been reached as to how far he may have employed the work of Asinius Pollio.

6. *Hypsikrates.*

Hypsikrates, a writer otherwise unknown, is quoted twice by Strabo in his Geography. The one quotation refers to the history of Asander, a governor of the Bosphorus under King Pharnaces II., in the time of Caesar (Strabo, vii. 4. 6). The other quotation refers to the ethnology of the Caucasian nations (Strabo, xi. 5. 1). In a third passage a quotation about the natural history of Libya is attributed to Iphikrates, but this name is most likely to be read Hypsikrates (Strabo, xvii.

3. 5). According to *Lucian. Macrob.* c. 22, Hypsikrates was a native of Amisus in Pontus, and lived to the age of ninety-two years. Since he treats of the times of Caesar he cannot have been much older than Strabo.—According to a statement in Josephus, Strabo had borrowed from this Hypsikrates in his account of the Egyptian campaign of Caesar: "The same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsikrates," *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 3.

Compare generally, Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, iii. 493 ff.—Bähr in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iii. 1560.

7. Dellius.

Dellius, a friend of Antonius, wrote a work on the Parthian campaign of Antonius, in which he had himself taken part. (Strabo, xi. 13. 3, p. 523: ὅς φησιν ὁ Δέλλιος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φίλος, συγγράψας τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους αὐτοῦ στρατείαν, ἐν ᾗ παρῆν καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων. *Plutarch. Anton.* c. 59: πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες ἐξέβαλον . . . ὧν καὶ Μάρκος ἦν Σιλανὸς καὶ Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικός).

It is possible, as Bürcklein and Gutschmid surmise, that all the accounts of later historians regarding the Parthian campaign of the years B.C. 41–36, and so, too, that of Josephus, are drawn either directly or indirectly from this work. Josephus mentions Dellius in *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 1; xv. 2. 6; *Wars of Jews*, i. 15. 3; not, however, as a historian, but as a comrade of Antony.

Compare Bürcklein, *Quellen und Chronologie der römisch-parthischen Feldzüge in den Jahren, 713–718*. An Inaugural Dissertation, 1879 (on Josephus, pp. 41–43).—Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer*, 1888, p. 97. Generally, Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. 899. Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 255. 3.

8. *Strabo.*

Besides his Geography, which has come down to us, and will be treated of under § 3. D, among extant authorities, Strabo was the author of a large historical work which, with the exception of a few fragments, has been lost. It had been completed before Strabo began his Geography. In the introduction to this latter work he refers to his history: *Διόπερ ἡμεῖς πεποιηκότες ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικὰ χρήσιμα, ὥς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν.* From another quotation which he makes, it appears that the 5th book of that history began where the work of Polybius ended, *i.e.* with B.C. 146: *εἰρηκότες δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν Παθικῶν νομίμων ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων βίβλῳ, δευτέρῃ δὲ τῶν μετὰ Πολύβιον.* This overlapping of the narrative explains how it is that the character of the first four books is different from that of the books *μετὰ Πολύβιον*; the former being summary in the style, the latter detailed and full. In the earlier books the times of Alexander the Great must have been treated of, for Strabo says in a third passage that he had come to see the untrustworthiness of the reports about India when he was engaged upon the history of Alexander the Great: *καὶ ἡμῖν δ' ὑπήρξεν ἐπὶ πλέον κατιδεῖν ταῦτα ὑπομνηματιζομένοις τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις.* According to an explanatory note by Suidas, *Lexicon*, under the name *Πολύβιος*, the work "after Polybius" was composed of forty-three books: "Strabo," it is said, "wrote the *μετὰ Πολύβιον* in forty-three books;" while the whole work was made up of forty-seven books. From the quotations in Josephus it may be concluded that the history had been carried down at least to the conquest of Jerusalem by Herod in B.C. 37. It may therefore have closed with the establishment of sole and absolute monarchy under Augustus. The most of the quotations are made by Josephus, who evidently used this work as his main authority for the history of the Asmonaeans from John

Hyrchanus to the overthrow of Antigonus, B.C. 135-37, because he culls from this large general history the passages and allusions that have reference to the history of Palestine. Such notices will be found in *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 4, 11. 3, 12. 6; xiv. 3. 1, 4. 3, 6. 4, 7. 2, 8. 3; xv. 1. 2. Compare also a statement with reference to Antiochus Epiphanes in the Treatise against Apion, ii. 7. This history of Strabo is also expressly cited by Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 26; *Lucull.* c. 28; *Caesar*, c. 63; and by Tertullian, *de anima*, c. 46. But much as the loss of this work is to be regretted, it is at least some satisfaction to know that Josephus used it along with Nicolaus Damascenus as one of his principal authorities. For Strabo was a thoroughgoing investigator, who employed the best sources with circumspection, subjecting them to a careful critical examination. Even in the few fragments preserved in Josephus he three times cited his authorities by name, Timagenes, Asinius Pollio, and Hypsikrates. That he made use of the great work of Posidonius cannot be doubted. And though his name is not once mentioned, we cannot say how much Strabo may have been indebted to him for the information given in his comprehensive work. Josephus frequently calls attention to the agreement between Strabo and Nicolaus Damascenus. "Now Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo of Cappadocia both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them says anything new that is not in the other," *Antiq.* xiv. 6. 4. But it is not probable that the one had made use of the other, seeing that they were contemporaries. Nicolaus Damascenus is quoted by Strabo in his Geography (xv. 1. 72, 73). On the other hand, the historical work of Strabo is rather older than that of Nicolas. The agreement between them to which Josephus calls attention must therefore have resulted from their using the same authorities.

It was a decided mistake on the part of Lewitz (*Quaest. Flav. specimen*, 1835) to describe Strabo the historian and Strabo the geographer as two different persons. Josephus does indeed speak of his authority as a Cappadocian, whereas the geographer belonged to Amasia in Pontus. But the district of Pontus is also called by Strabo ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Καππαδοκία (xiii. 1. 4); and Pliny names Amasia among the cities of Cappadocia (*Nat. Hist.* vi. 3. 8). Mithridates, king of Pontus, is styled on an inscription: Μιθραδάτης Καππαδοκί[ας βασιλεύς]. See Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, iii. 136a. Kuhn, *Die Städtische und bürgerlich Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 148.

The fragments of Strabo's historical work are collected by Müller, *Fragmenta historicum graecorum*, iii. 490-494.

9. *Commentaries of Herod.*

Like other royal personages of that age, such as Augustus and Agrippa (Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 220), Herod the Great wrote Commentaries or Memoirs, which are once referred to by Josephus. "This account we give the reader as it is contained in the Commentaries of King Herod," *Antiq.* xv. 6. 3. Whether Josephus had actually seen them himself is extremely doubtful, since in his own history of Herod he follows Nicolaus Damascenus as his chief authority, and besides him used only a source that was unfavourable to Herod. The preterite περιέχεται awakens the suspicion that the work cited did not then lie before the writer, but was known to him only at second hand.

On the philosophical, rhetorical, and historical studies of Herod, see the fragment from the Autobiography of Nicolaus Damascenus in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iii. 350.—The view which I had myself at one time advocated, that Josephus had made a direct use of the Commentaries of Herod, does not now appear to be tenable. This is the opinion also of Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, 1882, 121 ff. But we have not the materials for arriving at any final and definite result.

10. *Ptolemäus.*

In the work of Ammonius, *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, the following statement is made under the word

Ἰδουμαῖοι : “ Idumaeans and Jews (*Ἰουδαῖοι*) differ from one another, as Ptolemäus says in the first book of his *Life of King Herod*. For the Jews are the original inhabitants ; but the Idumaeans were originally not Jews, but Phoenicians and Syrians.” The work of one Ptolemäus on Herod, here referred to, is otherwise quite unknown. The statements quoted about the semi-Judaism of the Idumaeans are without doubt taken from an independent and unbiassed investigation as to the descent of Herod, such as a royal historiographer would never have ventured to publish. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3. The author cannot therefore have belonged to the court officials of Herod, among whom we meet with two men of the name of Ptolemy. One of these was a brother of Nicolaus Damascenus, who, after Herod’s death, took the side of Antipas, as we are told in *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 4, and *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 3. The other, after Herod’s death, joined the party of Archelaus along with Nicolaus Damascenus, and is spoken of in *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2, 9. 3, 5, and in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8 ; ii. 2. 1, 4. Seeing that our author can be neither of these two, one naturally thinks of the grammarian Ptolemy of Ascalon, the only writer of the name of Ptolemy mentioned by Ammonius in *De adfin. vocab. differentia* in any other passage than the one above quoted. Stephanus Byzantinus indeed (*s.v.* **Ἀσκάλων**) speaks of this Ptolemy as a contemporary of Aristarchus ; and if this were so, he must have lived in the second century before Christ. But Bäge (*De Ptolemaeo Ascalonita*, 1882) has made it highly probable that this statement of Stephanus is erroneous, and that Ptolemy had lived rather in the early part of the first century after Christ. In that case he would be, in respect of time, in the very best position for writing a biography of Herod.

Many accomplished scholars, as Fabricius in *Biblioth. graec.*, v. 296, Ammon in his note on the passage from Ammonius, and

Westermann in his edition of Vossius, *De historicis graecis* p. 226, regard Ptolemy of Ascalon as the author of Herod's biography. Compare in regard to him generally, the literature given in Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 28, 29.—Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, is inclined to look for the author among the courtiers of Herod.

The statement about the Idumaeans, quoted above, is found also in an abbreviated form in a writing ascribed to Ptolemy of Ascalon, *περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων*, which has recently been published in a complete form by Heylbut in *Hermes*, vol. xxii. 1887, pp. 388–410. In this work the passage runs as follows: "Jews (*Ἰουδαῖοι*) and Idumaeans (*Ἰδουμαῖοι*) are not the same; for the Jews are the original inhabitants, but the Idumaeans were originally not Jews, but Phoenicians and Syrians." But this passage, as well as all the rest of this reputed work of Ptolemy, appears to be nothing else than an extract from Ammonius, who had on his part quoted from the genuine work of Ptolemy of Ascalon.

11. *Nicolaus Damascenus.*

No writer has been used by Josephus who yields such abundance of good material for the post-Biblical period as Nicolas of Damascus, the trusted friend and counsellor of Herod. He belonged to a distinguished non-Jewish family in Damascus. His father, Antipater, held the highest official appointments there. Since Nicolas, immediately after the death of Herod, in B.C. 4, speaks of himself as about sixty years of age, he must have been born about B.C. 64. He acquired a thorough Greek education, and in his philosophical views followed mainly Aristotle. Hence in the Fragments collected by Müller he is called "Nicolas the Peripatetic," "one of the Peripatetic philosophers." According to Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem in the beginning of the seventh century after Christ, he is said to have been the tutor of the children of Antony and Cleopatra. When Augustus was in Syria in B.C. 20, Nicolas saw in Antioch the Indian ambassadors who came there (Strabo, xv. 1. 73). Probably even then, but at the very latest by B.C. 14, he lived in the closest intimacy with King Herod, by whom he was employed in some important diplomatic negotiations. In B.C. 14 he was in

the retinue of Herod when he visited Agrippa in Asia Minor. At a later period he went with Herod to Rome. When Herod, on account of his proceedings in Arabia, had fallen into disfavour with Augustus, Nicolas was sent to Rome as his ambassador. Also in his conflicts with his sons, Alexander, Aristobulus, and Antipater, Nicolas occupied a prominent place as counsellor of the king. After the death of Herod he represented the interests of Archelaus before the emperor at Rome. All these particulars are derived from his autobiography, as given in Müller's Fragments and the corresponding sections of Josephus. He seems to have spent his last years in Rome.

Of the tragedies and comedies which Nicolas is supposed to have written, no single vestige now remains. Even of his philosophical productions very little has been preserved. Undoubtedly by far the most important of his writings were his historical works, regarding which Suidas, in his *Lexicon*, under the name *Νικόλαος*, makes the following remark: "He wrote a general history in eighty books, and an account of the life of Caesar, and also of his own life and career." Besides these three works, he wrote, according to Photius, *Biblioth. cod.* 189, a *παραδόξων ἐθῶν συναγωγή*. Of all the four works we possess fragments of greater or less extent.

We owe the greater number of the fragments that are preserved to the great undertaking of the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogennetus, A.D. 912-959, who had the most trustworthy statements of the old historians collected into certain volumes. There were in all fifty-three volumes or heads among which those collections were distributed. Only a few of those fifty-three books have been preserved, and of those that are extant, only two come into consideration at present. (1) The extracts *De virtutibus et vitiis*, edited by Valesius in A.D. 1634; and (2) the extracts *De insidiis*, first edited by Feder, from a *codex Escorialensis*, in A.D. 1848-1855, with other extracts, in 3 vols. At the same time, and inde-

pendently of Feder, Müller edited the same manuscript in his *Fragm. hist. graec.* iii. 1849.—Compare on the undertaking of Constantinus Porphyrogennetus generally, Fabricius-Harles, *Biblioth. graec.* viii.; Schulze, *De excerptis constantinianis quaestiones criticae*, Bonn 1866. De Boor, *Zu den Excerptensammlungen des Konstantin Porphyrogennetos* (Hermes, Bd. xix. 1884, pp. 123–148).

1. The great historical work of Nicolas contained 144 books (Athenaeus, vi. p. 249). When Suidas speaks of only eighty books, this must be explained either by assuming an error in the MSS. of Suidas, or by supposing that only eighty books were known to Suidas. The extensive fragments preserved in the Constantine excerpts, *de virtutibus* and *de insidiis*, are taken exclusively from the first seven books, and refer to the early history of the Assyrians, Medes, Greeks, Lydians, and Persians, down to the times of Croesus and Cyrus. Of books 8–95 we possess as good as nothing. Of book 96 some fragments have been preserved by Josephus and Athenaeus. Books 96, 103, 104, 107, 108, 110, 114, 116, 123, 124 are distinctly quoted. In books 123 and 124 an account is given of the negotiations with Agrippa in Asia Minor in favour of the Jews residing there, in which Herod and Nicolaus Damascenus represented the Jewish interests (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 2; comp. xvi. 2. 2–5). These negotiations were carried on in the year B.C. 14. The remaining twenty books would undoubtedly treat of the following ten years, down to the beginning of the reign of Archelaus, in B.C. 4. One only requires to read Josephus connectedly in order to see immediately that the uncommonly complete and detailed authority which he follows in books xv.–xvii. on the life of Herod, breaks off at the beginning of the reign of Archelaus. What he tells regarding that reign in book xviii. is so desperately poor and meagre, that it is utterly impossible that he could have had at his disposal a document like that upon which he drew for books xv.–

xvii. But this complete and detailed authority can have been no other than the work of Nicolas of Damascus, who is expressly cited in *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 1, and who in his autobiography gives a historical statement that reads almost like an extract from Josephus. Hence it is evident that it gives in briefer form the story of the events recorded at greater length by the author in his larger historical work.—But the historical work of Nicolas is used by Josephus, not only for the history of Herod, but also for the history of the Asmonaeans, in a similar way to that in which he uses the historical work of Strabo (*Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4, 12. 6; xiv. 4. 3, 6. 4). Josephus also expressly cites Nicolas' work for the history of primitive times (*Antiq.* i. 3. 6, 3. 9, 7. 2), for the history of David (*Antiq.* vii. 5. 2), and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes (*Treatise against Apion*, ii. 7).

2. Of the biography of Augustus, *Bíos Kaίσαρος*, there are still extant two large fragments, of which the one in the Constantine excerpts, *de virtutibus*, treats of the history of Octavian's youth and education; while the other, which is particularly extensive, in the Constantine excerpts, *de insidiis*, refers to the time immediately subsequent to Caesar's assassination, there being added to it, in the form of a large note or excursus, c. 19–27, a complete account of the conspiracy against Caesar, and of the circumstances that preceded his murder. This second fragment, which was first made known in the publications of Feder, Müller, and Piccolos, makes it possible fairly to estimate the historical value of the work, which, notwithstanding its general panegyristic character, is considerable.

3. The autobiography, of which several fragments are preserved in the excerpts *de virtutibus*, and upon which probably Suidas mainly relies for the facts given in his *Lexicon* articles on the names *Ἀντίπατρος* and *Νικόλαος*, is interesting on account of the undisguised self-complacency

and conceit of its author, which he shows in the unbounded praise lavished upon all his own achievements.

4. The collection of "Remarkable Habits and Customs," *Παραδόξων ἔθῶν συναγωγή*, which was seen by Photius (*Biblioth. cod.* 189), is known to us only from the extracts in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus.

A complete collection of the fragments of Nicolas, with the exception of the philosophical fragments, was first issued by Müller in his *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, iii. 1849, pp. 343-464, and iv. pp. 661-664. Compare generally, Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ed. 2, vol. iii. p. 574 f.—Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ed. 2, vol. iii. p. 483, note 20, proving that Nicolas was not a Jew.—Nicolai, *Geschichte Literaturgeschichte*, ii. 536 f.—On his exposition of early history, books i.-vii.: Steinmetz, *Herodot und Nicolaus Damascenus*, Lüneburg 1861.—On Nicolas as an authority with Josephus: Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 106-116. Destinon, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1882, pp. 91-120.

The *Βίος Καίσαρος* was separately edited by Piccolos, *Nicolas de Damas, vie de César, fragment récemment découvert*, etc., Paris 1850.—It is discussed by the following: Bürger, *De Nicolai Damasceni fragmento Escorialensi quod inscribitur Βίος Καίσαρος*, Bonnae 1869; and O. E. Schmidt, who writes in the *Jahrb. für class. Philologie*, 1884, pp. 666-687, on Nicolaus Damascenus and Suetonius Tranquillus, supporting, in opposition to Bürger, the historical importance of the *Βίος Καίσαρος*, and seeking to show that Suetonius had made use of it.

The fragments of the *Παραδόξων ἔθῶν συναγωγή* have also been collected and edited in a separate issue by Westermann, *Παραδόξογράφοι*, 1839, pp. 166, 167.—On the passage referring to the Lacedaemonians, see Trieber, *Quaestiones Laconicae*, pars I.: *De Nicolai Damasceni Laconicis*, Berol. 1867.

Of the philosophical writings of Nicolas there remain only a number of titles and short fragments. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ed. 2, iii. p. 574 ff.—Roeper, *Lectiones Abulphargianae*, Danzig 1844, pp. 27, 35-43.—Müller, *Fragm. histor. graec.* iii. 344.—Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, London 1869.—Zell in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 1679 f., art. "Aristoteles."—Diels, *Doxographi graeci*, 1879, p. 84, Anm. 1.—The pseudo-Aristotelian writing *de plantis* has been ascribed by E. H. F. Meyer to Nicolaus

Damascenus, and published under his name.—Another pseudo-Aristotelian tract, *περί κόσμου*, has been by several scholars in earlier and later times attributed to Nicolas. The grounds for so doing are very insufficient. Becker, Bernays, and Zeller, however, still incline to ascribe it to our author. On its later reproduction by Apuleius, see Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 367. 6.—So far as we can judge from the quotations and fragments of the philosophical works of Nicolas, they are closely related to those of Aristotle, and were not so much independent works as short expositions or compendia and illustrations of the several departments of the Aristotelian philosophy. Roeper, *Lectiones Abulpharagianae*, pp. 35–43, and Usener in: Bernays' *Ges. Abhandlungen*, ii. 281. Roeper gives the most complete collection of quotations and fragments. This is the view also taken of them by Ueberweg in his *History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 184.

12. *The Commentaries of Vespasian.*

In the 65th chapter of his *Life*, Josephus refers to the Commentaries of Vespasian as vouching the correctness of his statements: "Nor is it only I who say this: but so it is written in the Commentaries of Vespasian the emperor." At the same time he brings the charge against his opponent, Justus of Tiberias, that he could not have read those commentaries, since his statements are in direct contradiction to this in the emperor's work: "For neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the Commentaries of Caesar, of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those Commentaries of Caesar in thy history." In the Treatise against Apion he engages in a polemic against those who judged unfavourably of his History of the Jewish War, and denies to them the right of making such a criticism: "How impudent must those deserve to be esteemed who undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs, who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperor's own memoirs, yet they could not be acquainted with our affairs who fought against

them." These memoirs "of the emperor's" are evidently identical with the Commentaries of Vespasian referred to in the *Life*. Nothing more than this is known about them. Compare Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 311. 2. Josephus evidently came to know them only after he had composed his work on the Wars of the Jews, since he does not mention them among his authorities for that work (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9-10).

13. *Antonius Julianus*.

Minucius Felix, in his *Octavian*. c. 33. 4, refers for proof of his statement that the Jews had brought their misfortunes upon themselves by their own evil deeds, to their own writings and those of the Romans: "Read again their writings, or if you prefer those of the Romans, look into those of Antonius Julianus, and you will find that their own wickedness has occasioned their calamities." The work of Antonius Julianus treated probably of the war of Vespasian. For a *Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἰουλιανός* is also mentioned by Josephus as Procurator of Judea during the time of the Vespasian war (Wars of the Jews, vi. 4. 3).

Bernays (Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus, 1861, p. 56) conjectures that this work of Antonius Julianus may have been used by Tacitus, on whom again the work of Sulpicius Severus depends. This is possible. But it should not be forgotten that there were yet other works on the Vespasian war. Josephus, indeed, distinguishes such books into two classes. To the one class belonged those who knew the events of the war at first hand from having themselves been engaged in it, but through prejudice in favour of the Romans or against the Jews, told the story in a false and garbled manner. To the other class belonged those who knew the matter only from report, and were often misled by the incorrect and inconsistent reports on which they relied. "Some men who were not concerned in the affair themselves have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have

written them down after a sophistical manner; and those who were then present have given false account of things, and this rather out of humour of flattery to the Romans or of hatred to the Jews," Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, preface 1. Compare also the remarks at the end of the preface to the *Antiquities*, in the *Treatise against Apion*, 1. 8 at the end, and in the letter of Agrippa, quoted in chap. 65 of the *Life* of Josephus.

14. *Justus of Tiberias.*

About the life of Justus of Tiberias we know only what Josephus has told us in his *Life* (chaps. 9, 12, 17, 35, 37, 54, 65, 70, 74). He was a Jew who had received a Greek education (c. 9), and along with his father Pistus occupied a conspicuous position in his native city of Tiberias during the Jewish war of A.D. 66–67. Being a man of moderate tendencies, he attached himself more under compulsion than voluntarily to the revolution party, but quitted his native town even before the subjugation of Galilee, and fled to Agrippa (c. 70). Condemned to death by Vespasian, and given over to Agrippa for execution, he had his sentence commuted by him, through the intercession of Berenice, to a long period of imprisonment. He seems then to have gone again to reside in Tiberias, but led, according to Josephus, a rather mysterious and doubtful sort of life. Agrippa sentenced him twice to imprisonment, and had him repeatedly banished his native city. Once he pronounced against him sentence of death, and pardoned him only at the entreaty of Berenice. In spite of all this, Agrippa entrusted him with the *τάξις ἐπιστολῶν*. But in this office, too, Justus proved himself unserviceable, and was at last, for good and all, dismissed by Agrippa (Josephus' *Life*, c. 65). He was still alive in the beginning of the second century after Christ, for his *Chronicle* reaches down to the death of Agrippa in the third year of Trajan, A.D. 100. His works are: 1. A History of the Jewish War, against which the polemic of Josephus in his *Life* is

directed. The later writers who mention this work, Eusebius, Jerome, his translator Sophronius, and Suidas, obtained their knowledge of it only from Josephus. It is also very doubtful whether Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Τιβεριάς*, drew directly from this work.—2. A Chronicle of the Jewish Kings from Moses to Agrippa II. It was known to Photius, and is briefly described by him (*Biblioth. cod.* 33). Also Julius Africanus, from whom the quotations in the Chronicle of Eusebius and in Syncellus are borrowed, made use of it. A notice in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 41, has probably to be referred to another work of Justus.—3. The existence of the *Commentarioli de scripturis*, mentioned by Jerome in his *de viris illustr.* c. 14, is very questionable, since no other author knows anything about it.

In regard to the part played by Justus during the Jewish war utterly false opinions have very widely prevailed, owing to the misleading statements of Josephus. He has generally been regarded as an extreme patriot and bitter foe of the Romans. So especially by Baerwald, *Josephus in Galilæa*, 1887. But a critical examination of all these assertions of Josephus affords us an essentially different picture. On the one hand, Josephus describes him as a chief agitator in pressing on the war, and affirms that he had moved his native city of Tiberias to revolt from Agrippa and the Romans (*Life*, 9, 65, 70). For proof of this Josephus adduces his campaign against the cities of Decapolis, Gadara, and Hippos, on account of which he was accused by the representatives of those cities to Vespasian, and by him given over to be punished to Agrippa, so that he escaped death only through the intercession of Berenice (c. 9 at the end, 65, 74). Further, his connection with the revolutionary chiefs, John of Gischala (c. 17) and Jesus, son of Sapphias (c. 54), is advanced as evidence against him. But in spite of this effort to brand Justus as one mainly to blame for the revolutionary rising in Galilee, Josephus is yet guileless enough to confess even at the outset that Justus belonged neither to the Roman nor to the revolutionary party, but to a middle party which “pretended to be doubtful about going to war” (c. 9). And a whole series of facts prove that Justus was by no means enthusiastically in favour of war. His nearest relatives in Gamala were murdered by the revolutionary party (c. 35, 37). He himself was one of the prominent men

who opposed the destruction of the palace of Herod in Tiberias (c. 12). Indeed, he was one of the councillors whom Josephus had put in prison just because they would not join in the revolution, to whom he also then declared that he did indeed know the might of the Romans, but that for the present they could do nothing else than join "the robbers," that is, the revolutionists (c. 35. *Comp. Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 8-10; *Life*, 32-34). Justus also left Tiberias when the revolution there was just at its height, and went over to Agrippa and the Romans (c. 65 and 70). He was therefore quite correct in his statement that Josephus was mainly chargeable with the revolutionary movement in Tiberias, and in affirming that Tiberias had been drawn into the revolt only under compulsion (c. 65). The real facts of the case are thus perfectly clear. Justus was a man of precisely the same style and tendency as Josephus. Both had taken part in the revolt, but both did so only under the pressure of circumstances. In reality neither of them wished to have anything to do with it, and so now the one seeks to throw the blame upon the other.

The work which Josephus in his *Life* so vehemently attacks cannot have been the same as the Chronicle described by Photius. For, according to Photius, that Chronicle was "very meagre and brief, and passed over much that was important and even necessary;" but the work referred to by Josephus evidently entered into minute details, and is simply characterized by Josephus as a History of the Jewish War. "For he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks, and in dependence on that skill it was that he undertook to write a history of these affairs" (*Life*, c. 9). "Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning these affairs. . . . Justus undertook to write about these facts and about the Jewish war" (c. 65). In this same chapter (*Life*, c. 65) Josephus speaks of his astonishment at the impudence of Justus, who claimed to be the best narrator of these occurrences; whereas he knew nothing at first hand, either of the proceedings in Galilee, or of the siege of Jotapata, or of the siege of Jerusalem. He therefore evidently treated in that work of the whole history of the war. It was not published by Justus until twenty years after it had been completed, when Vespasian, Titus, and Agrippa II. were dead (*Life*, c. 65). It must therefore have been completed during the lifetime of Agrippa, and so, again, it must be distinguished from the Chronicle which reaches down to Agrippa's death.—Eusebius, Jerome, and others derived their grounds of accusation against Justus

from Josephus. He is charged (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10. 8; Jerome, *de viris illustr.* c. 14) with having written a history of Jewish affairs in a distorted manner to suit his own personal ends, and is declared to have been convicted by Josephus of falsehood. The article in Suidas' *Lexicon* on 'Ιούστος is taken *verbatim* from Sophronius, the Greek translator of Jerome. Probably also the notice in Stephanus Byzantinus on the name Tiberias is grounded upon Josephus.

On the Chronicle of the Jewish Kings, Photius in his *Biblioth. cod.* 33, remarks as follows: 'Ανεγνώσθη 'Ιούστου Τιβερίεως χρονικόν, οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ 'Ιούστου Τιβερίεως 'Ιουδαίων βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς στέμμασιν. Οὗτος ἀπὸ πόλεως τῆς ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ Τιβεριάδος ὑρμᾶτο. Ἀρχεται δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Μαῦσέως, καταλήγει δὲ ἕως τελευτῆς Ἀγρίππα τοῦ ἐβδόμου μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας Ἑρώδου, ὑστάτου δὲ ἐν τοῖς 'Ιουδαίαν βασιλεῦσιν, ὃς παρέλαβε μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ηὐξήθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἔτει τερίτῳ Τραϊανοῦ, οὗ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία κατέληξεν. Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν συντομώτατός ■ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων παρατρέχων.—From this work also are taken the quotations in the Chronicle of Eusebius and those made by Georgius Syncellus, which undoubtedly made their way to Eusebius and Syncellus through the medium of Julius Africanus. In the preface to the second book of the Chronicle, Eusebius speaks as follows: "That Moses flourished in the times of Inachus is affirmed by such famous teachers as Clement, Africanus, Tatian from among ourselves, and by Josephus and Justus from among the Jews, each after his own fashion supporting the statement from primitive histories." This passage from the preface of Eusebius is not only expressly quoted by Syncellus, but also made use of elsewhere in several other passages.—Eusebius further mentions Justus in his Chronicle, *ad ann. Abrah.* 2113, during the reign of the Emperor Nerva, as a well-known Jewish writer. In Syncellus again the same notice stands at the beginning of the account of Trajan's reign. This also must have been the original position given to him in the Chronicle of Africanus. For undoubtedly the statement rests upon the assumption that the Chronicle of Justus reached down to the beginning of the reign of Trajan.—The notice in Scaliger, *Thesaurus, ἱστοριῶν συναγωγὴ ad Ol.* ΣΙΘ, Δ: ἐνταῦθα λήγει τὸ 'Ιούστου Τιβερίεως χρονικόν, rests only upon Photius, *Biblioth. cod.* 33.—If, then, it is rendered certain from what has been adduced that Julius Africanus made use of the Chronicle of Justus, the theory is thoroughly confirmed that certain notices about Jewish history in the Chroniclers dependent on Africanus, which are not derived from Josephus,

are to be traced back to Justus. See below, § 10, note 32; and Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 246–265. Gutschmid had also previously guessed that Africanus had made use of Justus. See Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 222.

In the biography of Socrates in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 41, we meet with the following statement: "Justus of Tiberias tells that at his trial Plato went up to the platform and said, O men of Athens, being the youngest of those who have gone up to the platform, and that the judges cried out: Go down, go down." It is extremely improbable that so special a notice regarding details in the history of Socrates and Plato should have had place in a brief chronicle of Jewish kings. But even a comparison of the wording of the title as given by Photius with that given by Diogenes Laertius, leads one to suppose that Justus had written other works besides the Chronicle of the Jewish Kings. The title (Photius, *Biblioth. cod.* 33): 'Ιουδαίων βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς στέμμασιν, cannot mean: "History of the crowned kings of the Jews," although στέμμα usually means crown. But as στέμμα also means a genealogical table, this title is rather to be rendered: "History of the kings of the Jews enumerated in the Tables." But what στέμματα are meant? The Chronicle of Julius Africanus consisted, it is well known, in great part of lists of kings, Greek, Oriental, and Roman. Is it not likely that the older work of Justus should have been similarly constructed? Then there would have been only a part of the whole work known to Photius, namely, the history of the kings of the Jews designated in the στέμματα of Justus, while to Diogenes Laertius there was known another στέμμα, therefore another part of the whole work.

Compare on Justus generally, Vossius, *De historicis graecis*, 1838.—Fabricius, *Biblioth. graec.* ed. Harles, v. 61, x. 691.—Müller, *Fragmenta histor. graec.* iii. 523.—Vaillant, *De Historicis qui ante Josephum Judaicas res scripsere*, Paris 1851.—Creuzer, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1853, pp. 57–59.—Grätz, *Das Lebensende des Königs Agrippa II., des Justus von Tiberias und des Flavius Josephus und die Agrippa-Münzen* (*Monats-schr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Jud.* 1877, p. 337 ff.), gives an impossible explanation of the Photius passage. Baerwald, *Josephus in Galiläa, sein Verhältniss zu den Parteien, insbesondere zu Justus von Tiberias und Agrippa II.*, Breslau 1877.

15. Aristo of Pella.

On Aristo of Pella and his literary work we have only two

independent witnesses, Eusebius and Maximus Confessor.—

1. According to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 6. 3, it was told in a work of Aristo of Pella, that after the conquest of Bitther and the overthrow of Barcochba, “it was enjoined by regular legal enactments of Hadrian upon the whole Jewish race, that they should on no pretext enter within the region round about Jerusalem, the emperor wishing that they should not be able, even from a distance, to look upon their native soil.” (τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πᾶμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται, νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ, ὥς ἂν μηδ’ ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος ἐγκελευσαμένου. Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος ἰστορεῖ.) On this passage in Eusebius is founded what is said in the *Chronicon paschale*, and by the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, respecting Aristo of Pella.—2. In the *Scholia* of Maximus Confessor on Dionysius the Areopagite, *De mystica theologia*, written about A.D. 630–650, we meet with the following notice: “I have also read the expression ‘seven heavens’ in the dialogue of Papiscus and Jason, composed by Aristo of Pella, which Clement of Alexandria, in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes, says was written by St. Luke.” (Ἀνέγνων δὲ τοῦτο “ἐπτὰ οὐρανοὺς” καὶ ἐν τῇ συγγεγραμμένῃ Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Πελλαίῳ διαλέξει Παπίσκου καὶ Ἰάσονος, ἣν Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἑκτῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων τὸν ἅγιον Λουκᾶν φησιν ἀναγράψαι.) According to Maximus Confessor,

therefore, Aristo was the author of the Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, which is also elsewhere quoted, but always as an anonymous work. He was already known to the heathen philosopher Celsus, as well as to Origen and Jerome. We obtain most information from the still extant preface to a Latin translation made by a certain Celsus, according to Harnack, belonging probably to the fifth century after Christ, contained in some manuscripts of the works of Cyprian. At the close of the main section, cap. 8, he names himself Celsus.

According to the statement here given concerning it, Jason was the representative of the Christian view, Papiscus was the representative of Judaism. But the Christian so convincingly proves to the Jew the Messiahship of Jesus, that the latter is soon converted and baptized.

Seeing that the Dialogue, as it lay before Celsus, Origen, Jerome, and the Latin translator, was evidently anonymous, for no one is named by them as its author, it is very questionable whether the testimony of Maximus in favour of the authorship of Aristo is worthy of credit. Whence should a writer of the seventh century obtain correct information about the author of whom all earlier writers knew nothing? The guess of Maximus, however, is by no means improbable. In Tertullian's work, *adversus Judaeos*, c. 13, at the beginning, we have the imperial edict forbidding the Jews to enter the environs of Jerusalem, given in terms almost literally identical with those of the passage quoted by Eusebius from Aristo (*interdictum est ne in confinio ipsius regionis demoretur quisquam Judaeorum . . . post expugnationem Hierusalem prohibiti ingredi in terram vestram de longinquo eam oculis tantum videre permissum est*). Since Tertullian brings this forward in an anti-Jewish controversial treatise, it is highly probable that he had extracted the notice from a similarly anti-Jewish work. But such precisely was the character of the Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus (comp. also Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, i. 1–2, p. 127 ff.).

If, then, on the basis of what has been adduced, it is conjectured that the notice in Eusebius is taken from the Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, we cannot ascribe to Aristo a special history on the Hadrian war; and it is not probable that the other statements in Eusebius about the Hadrian war are drawn from Aristo, who rather makes only passing reference to that one edict.—As to the date of Aristo, he may be put down somewhere about the middle of the second century.

In the *Chronicon paschale*, on the year A.D. 134, the remark is made: "In this year Apelles and Aristo, whom (ὧν) Eusebius Pamphilus mentions in his *Ecclesiastical History*, presents (ἐπιδίδωσιν) the draft of an apology concerning our religion to the Emperor Hadrian." Since the author refers expressly to Eusebius, his testimony has no independent value. The singular ἐπιδίδωσιν makes it probable that he wrote ὁ Πελλαῖος Ἀρίστων, out of which Ἀπελλῆς καὶ Ἀρίστων arose through corruption of the text.—At any rate, the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, derived his information from Eusebius. He indeed states that Aristo reports the death of King Artases, a contemporary of Hadrian; but then in his history of Barcochba he closely follows Eusebius. See Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, i. 101 ff. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Arménie*, t. i. [= Müller, *Fragmenta hist. graec.* v. 2] p. 391 sqq. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, i. 1-2, p. 126.

The Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus was probably largely used in the *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili christiani*, published by Martène in his *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. v., Paris 1717, and again rescued from oblivion by Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. i. div. 3, 1883, especially pp. 115-130.

On Aristo generally, compare Fabricius, *Biblioth. graec.*, ed. Harles, vii. 156 ff.—Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum*, ii. 127-133.—Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, i. 91-109.—Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, Edin. 1846, vol. i. 156.—Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London 1877, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.—Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 1597.—Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iv. 328.—*Corpus apologetarum*, ed. Otto, t. ix. 1872, pp. 349-363.—Harnack, *Die Ueberlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, 1882.—Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentl. Kanons*, vol. iii. 1884, p. 74.

16. *Papyrus Parisiensis*, n. 68.

Among the Greek Papyrus texts of the Louvre at Paris we meet with certain fragments which refer to the revolt of the Jews in Alexandria during the time of the Roman Empire. The texts, however, are so fragmentary that it is quite impossible to determine with any exactness the date of the revolt referred to. Were they more complete, they would have

afforded us invaluable historical information. For they had contained, as we can make out beyond question, among other things, one or two rescripts of the emperor addressed to the Jews of Alexandria with reference to the outbreak, as well as a letter addressed to the emperor by a man who had been already under sentence of death, and now, face to face with death, "will not shrink from telling the truth."

The fragments are published as *Papyrus Paris*. n. 68, by Brunet de Presle, in *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits . . . publiés par l'Institut de France*, vol. xviii. part 2, Paris 1865, pp. 383-390. See also Atlas attached thereto, sheet xlv.

17. *Teucer Cyzicenus.*

Suidas in his *Lexicon*, under the name *Τεύκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός*, says that he wrote: "On the Gold-yielding Earth; on Byzantium; on the Mithridate war, in five books; on Tyre, in five books; on the Arabians, in five books; on Jewish History, in six books, and various other works." (*Τεύκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός, ὁ γράψας Περὶ χρυσοφόρου γῆς, Περὶ τοῦ Βυζαντίου, Μιθριδικῶν πράξεων βιβλία ε', Περὶ Τύρου ε', Ἀραβικῶν ε', Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν βιβλίοις σ', Ἐφήβων τῶν ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἄσκησιν γ' καὶ τὰ λοιπά.*) Of this Teucer Cyzicenus there are only two small fragments now extant, which discuss the etymology of the names of two places in Epirus and Euboea. Otherwise nothing whatever is known of him. Whether he is identical with some other writers of the name of Teucer who have been occasionally mentioned, must continue undetermined. Comp. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, iv. 508.

18. *Various Works περὶ Ἰουδαίων.*

Special treatises on the history of the Jews were also written by the Jewish Hellenists, Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristeeas, Cleodemus-Malchus, and the classical Philo. But these can scarcely come under consideration here,

since they mainly, if not exclusively, treat of the earlier periods of the history (see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 200–210). The book of the pseudo-Hecateus on the Jews seems to have dealt in more detail than those just named with the condition of the people in his own days (see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 302–306).—The five books of Philo on the persecution of the Jews under Tiberius and Caligula would have been an important document for the history of his times, which ought to be mentioned here, because the work is no longer extant (see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 350–354).

Pagan authors, even from very early times, made passing allusions to the Jews. A collection of these may be found in Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, pp. 177–179, and in Josephus, *Treatise against Apion*, i. 14–23. But from the beginning of the first century before Christ special works on the Jews by non-Jewish authors came to be written. 1. The oldest non-Jewish history of the Jews known to us is the *συσκευὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* of Apollonius Molon (see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 251–254).—2. Not much later is the learned compilation of Alexander Polyhistor, *περὶ Ἰουδαίων*, to which we are indebted for valuable excerpts from the writings of Jewish Hellenists (see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 197–200).—3. In the age of Hadrian lived Philo Byblius, also called Herennius Philo, who, besides other works, wrote a treatise, *περὶ Ἰουδαίων*. In it, according to the statement of Origen, he referred to the book of the pseudo-Hecateus on the Jews, and in regard to it expressed the opinion that either the book was not the work of the historian Hecateus, or that if Hecateus were indeed the author, he must have out and out accepted the Jewish doctrine (Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 15; see the passage referred to in Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 304). Two fragments in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangel.* i. 10, are avowedly taken from the same treatise, *περὶ Ἰουδαίων*. The contents of those fragments, however, refer expressly to the Phoenician mytho-

logy, and the second of them is quoted by Eusebius in another place (*Praeparatio evangel.* iv. 16) with the formula, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος τῆς Φίλωνος Φοινικικῆς ἱστορίας. It was therefore generally assumed that the treatise, περὶ Ἰουδαίων, was simply an excursus to the large work of Philo, Φοινικικὴ ἱστορία. So, e.g., Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, p. 34. But, when we consider the contents of the Eusebian fragments, this is not probable. It would rather seem that Eusebius, i. 10, inadvertently ascribed the passages taken by him from the Phoenician history to the treatise περὶ Ἰουδαίων, with which, too, he was acquainted. Comp. on Philo generally, Müller, *Fragmenta histor. graec.* iii. 560–576. Baudissin, in art. “Sanchuniathon,” in Herzog, xiii. 364.—4. A treatise, περὶ Ἰουδαίων, was also written by a certain Damocritus. From the brief statement regarding it in Suidas, under the name Δαμόκριτος (comp. also Müller, *Fragmenta histor. graec.* iv. 377), this only seems clear, that its standpoint was one of deadly enmity to the Jews.—5. The same may be said of the work of a certain Nicarchus, περὶ Ἰουδαίων (Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 380 = Müller, *Fragmenta histor. graec.* iii. 335).—6. As a writer on Jewish affairs, Alexander Polyhistor also mentions one Theophilus (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangel.* ix. 34), one Timochares, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντιόχου (Eusebius, ix. 35), and an anonymous Σύριος σχοινομέτρησις (Eusebius, ix. 36). But all the three had evidently spoken of Jewish matters only in passing. Theophilus treated of Solomon’s relation to the king of Tyre; the other two gave interesting details about the topography of Jerusalem. Comp. on all the three: Müller, *Fragmenta histor. graec.* iii. 209; also on Theophilus, Müller, iv. 515 ff.

19. *The Chronographers.*

For a detailed account of the plundering of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, Josephus refers, in his *Treatise against*

Apion, ii. 7, among others to the chronographers Apollodorus and Castor. To Castor he also refers in order to determine the date of the battle of Gaza (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 22). Since it is possible that he also elsewhere derived various chronological information for these treatises, it is most important that we should here examine carefully the notices that we have regarding these two.

1. Apollodorus of Athens lived about the middle of the second century before Christ, and besides other works wrote the *Χρονικά*, which treated in chronological order of the most important events in universal history down to the time of King Attalus II. of Pergamum, in the middle of the second century before Christ.

A collection of the fragments of this historical work, which is not to be confounded with the extant *Βιβλιοθήκη* under Apollodorus' name, is to be found in Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, i. 435–439. Compare also Müller, *l.c.* p. 43; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 1302 f.

2. Castor's Chronicle is known to us mainly through the quotations in the works of the Christian chroniclers Eusebius and Syncellus. The first book of the Eusebian Chronicle, extant now only in an Armenian translation, gives us particularly valuable extracts. What is therein contained makes it certain that the work of Castor was carried down to the consulship of M. Valerius Messala and M. Piso, B.C. 61; that is, down to the year in which Pompey celebrated his Asiatic triumph, by which the subjection of Further Asia was finally settled (*nostrae regionis res praeclarae gesta cessarunt*). Since the author concludes at that particular point of time, his work cannot have been written much later than the middle of the first century before Christ. It consisted, according to Eusebius, of six books.—We meet with many individuals bearing the name of Castor during the time of Caesar and Cicero. But it is doubtful whether the chronographer is to be iden-

tified with any of these, and so nothing can with certainty be determined as to the circumstances of his life.

The fragments are collected by Müller in the Appendix to the edition of Herodotus, Paris 1844, Appendix, pp. 153–181. —Eusebius mentions the work in the list of his authorities in the following terms: “The six books of Castor, in which he collects materials for history from the ninth to the one hundred and eighty-first Olympiad.”—The termination of the work is precisely stated in passages expressly quoted by Eusebius. “We set down in order the consuls, beginning with Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, and ending with Marcus Valerius Messala and Marcus Piso, who were consuls in the times of Theophrastus, archon of Athens” (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 295).—“The archons of Athens end with Theophrastus, in whose days the famous deeds and the renown of our land were brought utterly to an end” (Euseb. *Chron.* i. 183).

Compare generally, Müller, *Herodotus*, Paris 1844, Appendix, pp. 153–155.—Westermann in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, ii. 207 f.—Bornemann, *De Castoris Diodori Siculi chronicis fonte ac norma*, Lübeck 1878.—Stiller, *De Castoris libris chronicis*, Berlin 1880.—Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, ii. 1, 1885, pp. 63–79; on the person of Castor, p. 70 ff.

C.—JOSEPHUS.

Josephus, whose works form a principal authority for our history, gives in his *Life* and in the *History of the Wars of the Jews* several important particulars from the story of his own career. He was born at Jerusalem in the first year of the reign of Caligula, A.D. 37–38.¹ His father was called Matthias, and was descended from a distinguished priestly

¹The first year of Caligula's reign extends from 16th March A.D. 37 down to 16th March A.D. 38. Since Josephus, at the close of his *Antiquities*, makes his fifty-sixth year synchronize with the thirteenth year of Domitian, which extended from 13th September A.D. 93 to 13th September A.D. 94, he cannot have been born before 13th September A.D. 37. His birth therefore falls between 13th September A.D. 37 and 16th March A.D. 38. Compare Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 98.

family, whose ancestors Josephus can trace back to the times of John Hyrcanus. One of his forefathers, called Matthias, had married a daughter of the high priest Jonathan (= Alexander Jannaeus?). See *Life*, 1, and *Wars of the Jews*, preface 1; *Antiquities*, xvi. 7. 1. The young Josephus obtained a careful rabbinical education, and even as a boy of fourteen years old had acquired so great a reputation for his knowledge of the law, that the high priests and the chief men of the city came to him in order to receive from him instruction in regard to difficult points of law. Yet he was not himself satisfied with such attainments, but, on his attaining his sixteenth year, made a pilgrimage through the various schools of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. But even this did not suffice to quench his thirst for knowledge. He now withdrew into the wilderness, and visited a hermit called Banus, in order to receive from him the finishing stroke in his education. After he had spent three years with him, he returned to Jerusalem, and in his nineteenth year openly joined the party of the Pharisees (*Life*, c. 2). In his twenty-sixth year (μετ' εἰκοστὸν καὶ ἑκτὸν ἐνιαυτόν), which corresponds to A.D. 64,² he took a journey to Rome in order to obtain the release of certain priests nearly related to him, who had been carried thither as prisoners on account of some trifling matter. Having, by means of an introduction from a Jewish actor Alityrus, secured the favour of the Empress Poppaea, he succeeded in securing the end he had in view, whereupon he returned to Judea laden with rich presents (*Life*, c. 3). Soon after his return, in A.D. 66, the war against the Romans broke out. At first Josephus kept himself clear of all connection with the war (*Life*, c. 4); and this indeed was quite possible, since the Jewish aristocracy in general entered this outbreak only under compulsion. But the fact is that Josephus, after the first decisive battles had taken place,

² Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolisch. Zeitalters*, p. 98.

attached himself to the revolution party, and indeed became one of its leaders. He was entrusted by the directors of the movement with the most important post of a commander-in-chief of Galilee (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 4; *Life*, c. 7). From that time onward his doings and fortunes are closely joined with those of the Jewish people, and therefore form a component part of the history of the Jewish war. Compare *Life*, c. 7-74; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 4-21. 10; iii. 4. 1, 6. 3-8. 9; ix. 1. 5, 6. His performances as commander-in-chief of Galilee came to an end by his being taken prisoner by the Romans after the fall of the fortress of Jotapata in A.D. 67 (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 7-8). When he was carried before Vespasian, he prophesied to him his future elevation to the imperial throne (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 9; *Life*, c. 75). But when, two years later, in A.D. 69, Vespasian was in very deed proclaimed emperor by the Palestinian legions, and the prophecy of Josephus was thus fulfilled, Vespasian remembered his prisoner, and as a thank-offering granted him his freedom (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 7). From this time onward Josephus, as custom required, assumed the family name of Vespasian "Flavius" along with his own. After being proclaimed emperor, Vespasian hastened first of all to Alexandria (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 5), to which place Josephus accompanied him (*Life*, c. 75). Thence Josephus returned to Palestine in the retinue of Titus, to whom Vespasian had committed the continuation of this war, and remained in the company of Titus down to the close of the war (*Life*, c. 75; *Treatise against Apion*, i. 9). During the siege of Jerusalem he was obliged, by order of Titus, often at the great risk of his own life, to negotiate with the Jews for a surrender (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 3. 3, 6. 2, 7. 4, 9. 2-4, 13. 3; vi. 2. 1-3, 2. 5, 7. 2; *Life*, c. 75). Once while engaged on such an errand he was struck by a stone, so as to be rendered unconscious (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 13. 3). When, after the capture of the city, Titus allowed

him to take whatever he would, he took only some sacred books, and obtained the release of many of the prisoners who were his friends, among whom was his own brother. Three who had been already crucified were again taken down at his request, one of whom recovered (*Life*, c. 75). When his property in Jerusalem was required by the Roman garrison, Titus gave him in place of it another in the plain (*Life*, c. 76). At the conclusion of the war he went with Titus to Rome, where he continued to reside, pursuing his studies and engaged in literary work amid the unbroken favour of the emperor. The Jewish priest was now transformed into a Greek literary man. Vespasian assigned him a residence in what had formerly been his own palace, bestowed on him the rights of Roman citizenship, and granted him a yearly pension (*Life*, c. 76; compare Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 18: *primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit*). He also presented him with a splendid estate in Judea. On the suppression of the Jewish outbreak in Cyrene, the captive leader of the insurrection, Jonathan, gave the names of many prominent Jews as being accomplices with him, and among these was the name of Josephus. He said that Josephus had sent him weapons and money. But Vespasian gave no credence to this false charge, and continued to show favour to Josephus (*Life*, c. 76; *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 11. 1-3). Like favour was enjoyed by Josephus under Titus, A.D. 79-81, and under Domitian, A.D. 81-96. The latter granted him exemption from tribute in respect of his estate in Judea (*Life*, c. 76). Nothing is known as to his relation to the later emperors. We also know equally little as to the precise time of his death. This much only is certain, that he was still alive in the first decade of the second century. For the autobiography was written after the death of Agrippa II. (*Life*, c. 65). But Agrippa died in the third year of Trajan, A.D. 100 (Photius, *Biblioth. cod.* 33).—According

to a statement by Eusebius (*Ecclesiast. History*, iii. 9), Josephus was honoured in Rome by the erection of a statue.

In regard to his family connections, Josephus gives us the following details. During the days of John Hyrcanus his forefather Simon the Stammerer lived. He belonged to the first of the twenty-four orders of priests, therefore to the order of Jehoiarib. Simon's son was Matthias, called Ephias, who married a daughter of the high priest Jonathan (= Alexander Jannaeus?). Of this marriage was born Matthias Curtus, in the first year of Hyrcanus II. The son of Matthias Curtus was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra (?). His son was Matthias, the father of our Josephus, born in the tenth year of Archelaus (*Life*, c. 1).³—The parents of our Josephus were still alive in the time of the great war. While he was commander-in-chief in Galilee, he obtained through his father news from Jerusalem (*Life*, c. 41). During the siege of Jerusalem his parents were within the beleaguered city, and were, because regarded as untrustworthy, kept in prison by the revolutionists (the father, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 13. 1; the mother, *Wars*, v. 13. 3; comp. also v. 9. 4 at the end). On the capture of the city he obtained the release of his brother from a Roman prison (*Life*, c. 75). This is supposed to have been his full brother Matthias, who had been educated along with him (*Life*, c. 2). According to the *Wars of the Jews*, v.

³ The genealogy, as given in the received text of the *Life*, contains several impossibilities. If Josephus' father, Matthias, was born in the tenth year of Archelaus, A.D. 6, then his son Joseph could not have been born in the ninth year of Alexandra, B.C. 69. Here we meet with either an oversight of Josephus or a corruption of the text. If we assume that Joseph, the grandfather of our Josephus, was born somewhere about B.C. 30, in the ninth year of Herod, then Matthias Curtus will have been born under Hyrcanus, in his first year, and we shall have to understand this of Hyrcanus II., who was high priest in B.C. 78. The mother of Curtus cannot then have been the daughter of Jonathan, the first of the Maccabees, who died in B.C. 143-142, but only a daughter of Alexander Jannaeus, who died B.C. 78, and who was also called Jonathan. Josephus has indeed said of this Jonathan his forefather that he "was the first of the sons of Asmoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon, the high priest also." But we may reasonably suspect that Josephus has erroneously added this explanatory note to the name of the high priest Jonathan as he found it in the list of his forefathers. If Alexander Jannaeus is meant, it will also harmonize with the statement that Simon the Stammerer lived under John Hyrcanus.

9. 4 at the end, his wife also was in the city during the siege. In all probability this was his first wife, of whom there is no mention elsewhere. As Vespasian's prisoner of war, he had at his command married a captive Jewess from Caesarea. But she left him during his stay with Vespasian in Alexandria. He then, again, in Alexandria married another (*Life*, c. 75). By this last he had three sons, of whom at the time of his writing his autobiography only one survived, Hyrcanus, who was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian (*Life*, c. 1 and 76). Still during Vespasian's reign, he got divorced from this wife and married a Jewess of noble family in Crete, who bore him two sons: Justus, born in the seventh year of Vespasian, and Simonides, with the surname of Agrippa, born in the ninth year of Vespasian. Both of these were alive when Josephus wrote his life (*Life*, c. 1 and 76).

To the literary leisure of Josephus at Rome we are indebted for those works, without which our history could scarcely have been written. They comprise the four following:—

1. THE WARS OF THE JEWS, *Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου*, as Josephus himself entitles the work in his *Life*, c. 74.^{3a} It is divided into seven books, a distribution which, as appears from *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 6, xviii. 1. 2, it owes to Josephus himself. The proper history of the war is preceded by a very comprehensive introduction, which occupies the whole of the first book and the half of the second. The first book begins with the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 175–164, and reaches down to the death of Herod, B.C. 4. The second continues the history down to the outbreak of the war in A.D. 66, and gives an account of the first year of the war, A.D. 66–67. The third treats of the war

^a Similarly *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 2: "In the second book of the Jewish War" (ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου). In the manuscripts the title usually runs *περὶ ἀλώσεως*. This title, which certainly was not given the book by Josephus, is first met with in Jerome, who, in his Commentary on Isaiah, c. 64, says: "which Josephus, a writer of Jewish history, explains in seven books, to which he gave the title, 'Of the Jewish Captivity,' that is, *περὶ ἀλώσεως*." Compare also *Epist.* 22, *ad Eustochium*, c. 35; *adv. Jovinian.* ii. 14; *de viris illustribus*, c. 13.

in Galilee in A.D. 67; the fourth of the continued course of the war down to the complete isolation of Jerusalem; the fifth and sixth describe the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem; the seventh relates the events that followed the war, down to the destruction of the last smouldering embers of the revolution.—From the preface to this work (c. 1) we learn that it was originally written in the author's mother tongue, therefore in Aramaic, and only at a later period re-written by him in Greek. In order to re-write it, he took lessons in Greek composition (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9). As main authority for the story of the war proper, he relies upon his own experience, since he had been either actively engaged in, or was at least an eye-witness of, the events recorded. Even during the siege of Jerusalem he had taken down notes in writing, for which he drew upon the statements of survivors as to the state of matters within the city (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9). When the work was completed, he handed it to Vespasian and Titus, and had the satisfaction of being assured by them, as also by King Agrippa II. and many Romans who had taken part in the war, that he had reported the facts correctly, and with absolute fidelity to the truth (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9; *Life*, c. 65). Titus with his own hand wrote an order for the publication of the book (*Life*, c. 65). Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters, in which he gave testimony to the truthfulness of the narrative. During the composition of the work, Josephus had submitted to him book by book, and had obtained favourable opinions from him (*Life*, c. 65).—Since the completed work was submitted to Vespasian (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9), it must have been written during his reign, A.D. 69–79; but not until near the close of that reign, for other works had been written on the Jewish war before this one by Josephus (*Wars of the Jews*, Preface, c. 1. *Antiquities*, Preface, c. 1).

2. THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, 'Ιουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, in twenty books, treat of the history of the Jewish people from the earliest times down to the outbreak of the war with the Romans in A.D. 66. The division into twenty books was also the work of Josephus himself (*Antiq.* conclusion). The first ten books run parallel with the biblical history, and reach down to the end of the Babylonian captivity. The eleventh carries the history down from Cyrus to Alexander the Great; the twelfth from Alexander the Great, who died B.C. 323, down to the death of Judas Maccabee in B.C. 161; the thirteenth down to the death of Alexandra in B.C. 69; the fourteenth down to the beginning of the reign of Herod the Great in B.C. 37; the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth treat of the reign of Herod, B.C. 37-4; the last three books carry us on to the year 66 after Christ.—The work, according to many parenthetic statements, was completed in the thirteenth year of Domitian, when Josephus was in his fifty-sixth year, that is, in A.D. 93 or 94 (*Antiq.* xx. 11 at the close). He had been encouraged to carry it on to the end, especially by a certain Epaphroditus, a man whose lively interest in science and literature is enthusiastically praised by Josephus.⁴—That the entire work was intended, in the first instance, not for Jewish but for Greek and Roman readers, and that its aim mainly was to afford the cultured world some idea of

⁴ To this Epaphroditus Josephus also dedicates his *Life*, see c. 76, and the *Treatise against Apion*, see i. 1 and ii. 41.—Two men of the name of Epaphroditus are known to have lived at this time. The one was a freedman and secretary of Nero, and was put to death by Domitian (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 55; Suetonius, *Nero*, 49; *Domitian*, 14; Dio Cassius, lxiii. 29, lxvii. 14; Suidas' *Lexicon*, under 'Επίκρητος). The other was a grammarian, who lived in Rome from the time of Nero down to that of Nerva, and collected a great library (Suidas' *Lexicon*, under 'Επαφροδίτος. Compare also Fabricius, *Biblioth. graec.*, ed. Harles, i. 512, 582, iii. 815). Many regard the one first named as identical with the patron of Josephus. But this is impossible, since the latter must

the much calumniated Jewish race, must appear evident from its general form and character, and is expressly declared even to superfluity by Josephus himself (*Antiq* xvi. 6. 8).

As authorities, Josephus employed for the earlier periods down to Nehemiah, about B.C. 440, almost exclusively the canonical books of the Old Testament. As a native of Palestine, he displays in his use of them, in many ways, his knowledge of the Hebrew language. Yet he makes use commonly of the Greek Septuagint translation. To such an extent is this the case, that Josephus uses those parts of the books of Ezra and Esther which appear only in the LXX. (see Div. ii. vol. iii. 179, 182; Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 69–79). His reproduction of the Jewish history is written from the following points of view:—(1) Not infrequently modifications are made in an apologetical interest, something offensive is omitted or smoothed down, and the history is set forth in the form best fitted to glorify the nation. (2) For the latter purpose Josephus had the help of the older legends, the so-called Haggada. The influence of that literature is seen chiefly in the history of the patriarchs and of Moses. (3) Josephus, it would seem, had not derived this Haggadic adornment wholly from oral tradition, but in part from the older Hellenistic reproductions of the biblical history by Demetrius, Artapanus, and others.⁵ (4) In his exposition of the law he follows the

have lived beyond the time of Domitian. Much more likely would the grammarian have been; but even this could be only on the supposition that he survived to the beginning of the reign of Trajan. The name Epaphroditus was by no means rare. See the Roman sepulchral monuments, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vi. 17181–17194.

⁵ On the influence of Demetrius, see Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, pp. 46, 49, note 61, note 63. On that of Artapanas: Freudenthal, pp. 160, note, 169–171. On both: Bloch, *Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 53–62. Josephus knew neither of them at first hand, but only through the medium of Alexander Polyhistor. See Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 197 ff.

Palestinian Halacha. For examples, see Div. ii. vol. i. 330-339. (5) In several particulars the influence of Philo is very observable.⁶ (6) He does not scruple to draw upon extra-biblical authors in order to illustrate, fill up, and confirm the Scripture history. This is specially the case with his treatment of the history of primitive times, and also of that of the latest periods, where it became largely mixed up with the history of neighbouring nations.⁷

On the post-biblical period he has made his inquiries and set forth his information in an extremely unequal and disproportionate manner. In filling up the great gap between Nehemiah and Antiochus Epiphanes, from B.C. 440 to B.C. 175, Josephus depends almost entirely upon two legendary productions, namely, the Alexander legends and the pseudo-Aristeas, from whom he gives a lay extract (xii. 2). For the period B.C. 175-135 the First Book of Maccabees is the principal source, which indeed towards the close is used in so slight a way that it becomes doubtful whether Josephus could have had before him a complete copy of that work (see Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 9).⁸ It is supplemented by Polybius (xii. 9. 1),⁹ and, for the period beyond that at which Poly-

⁶ See Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 278-281. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, p. 218. On the other side: Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 117-140. Drummond, *Philo of Alexandria*, London 1888.

⁷ In the first ten books the following non-biblical writers are quoted: i. 3. 6, Berosus, Jerome, Mnaseas, Nicolas of Damascus; i. 3. 9, Manetho, Berosus, Mochus, Hestiaeus, Jerome, Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, Nicolas; i. 4. 3, Sibylla, Hestiaeus; i. 7. 2, Berosus, Hecataeus, Nicolas; i. 15, Malchus, from Alexander Polyhistor; vii. 3. 2, Homer; vii. 5. 2, Nicolas; viii. 5. 3, Menander, Dios; viii. 6. 2, Herodotus; viii. 10. 2-3, Herodotus; viii. 13. 2, Menander; ix. 14. 2, Menander; x. 1. 4, Herodotus, Berosus; x. 2. 2, Berosus; x. 11. 1, Berosus, Megasthenes, Diocles, Philostratus.

⁸ As to whether Josephus made use of the Greek text of the First Book of Maccabees, see Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 9, and literature given there. On the way in which he used it, see Grimm, *Exeget. Handb. zum ersten Makkabäerb.* p. 28 ff.

⁹ See Nussbaum, *Observationes in Flavii Josephi Antiquitates*, lib. xii. 3-

bius stops, B.C. 146, by those authorities from which the history of the Asmoneans generally, down to B.C. 135, is derived. For this period Josephus evidently was without any written documents of Jewish origin. He therefore obtained his materials by culling from the general historical works of the Greeks any statements that he discovered bearing upon the history of Palestine. His chief authorities for the period B.C. 135-37 were two historians often, and indeed almost exclusively, quoted by him: Strabo (xiii. 10. 4, 11. 3, 12. 6; xiv. 3. 1, 4. 3, 6. 4, 7. 2, 8. 3; xv. 1. 2) and Nicolas of Damascus (xiii. 8. 4, 12. 6; xiv. 1. 3, 4. 3, 6. 4). In recent times the idea has been indeed expressed by many, that the very fact of these authors being so frequently quoted by Josephus shows that they were not his chief sources, and that the citations are to be regarded as interpolations, inserted only for the purpose of supplementing the text afforded by unnamed leading authorities made use of by him.¹⁰ But such a view would only lead one into inexplicable confusion. Josephus borrows his whole material from these authors, and then refers to particular passages of special importance, which he quotes in order to show that they state the author in the same way that he does. Or where the citations are really an interpolation in the given text, Josephus follows the one and supplements it from the other. Of any deeper laid foundation, an unnamed principal source, not the least vestige can be found. The careful method of weighing his evidence which characterizes Strabo, and is so conspicuous in his geography, is quite discernible in particular passages where he is not named, as in several statements about xiii. 14 (1875), pp. 8-28. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 96-100. Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, p. 45 ff.

¹⁰ So Niese in *Hermes*, xi. 1876, p. 470 ff. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, p. 92 ff. Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, p. 53 ff.

numbers, xiii. 12. 5.¹¹ Then, again, that these two base their conclusions upon earlier authorities is self-evident. For the first half of the period under consideration, B.C. 135–85, most probably Posidonius would prove the most reliable source (see above, pp. 49, 50). Also in passages borrowed from Strabo we find references to Timagenes (xiii. 11. 3, 12. 5), Asinius Pollio, and Hypsikrates (xiv. 8. 3). Josephus has scarcely made use of Livy, who is only once named (xiv. 4. 3). But the material obtained in this way from Strabo and Nicolas was supplemented by Josephus in respect of the internal Jewish history from narratives which, by reason of their contents, deserve to be characterized as legends, and from the general framework of the narrative we may see that they are plainly taken as such (xiii. 10. 3, 10. 5–6; xiv. 2. 1). These are evidently derived from oral tradition.—For the history of Herod, it is admitted on all hands that Nicolas of Damascus is the principal authority (comp. xii. 3. 2; xiv. 1–3; xvi. 7. 1; and above, pp. 58–63). It would seem that the short sketch given in the *Wars of the Jews* is drawn exclusively from him. Also the detailed account given in the *Antiquities*, books xvi. and xvii., produces the impression of having been derived from one source. On the other hand, in book xv. seams and joinings are apparent, which point to the employment of two sources; and indeed, in addition to Nicolas, it is evident that Josephus made use of another authority unfavourable to Herod. Whether Josephus had himself seen the Commentaries of King Herod, mentioned in the *Antiquities*, xv. 6. 3, is at least extremely questionable (compare above, p. 56).—Full and detailed as the treatment of the history of Herod is, it is very noticeable that the history of his immediate successor is extremely defective. It seems almost as if

¹¹ Compare also against that view my notices of Bloch and Destimon in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1879, 567 ff., and 1882, 388 ff.

Josephus had at this point been deprived of all written sources of information. It is only when we come to the reign of Agrippa I., A.D. 41–44, that the narrative enters again more into detail. Here he would be once more in possession of abundance of oral tradition, for he would then be informed about the reign of Agrippa I. by his son Agrippa II. For the history of the last decade preceding the war, he would be able to rely upon his own personal recollections. The quite unparalleled completeness with which the events, even those which do not relate to the Jewish history, occurring in Rome at the time of Caligula's death, and at the beginning of the reign of Claudius in A.D. 41, are narrated, is very remarkable (xix. 1–4). There can be no doubt that this portion of the history is borrowed from a special source by the hand of a contemporary. But we are unable to arrive at any more definite conclusions from the absence of any sure standing ground.¹² Josephus paid very particular attention to the history of the high priests. From what he here states, we are able to determine the uninterrupted succession of high priests from the time of Alexander the Great down to the destruction of the temple by Titus. It might be conjectured that for this purpose he would have had at his command, at least from the time of Herod the Great, the original priestly documents. For great importance was attached to the preservation of the register of the generations of the priests, and great care taken of it (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 7).¹³—Finally, of great value are the State

¹² Mommsen in *Hermes*, iv. 1870, pp. 322, 324, and after him Schermann, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus in der jüdischen Archäologie*, Buch xviii.–xx. 1887, p. 52, suppose that the historical work of Cluvius Rufus, who, according to *Antiq.* xix. 1. 13, was himself an eye-witness, would be a principal source. The quotations preserved to us from this work, however, refer only to the time of Nero and the incidents of the year 69. See Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 314. 2.

¹³ Comp. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, p. 147 ff.; Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, p. 29 ff.

papers which Josephus frequently embodies in his narrative (xiii. 9. 2, xiv. 8. 5, xiv. 10, xiv. 12, xvi. 6, xix. 5, xx. 1. 2). The most numerous of these are those of the time of Caesar and Augustus, which granted to the Jews the privilege of the free observance of their religion.¹⁴

3. THE LIFE OR AUTOBIOGRAPHY. It does not by any means present us with an actual account of the life of Josephus, but treats almost exclusively of the part which he played as commander-in-chief of Galilee in A.D. 66-67, and indeed only of the measures which in that situation he took preparatory to the grand hostile encounter with the Romans (c. 7-74). The short biographical notices of the beginning and end of the work (c. 1-6, 75-76) form only introduction and conclusion to this principal part of the contents. According to the remarks at the close of the *Antiquities*, Josephus had then the intention of carrying on the account

¹⁴ Whether Josephus actually copied these State papers is uncertain. He makes it appear as if he had seen them all together in the great archives of the Capitol. "For since we have produced evident marks, that may yet be seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that these marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the Capitol that are still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down as needless and disagreeable," *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 26; comp. also xiv. 10. 1. This library, after having been destroyed by fire during the conflicts of the year A.D. 69 (Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 71, 72; Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 15; Dio Cassius, lxxv. 17; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 4), was again restored by Vespasian. Suetonius, in the 8th chapter of his *Vespasian*, says: "Ipse restitutionem Capitoli adgressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit; aerarumque tabularum tria milia, quae simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit, undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis." But in that library only a small part of the documents communicated by Josephus could ever have been, only indeed the Roman papers, probably only the decrees of the Senate; certainly not the decrees of the cities of Asia Minor of which Josephus communicates a large number

of the war and "our fortunes," the story of the Jewish people "down to the present day." "And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what befell us therein to this very day," *Antiq.* xx. conclusion. In fact, the *Life* is represented as an Appendix to the *Antiquities*. It begins with the enclitic δέ, which attaches it to the preceding work, and concludes with the words: "To thee, O Epaphroditus, the most excellent of men, do I dedicate all this treatise of our *Antiquities*, and so for the present I here conclude the whole." Also the position of the *Life* in the manuscripts is immediately after the *Antiquities*. Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 10. 8 f.) quotes a passage from the *Life* with the remark that the words occur "at the close of his *Antiquities*;" and in all extant manuscripts, with only one exception, the *Life* is joined with the *Antiquities*. It would, however, be a great mistake to regard the statement at the end of the *Antiquities* as having reference to the *Life*. Josephus there has in view

Compare Mommsen, *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* i. p. 112; also Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 2, 1888, pp. 1004-1021. The documents were no doubt collected together from various places—from Rome, Asia Minor, probably also from Palestine. Through the regular intercourse that took place between the Jewish communities, Josephus could easily have obtained from the several colonies of the Jews the State papers that bore upon their interests. In the collecting of these he proceeded very carelessly. Sometimes they are but mere fragments which Josephus communicates. Since in the speech delivered by Nicolas of Damascus before M. Agrippa, on his arrival in Asia Minor, in favour of the Jews residing there (*Antiq.* xvi. 2. 4), reference is made to the older Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, Niese conjectures that the documents communicated by Josephus had been previously collected by Nicolas of Damascus, and had been borrowed by Josephus from his work (*Hermes*, xi. 1876, pp. 477-483). But this is not probable, for among them there are certainly found some documents of more recent date (xvi. 6. 2 and 7; see Niese, p. 480), and one referring to the Jews of Cyrene, and therefore of no consequence to those of Asia Minor (xvi. 6, 5).—On the genuineness of the documents, which is now generally doubted, see Egger, *Études historiques*, Paris 1866, p. 163.

the continuing of the history of the Jews down to the present time. The *Life*, however, is anything but a fulfilment of such a proposal. It was apparently called forth by the publication of another history of the Jewish war by Justus of Tiberias (see on him, above, pp. 64–69). That author had represented Josephus as the real organizer of the outbreak in Galilee. This was extremely inconvenient to Josephus now that he occupied a position of eminence in Rome. And so he now writes a counterblast, in which he casts all the blame on Justus, and makes himself pose as the friend of the Romans. The attempt is pitifully weak, for Josephus cannot avoid mentioning deeds which prove the very opposite of what he desires to make out. With this self-vindication which he had been driven to make he joined a few biographical notices by way of introduction and conclusion, and then published the whole as an Appendix to his *Antiquities*. The earlier scheme was therefore abandoned and quite a different one substituted for it. In spite, then, of the *dé* that would attach it immediately to the other work, the *Life* must have been written a long time subsequent to the *Antiquities*. Now the *Life* assumes that Agrippa II. was already dead (c. 65). But Agrippa died, according to Photius, *Biblioth. cod.* 33, in the third year of Trajan, A.D. 100. If, then, the composition of the *Life* must be set down as at least after A.D. 100, that will be in perfect harmony with the other facts of the case, and there will be no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement of Photius or to set it aside as unsupported, because the *Life* must have been written immediately after the *Antiquities*.¹⁵

¹⁵ The correctness of the statement has been questioned by many. Grätz seeks to point out a confusion by making the words of Photius, "he died in the third year of Trajan," refer, not to Agrippa, but to Justus of Tiberias, which from the context is quite impossible. Niese, too, without solving the difficulty, maintains that the *Life* was written in the days of Domitian.—The correctness of the reading in Photius is confirmed

4. THE TREATISE AGAINST APION, or, On the Extreme Antiquity of the Jewish People, in two books. This work is not solely, not even in any part of it mainly, directed against the grammarian Apion and his calumniating of the Jewish people, but rather generally against the venomous attacks and the prejudices, in many instances absurd enough, from which the Jews of those days suffered. It is a careful and well-conceived Apology for Judaism, skilfully and ably wrought out. The numerous quotations given from authors whose works are now lost lend it an altogether special interest. On the writers whose statements are contested by Josephus, see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 249–262. The title “Against Apion” is certainly not the original one. Porphyry in his *De abstinentia*, iv. 11, cites the work under the title πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας; the earliest Church Fathers (Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 16, iv. 11; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 9; *Praeparatio evangel.* viii. 7. 21, x. 6. 15) refer to it under the title περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος. Both titles are probably equally old and equally well authenticated, for the demonstration of the antiquity of the Jewish people is, in fact, the main point insisted upon in the Apology. In the *Codex Peirescianus* of the excerpts of Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *de virtutibus*, we meet with the superscription περὶ παντὸς ἡ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων,—a singular blending of right and wrong. The title *contra Apionem* first appears in Jerome in *Epist.* 70 *ad Magnum oratorem*, c. 3; *de viris illustr.* c. 13; *adv. Jovinian.* ii. 14. In the last-named passage he transcribes the above quoted sentence of Porphyry, but substituted for Porphyry’s title the one that has now become current. For the full

by the fact that Syncellus places the beginning of the literary activity of Justus in the beginning of the reign of Trajan, and undoubtedly for this reason that his Chronicle was carried down to that date. But according to Photius it went down to the death of Agrippa II. The coins also prove that Agrippa lived down to at least the year 95. Compare generally, § 19, Appendix.

statement of Jerome, see Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 201.¹⁶—As Josephus in this work quotes from his *Antiquities* (i. 1 and 10), the *Treatise against Apion* must have been written later than A.D. 93. It is, like the *Antiquities* and the *Life*, dedicated to Epaphroditus (i. 1, ii. 41).

Besides these four works, many of the Church Fathers ascribe to Josephus the so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees, or the treatise *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*. The spirit of it is certainly very similar to that of Josephus. It is written from the standpoint of Pharisaic Judaism with a varnish of Greek philosophy. But it may be accepted as certain that Josephus was not its author. See Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 244–247.

The writing described by Photius, *Bibliotheca cod.* 48, as bearing in the manuscripts the three different titles, *Ἰωσήπου Περὶ τοῦ παντός, Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας, Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας*, is of Christian origin, and belongs to the author of the *Philosophumena*, who, in c. x. 32, quotes it as his own under the title *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας*. The author of both was probably Hippolytus, among whose works in the list on the Hippolytus statue a treatise *περὶ τοῦ παντός* is also named. See Volkmar, *Hippolytus und die römischen Zeitgenossen*, 1855, pp. 2 ff., 60 ff. Besides Photius, many other writers refer to this treatise as a work of Josephus. So, for example, John Philoponus in *De mundi creatione*, iii. 16; John of Damascus, *Sacra parall. Opp.* ii. 789 ff., and John Zonaras, *Annal.* vi. 4.

A considerable fragment of this treatise was published first by David Höschel in his edition of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius in 1601, then by Le Moyne in his *Varia sacra*, i. 53 ff., where he maintains the position that it was written by Hippolytus; by Ittig and Havercamp in their editions of Josephus; in

¹⁶ Compare on the title, Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit*, 1866, p. 154 f. J. G. Müller, *Des Fl. Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion*, p. 17.

Fabricius, *Hippolyti Opp.* i. 220–222; in Gallandi, *Biblioth. patr.* ii. 451–454, and in Migne, *Patrol. gr.* x. 795–802. It has been issued in a more complete form, according to *codex Baroccianus*, in Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, vol. i., and Lagarde, *Hippolyti quae feruntur*, 1858, pp. 68–73. A specimen of the text according to three Vatican manuscripts is given by Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, ii. 1884, p. 269 f. Compare generally, Salmon in article on Hippolytus in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 100. Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, 2nd ed. ii. 157 ff. Caspari, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, iii. 395 ff.

At the close of the *Antiquities* Josephus says that he had the intention of writing “these books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and His essence; and about our laws,—why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do and others are prohibited.” (κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τέσσαρσι βίβλοις περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων, διὰ τί κατ’ αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν τὰ δὲ κεκώλυται.) By this he certainly does not mean so many different works, as these words have been understood by many, but only one work, which should treat of the essence of God and the rational interpretation of the Mosaic law, in a way similar to Philo’s systematic exposition of the legislation of Moses. Compare Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 338–348. In the earlier books of the *Antiquities*, too, he frequently refers to this work as one contemplated by him (Preface 4, i. 1. 1, 10. 5; iii. 5. 6, 6. 6, 8. 10; iv. 8. 4, 44). But it seems never to have been actually written.

Many of the formulae of reference used in the *Antiquities* are obscure, seeming, as they do, to imply that Josephus had also written a work on the history of the Seleucidae. He often remarks, for example, that what is briefly related by him is narrated in more detail in another place.¹⁷ Where this is done by the passive formula, “as has been related

¹⁷ The most thorough examination of these passages will be found in Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 21–23.

elsewhere" (καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται), the reference might quite naturally be supposed to be to the historical works of the writers (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 1; xii. 10. 1; xiii. 4. 8, 8. 4, 13. 4; xiv. 6. 2, 7. 3, 11. 1). But not infrequently Josephus distinctly uses the first person, "as we have informed the reader elsewhere" (καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν, *Antiq.* vii. 15. 3; xii. 5. 2; xiii. 2. 1, 2. 4, 4. 6, 5. 11, 10. 1, 10. 4, 12. 6, 13. 5). Of these citations four may be explained as references to other portions of the works of Josephus known to us. *Antiq.* vii. 15. 3 may refer to *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 5; *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 1 may refer to c. 7. 1 of the same book; *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 4 may refer to *Wars*, vii. 10; and *Antiq.* xiii. 3 and xiii. 13. 5 may refer to *Antiq.* iii. 10. 4. But so far as the rest are concerned, no such parallels can be thought of. All of them refer to the history of the Seleucid dynasty from Antiochus Epiphanes down to the end of the second century before Christ (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 2; xiii. 2. 1, 2. 4, 4. 6, 5. 11, 12. 6). Seeing, then, that nothing is known of a history of the Seleucids written by Josephus, Destinon in his *Quellen des Josephus*, pp. 21–29, ventures to guess that all these formulae of reference may have been already in the sources used by Josephus, and that he simply transcribed them without change to his own pages. Such procedure would indeed be somewhat extraordinary, but the conjecture is not to be thrown aside without further examination. This at least can be adduced in its favour, that occasionally similar formulae of reference are met with in the *Antiquities* and to the parallel passages in the *Wars of the Jews*, although both works were produced independently of one another from common sources. Compare *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3 at the beginning, with *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 8; and *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3 at the end, with *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 9. On the other hand, in some of the passages in question, the writer, immediately after or before

speaking in the first person, is certainly Josephus himself (so in xii. 5. 2 and xiii. 12. 6). These doubtful formulae, too, are precisely the same in form as those which unquestionably proceed from Josephus (xiii. 10. 4, 13. 5). It is therefore scarcely possible to do more than pass a verdict of *non liquet*.

On the character of Josephus and his credibility as a historian, the most widely divergent opinions have been entertained. In early times and during the Middle Ages he was, as a rule, very highly prized; Jerome, for example, styling him the "Greek Livy."¹⁸ Modern criticism has run to the precisely opposite extreme of depreciation. It will probably be found that the truth lies midway between these extremes. No one will now be inclined to undertake the vindication of this character. Vanity and self-sufficiency are the main elements in his composition. And even had he not been the base and dishonourable betrayer of his native country that he at a later period in his *Life* declared himself to be, he at least carried out the transference of his allegiance to the Romans and his attachment to the imperial family of Flavius with more dexterity and equanimity than was becoming in an Israelite who pretended to mourn over the destruction of his people. As a writer, too, he has his great weaknesses. But to be quite fair, one must admit that his principal weakness as a writer is not to his discredit as a man. He writes with the purpose of glorifying his own nation. With such a design he invests the earlier history of the Jews with a halo of romance. His description of their later history, too, is dominated by the same intention. The Pharisees and Sadducees are philosophical schools which concern themselves with the problems of freedom and immortality. The Messianic hope, which, on account of the political claims which became attached to it, had proved the most powerful incentive to rebellion against Rome, is passed

¹⁸ *Epist.* 22 *ad Eustochium*, c. 35 : *Josephus, Graecus Livius*.

over in absolute silence, for it is his wish not to represent the people as enemies of the Romans. The war against Rome was not engaged upon by the will of the people, but they were only driven into it by some fanatics. In all these directions the historical statement of Josephus presents us with a distorted picture. In other respects, his several works are of very varied and unequal importance. The *Wars of the Jews* is unquestionably much more carefully compiled than the *Antiquities*. It gives an account, going into the minutest details of events, the credibility of which we have no reason to doubt. The long speeches which Josephus puts into the mouth of his heroes are, of course, free rhetorical productions, and we must not take his numbers too exactly. But these faults are shared by Josephus with many ancient historians, and they do not affect the credibility of the works in other respects. Only what he says about the circumstances of his being taken prisoner at Jotapata, in *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8, must be excepted from this favourable judgment.—The case is considerably different as regards the *Antiquities*. That work was evidently much more carelessly prepared than the history of the *Wars of the Jews*. This is specially true about the last books, of which it has been remarked that when writing them the author must have been utterly wearied. And not only is the work carelessly done, but also the sources are often used with great freedom and the utmost arbitrariness, at least where we are in a position to criticize them. This is not calculated to produce much confidence in regard to the use of those sources that we can no longer verify. Yet here, too, we meet with occasional evidence of his having subjected his sources to critical examination (*Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3, xvi. 7. 1, xix. 1. 10, 1. 14). As might be expected, the value of the work in its various sections varies according to the sources that had been used. By far the most faulty production is undoubtedly the *Life*,—an attempt

made with singular blindness to turn facts upside down, by proving that while he had organized the rebellion in Galilee he had always maintained his allegiance to the Romans.

In the Christian Church from the earliest times Josephus was diligently read, since his works afforded a suitable and convenient summary of the history of the Jewish people. The *testimonia veterum* regarding Josephus are gathered together in Havercamp's edition in the Prolegomena to the first volume.

In the West, Josephus became known mainly through a Latin translation of his complete works, with the exception of the *Life*, and by a free paraphrase of the *Wars of the Jews*. On the history of the origin of these texts we have statements from the following witnesses:—1. Jerome, *Epist.* 71 *ad Lucinium*, c. 5, says: "The rumour that has reached you that the books of Josephus and of St. Papias and St. Polycarp have been translated by me is false, for I have had neither the leisure nor the strength to render these writings with the same elegance into another tongue."—From this it follows not only that Jerome had made no translation of Josephus, but also that in his time the works of Josephus, or at least some parts of them, were still untranslated, otherwise the need of such a performance would not have been felt.—2. Cassiodorius, *De institutione div. lit.* c. 17, says: "As Josephus, almost a second Livy, is widely known by his books on the Antiquities of the Jews, whom Jerome, writing to Lucinus Baeticus, declares that he had not been able to translate on account of the size of his voluminous work. Yet one of our own friends has translated the work into Latin in twenty-two books," *i.e.* twenty books of Antiquities and the two books against Apion, "who also wrote other seven books on the captivity of the Jews with wonderful brilliancy, the translation of which some ascribe to Jerome, others to Ambrose, others to Rufinus; and its being ascribed to such men sufficiently proves the excellency of its style."—From this it may be assumed as certain that the extant Latin translation of the *Antiquities* and the *Treatise against Apion* were made at the suggestion of Cassiodorius, that is to say, in the sixth century after Christ. But there seems no ground whatever for attributing this translation, as has commonly been done after the example of St. Bernard, to a certain Epiphanius, whose name was probably suggested by the fact that Cassiodorius, two sentences farther on, ascribed to him the reproduction of the *historia tripartita*.—It is uncertain

whether the remarks of Cassiodorius in reference to the *Bellum Judaicum* refer to the Latin translation which is generally ascribed to Rufinus, or to the free Latin paraphrastic rendering which in the various editions bears the name of Hegesippus. The designation of the work as a translation might apply to either production. For even the free rendering has been spoken of as a translation (compare the superscription in *cod. Ambrosianus*: *Ambrosius ep̄i de grego transtulit in latinum*). But what Cassiodorius says about its style favours the reference to the work of Hegesippus. For although Rufinus also wrote in good Latin, the expression *dictionis eximiae merita* could only be correctly applied to the work of Hegesippus written in the Sallustian style. If the latter be intended, then these two results would follow from the words of Cassiodorius: 1. That this work was anonymous, for Cassiodorius knew only of conjectures as to its author. 2. That the literal translation was not yet in existence in the time of Cassiodorius; for had it been so he would not have been silent regarding it, and have mentioned only the free rendering, since he distinctly states that care had already been taken to translate the *Wars of the Jews* into Latin. Before this question can be decided with certainty, it would be necessary to inquire whether the older Latin writers down to the ninth century, from which the oldest manuscripts of Rufinus are dated, make use of the *Wars of the Jews* in the form of the so-called Rufinus or in that of the so-called Hegesippus translation. That the literal translation was the work of Rufinus is in any case highly improbable, since in the catalogue of Rufinus' translations by Gennadius, *De viris illustr.*, no translation of Josephus is mentioned.

The free Latin rendering of the *Wars of the Jews* in the various editions bears the name of Egesippus or Hegesippus. This is certainly only a corruption of Josephus: in Greek, Ἰώσηπος, Ἰώσηππος, Ἰώσιππος; in Latin, Josepus, Joseppus, Josippus. The name "Egesippus" is not found in the manuscripts of Josephus earlier than the ninth century. In the earliest references the work is quoted simply under the name of Josephus; as, for example, in Eucherius in the fifth century, and now in Widukind, the historian of the Saxons, in the tenth century. Also in the oldest manuscripts, an *Ambrosianus* of the seventh and eighth centuries and a *Cassellian* of the eighth and ninth centuries, only Joseppus Josephus is named in the inscriptions on the columns as the author. In addition, at an early date the names of Ambrosius and

Hegesippus were given. In the somewhat more recent part of the *cod. Ambrosianus*, eighth and ninth centuries, the inscription of the first book runs: "*Josippi*," corrected by a later hand into "*Egesippi*," "*liber primus explicit.*" *Incipit secundus.* *Ambrosius epi de greco transtulit in latinum.* A *codex Bernens* of the ninth century names Hegesippus, a *Palat.-Vatican* of the ninth and tenth centuries names Ambrose; yet more modern manuscripts sometimes the one and sometimes the other. An interesting passage is brought forward by Traube in the *Rhein. Museum*, xxxix. 1884, p. 477, in a letter of the Spaniard Alvarus of the ninth century, in which he says to an opponent: *scito quia nihil tibi ex Egesippi posui verbis, sed ex Josippi vestri doctoris*, where he refers to a passage in the work ascribed to our Hegesippus! He knew the work therefore only under the name of Josephus, but his opponent had known it under the name of Hegesippus.—In this state of matters the idea of an Ambrosian authorship need not be seriously entertained. It is a mere conjecture, which has been suggested simply from the circumstance that Ambrose, as well as Jerome and Rufinus, acted a leading part in transmitting Greek theological literature to the West. The work certainly had its origin in the days of the great bishop of Milan, the second half of the fourth century, but was produced most probably not by him, as the thorough investigations of Vogel in his *De Hegesippo*, 1881, tend to show.—The text of Josephus is there treated with great freedom,—in many places abbreviated, in many places expanded. The seven books of Josephus are compressed into five.—The first edition appeared in Paris 1510. The work has been often since reprinted. The best edition is: *Hegesippus qui dicitur sive Egesippus de bello Judaico ope codicis Cassellani recognitus*, ed. Weber, *opus morte Weberi interruptum absolvit Caesar*, Marburg 1864.—Compare generally: Gronovii *Observatorum in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis Monobiblos*, 1651, capp. 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, 24.—Oudin, *De script. eccl.* ii. 1722, col. 1026–1031.—Fabricius, *Biblioth. lat. mediae et infimae aetatis* iii. 1735, pp. 582–584.—Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 433. 5–6.—Mayor, *Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature*, 1875, p. 179.—Vogel, *De Hegesippo qui dicitur Josephi interprete*, Erlangen 1881. Also: *Ὁμοιότητες* Sallustianae (in *Acta seminarii philolog. Erlangensis*, i. 1878).—Also in *Zeitschrift für die oesterreich Gymnas.* 1883, pp. 241–249.—Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, ii. 1, 1887, pp. 194–200.—Rönsch, *Die lexikalischen Eigenthümlichkeiten der Latinität des sogen. Hegesippus* (*Romanische Forschungen*,

Bd. i. 1883, pp. 256–321).—Also: Ein frühes Citat aus dem lat. Hegesippus (*Zeitschrift für Wissensch. Theol.* 1883, pp. 239–241).—Traube, Zum latein. Josephus (*Rhein. Museum*, Bd. xxxix. 1884, p. 477 f.).

The Latin translation of the works of Josephus was first printed by John Schüssler in Augsburg in 1470. From that time down to the appearance of the first Greek edition, the number of printed editions of the Latin rendering was very great; the last with which I am acquainted was issued in 1617. The Latin translations which after that date for the most part accompanied the Greek original, are modern productions; only the edition of Bernard, which was never carried to completion, gives the old Latin version. The best edition of the old Latin version is that of Basel 1524. The later ones are in various places corrected after the Greek text. More particulars about the character of this translation and its editions are given in the prolegomena of Ittig, Havercamp, and Niese, and in Fürst, *Biblioth. Jud.* ii. 118 ff.—A manuscript of the Latin translation of the *Antiquities* vi.–x. (with blanks), of importance owing to its age, the sixth and seventh centuries, and its material, papyrus, has been found in the Ambrosiana in Milan. On it see Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae*, iii. 919 ff.; Reifferscheid, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Kl.*, Bd. lxvii. 1871, pp. 510–512. Niese, *Josephus opp.* i. p. xxviii.

A Syriac translation of the sixth book of the *Wars of the Jews* is contained in the great Peschito manuscript of the Ambrosiana in Milan, and is there given as the Fifth Book of Maccabees. It has been published in a complete form, with notes by Ceriani, in the *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti*, 2 vols., Milan 1876–1883.—Compare Kottek, *Das sechste Buch des Bellum Judaicum, nach der von Ceriani photolithographisch edirten Peschitta-Handschrift übersetzt und kritisch bearbeitet*, Berlin 1886. The view there maintained is that this Syriac translation was made, not from the Greek, but from the Aramaic original of Josephus. See the opposite view upheld in the *Lit. Centralbl.* 1886, pp. 881–884.

On the free Hebrew rendering of Josephus known under the name of Josippon or Joseph son of Gorion, see below in the account of the rabbinical literature.

On the manuscripts of the Greek text the Prolegomena of the earlier editions gave very insufficient information. The manuscript material was first examined in a thorough manner by Niese. But the Prolegomena that have up to this time been published with the first volume of his edition, 1887, only

undertake to deal with the manuscripts of the first ten books of the *Antiquities*. The following sketch of the most important manuscripts of the complete works has been most kindly handed over to me by Niese for publication at this place (compare also on his researches: Edersheim in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. 1882, p. 450 ff.):—

“The several works of Josephus were issued separately. The *Antiquities* also fell again into two divisions, each of which, in respect of its transmission, has a history of its own.

“The numerous manuscripts of the *Wars of the Jews* fall into two principal classes. The most important representatives of the first are the *Parisinus gr.* 1425, the *Ambrosianus D. super.* 50, both from the eleventh century, and *Marcianus* 383, from the twelfth century. The second class has three different types. As representative of the first type may be mentioned the *Vatican* 148, the *Palatino-Vatican* 284, and the *Lipsiensis*. To the second type belongs the *Laurent. plut.* 69, *cod.* 19; and to the third, the *Urbinas n.* 84. All these manuscripts, the most perfect specimens of the several kinds, belong to the eleventh century, only the *Palatino-Vatican* to the twelfth. Of the two classes the first named is the better. Besides the Greek text there is also the old Latin version commonly ascribed to Rufinus, which is at least a pre-Cassiodorian translation, belonging exclusively to neither of these two classes, but attaching itself in many passages to the superior class. Also the still older free Latin rendering of Ambrose, the so-called Hegesippus version, comes under consideration for the purposes of criticism and history of the text.

“The manuscripts of books i.–x. of the *Antiquities* also fall into two classes: the first and better, extant in two specimens, the *Parisin.* 1421 and the *Bodleianus miscell. gr.* 186; and the second, which embraces all the other manuscripts, of which we may mention the *Marcianus gr.* 381, *Vindobon. hist. gr.* 2, *Parisin.* 1419, and *Laurent. plut.* 69, *cod.* 20.

“Less directly marked are the distinctions of classes in the second division of the *Antiquities*, books xi.–xx., together with the *Life*. The oldest and best of the manuscripts is the *Palatino-Vatican n.* 14, of the tenth century, in which indeed the last three books, xviii.–xx., are wanting, while the *Life* is still preserved. Next to it come the *Ambrosianus F.* 128 *sup.*, of the eleventh century, the *Laurent. plut.* 69, *cod.* 10, of the fifteenth century, the *Laurent. plut.* 69, *cod.* 20, and the *Leidensis F.* 13. The last two named have only books xi.–xv. In these manuscripts the documentary sources in book xiv. 10 are per-

fectly preserved. The rest, among which the *Vatican* 147 may be specially mentioned, want these either wholly or in part.

“For the history of the transmission of the *Antiquities*, an *Epitome*, extant in several manuscripts, and made use of by Zonaras, is of importance. It may have been drawn up somewhere in the ninth or tenth century. For the first edition it follows the inferior class of texts, and for the second it assumes a middle position.—The *Antiquities*, too, were translated into Latin on the suggestion of Cassiodorius. The text lying at the basis of this translation was for the first division a representative of the inferior class; but in the second division it rests sometimes upon this manuscript, sometimes upon that. The *Life* is to be found neither in the *Epitome* nor in the translation.

“Finally, of the Books *against Apion*, there is only one Greek manuscript that comes into consideration, the *Laurentianus* *plut.* 69, *cod.* 22, of the eleventh century. Besides this, the Cassiodorian Latin translation, which appears in a fragmentary form in all printed copies, is of very great critical value. Of special value, too, are the quotations of Eusebius, which restore to us several isolated passages of this important work.”

EDITIONS AND LITERATURE.

The first edition of the Greek text of the works of Josephus were published by Frobenius and Episcopius at Basel in 1544, under the direction of Arnold Peraxylus Arlen.—It was followed by the Genevan editions of 1611 and 1634.—At Leipzig, in 1691, the title falsely bearing the name *Coloniae*, appeared the edition of Ittig with learned Prolegomena.—An edition by Bernard, *Antiquitatum Jud. libri quatuor priores et pars magna quinti, De bello Jud. liber primus et pars secundi*, Oxoniae 1700, which made use of a new collection of manuscripts, and was accompanied by a rich exegetical apparatus, was never completed.—Hudson was the first to issue an improved text of the whole works according to the manuscripts, 2 vols. fol., Oxonii 1720.—Havercamp issued a repertory of everything that had previously been discovered, and also new collections, but not an improved text, in 2 vols. fol., Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, 1726. The editions of Oberthür, in 3 vols., Lips. 1782–1785, and Richter, 6 vols., Lips. 1826–1827, follow closely that of Havercamp.—Dindorf in his edition, 2 vols., Paris 1845–1847, here and there amended the text from materials supplied by Havercamp.—Bekker in his edition, in 6 vols., Lips. 1855–1856, followed Dindorf.—In none

of these editions, not even in those of Hudson and Havercamp, is the manuscript apparatus presented with anything like completeness. None of the editors above named since Havercamp gave themselves any concern with the manuscripts. Only for the *Bellum Judaicum* Cardwell issued a separate edition of a creditable kind, for which he had examined at least a portion of the better manuscripts: *Flavii Josephi De bello Judaico libri septem*, ed. Cardwell, 2 vols., Oxonii 1837. —A comprehensive collection of all the better manuscripts was first undertaken quite recently by Niese. Of his critical edition, which gives a thorough reconstruction of the text of Josephus on the basis of the manuscripts, two volumes have up to this time appeared, containing the first ten books of the *Antiquities*: *Flavii Josephi opera edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Bened. Niese*, vols. i. ii., Berol. 1887, 1885. He has also issued a smaller edition of the text only, without the critical apparatus: *Flavii Josephi opera recognovit B. Niese*, vols. i. ii., Berol. 1888. The *Life* appeared in a separate edition by Henke, Brunswick 1786. — Compare generally on the editions: Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec.*, ed. Harles, v. 31 ff. Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica*, ii. 117 f. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, iii. 1862, pp. 480–484.

On Textual Criticism: Ernesti, *Observationes philologico-criticae in Aristophanis nubes et Flav. Josephi antiqu. Jud.*, Lips. 1795.—Holwerda, *Emendationum Flavianarum specimen*, Gorinchemi 1847. Also: *Observationes criticae in Flavii Josephi Antiquitatum Judaicarum librum XVIII.* (Mnemosyne, 1853, pp. 111–141). — Bekker, *Varianten zum Josephus*, in *Monatsberichte der Berlin. Akad.* 1860, pp. 224–230. — Westermann, *Excerptorum ex bibliothecae Paulinae Lipsiensis libris manu scriptis pars altera*, Lips. 1866. — Wollenberg, *Recensentur LXXVII. loci ex Flavii Josephi scriptis excerpti qui ex conlectaneis Constantini Augusti Porphyrogenetae περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας in codice Peiresciano extant*, Berlin 1871. — Dindorf, *Ueber Josephos und dessen Sprache* (*Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* Bd. 99, 1869, pp. 821–847). — Naber, *Observationes criticae in Flavium Josephum*, in *Mnemosyne*, xiii. 1885, pp. 263–284, 352–399.

Translations. On the older translations, see what has been said above. More recent Latin translations are given in the editions of Hudson, Havercamp, Oberthür, and Dindorf. — An English translation of the whole works of Josephus was made by Whiston, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, and published by him in 1737. Though by no

means invariably correct in its rendering, nor in any sense ■ critical work, its serviceableness and general popularity are shown by the numerous editions through which it has passed. An admirable translation of the *Wars of the Jews* has been made by Traill, *The Jewish War of Flavius Josephus, a new translation by R. Traill, edited by Isaac Taylor*, London 1862. Before the publication of the Greek editions a German translation from the Latin was made by Caspar Hedio, Strassburg 1531; then revised by the same after the Greek text, Strassburg 1561. On other German translations of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec.*, ed. Harles, v. 31, 38, 48; Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica*, ii. 121–123. There need here only be mentioned the translations of the whole works by Ott, Zürich 1736; Cotta, Tübingen 1736; Demme, *Josephus' Werke, übers. von Cotta und Gfroerer; das Ganze von neuem nach dem Griechischen bearbeitet, etc., durch C. R. Demme*, 7th ed., Philadelphia 1868–1869. The translation of the *Antiquities* by Martin, 2 vols., Cologne 1852–1853, 2nd ed. by Kaulen, 1883; of the 11th and 12th books of the *Antiquities* by Horschetzky, Prague 1826; of the 13th book of the *Antiquities* by the same translator in 1843; of the *Jewish War* by Friese, 2 vols., Altona 1804–1805; by Gfroerer, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1836; and by Paret, 6 vols., Stuttgart 1855. Translations of the *Life* by Eckhardt, Leipzig 1782; by Friese, Altona 1806; by M. J. in the Library of Greek and Roman writers on Judaism and the Jews, vol. ii., Leipzig 1867. Of the *Treatise against Apion* by Frankel in the *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1851–1852, with some abbreviation; by Paret, Stuttgart 1856; and by M. J. in Library of Greek and Roman writers on Judaism and the Jews, vol. ii. 1867. On other translations into English, French, Italian, etc., see Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graec.*, ed. Harles, v. 30 ff.; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 123–127.

General Literature on Josephus (the earlier literature given in Fabricius: *Bibliotheca Graec.*, ed. Harles, v. 49–56; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 127–132).—Vossius, *De historicis Graecis* (ed. 1, 1624), ii. 8, ed. Westermann, 1838, pp. 238–243.—Haverkamp's edition, ii. 2, p. 57 ff.—Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, i., Paris 1729, pp. 552–580.—Cave, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*, i., Oxonii 1740, pp. 32–36.—Meusel, *Bibliotheca historica*, i. 2, 1784, pp. 209–236.—Oberthür in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, ed. Harles, t. v. 1796, pp. 1–64.—Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, ii. 1821, Anhang, pp. 55–73.—Schöll, *Geschichte der griech. Literatur*,

ii. 1830, pp. 383–389. — Lewitz, *Quaestionum Flavianarum specimen*, Regiom. Pr. 1835. By the same, *De Flavii Josephi fide atque auctoritate*, Königsberg 1857. — Hoëvell, *Flavii Josephi vita; quatenus per vitae opportunitates ad conscribendam historiam atque antiquitatem Hebraicam idoneus fuit?* etc., Traj. ad Rh. 1835. — Chasles, *De l'autorité historique de Flavius-Josèphe*, Paris 1841. — Egger, *Examen critique des historiens anciens de la vie et du règne d'Auguste*, Paris 1844, pp. 189–209. — Bähr, art. "Josephus" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclop. der class. Alterthumswissensch.* ii. 1846, pp. 242–244. — Creuzer, *Josephus und seine griechischen und hellenistischen Führer* (*Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1853, pp. 45–86). — Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.'s*, 1881, § 15. — Paret, art. "Josephus" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* 1 Aufl. Bd. vii. 1857, pp. 24–29. — Farrar, article "Josephus" in Kitto, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*. — On relation of St. Peter to Josephus: Farrar in *Expositor*, second series, vol. iii. p. 403 ff.; E. A. Abbott in *Expositor* for January 1882; Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London 1885, pp. 638–649. — Edersheim, article on "Josephus" in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. 441–460. — Terwogt, *Het leven van den joodschen geschiedschrijver Flavius Josephus*, Utrecht 1863. — Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 ed., iv. 56–74. Also: Ueber den jüdischen Geschichtschreiber und Staatsmann Flav. Josephus (Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschr.* Bd. xii. 1864, pp. 285–314). — Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. vii. 492 ff., viii. 68–75. — Baerwald, *Josephus in Galiläa, sein Verhältniss zu den Parteien insbesondere zu Justus von Tiberias und Agrippa II.*, Breslau 1877.

On the theological and philosophical standpoint of Josephus: Bretschneider, *Capita theologiae Judaeorum dogmaticae e Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta*, Viteb. 1812. — Gfroerer, *Philo*, ii. pp. 356–367. — Dähne, *Jüd.-alex. Religionsphilosophie*, ii. 240–245. — Lutterbeck, *Die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe*, i. 1852, pp. 410–412. — Gerlach, *Die Weissagungen des A. T.'s in den Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, 1863, pp. 6–19. — Poznanski, *Ueber die religionsphilosophischen Anschauungen des Flavius Josephus*, Breslau 1887. — Lewinsky, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der religionsphilosophischen Anschauungen des Flavius Josephus*, Breslau 1887. — Drummond, *Philo-Judaeus: or the Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion*, 2 vols., London 1888.

On the Old Testament Canon that lay before Josephus (especially in regard to the *Treatise against Apion*, i. 8), compare the Introductions to the Old Testament of Hävernicks, Keil, vol. ii. pp. 138–140; De Wette, Bleek, ii. 307–309. — Robertson Smith

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, Edin. 1881, pp. 149 f., 408.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, viii. 337 ff., 346, 361.—Dillmann (*Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, 1858).—Strack, art. "Kanon des Alten Testam.," in Herzog, 2 Aufl. Bd. vii. 1880.—Treuenfels in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, x. 1849, xi. 1850.—Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 478–480.

On the use of the original Hebrew text and the Septuagint: Carpzov, *Critica sacra*, Lips. 1748, pp. 945–954.—Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache und Schrift*, 1815, pp. 80–82.—Spittler, *De usu versionis Alexandrinae apud Josephum*, Gotting. 1779.—Scharfenberg, *De Josephi et versionis Alexandrinae consensu*, Lips. 1780.—Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 8–22.—Siegfried, *Die hebräischen Worterklärungen des Josephus* (in Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestam. Wissensch.* 1883, pp. 32–35).—A list of the Hebrew etymologies of Josephus is also given in Vallarsi's edition of Jerome, iii. 745–752.

On the treatment of the biblical history of Josephus: Ederheim in article "Josephus" in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. pp. 454–457.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 120.—Hartmann, *Die enge Verbindung des A. T.'s mit dem Neuen*, 1831, pp. 464–514.—Burger, *Essai sur l'usage que Fl. Josephus a fait des livres canoniques de l' A. T.*, Strasburg 1836.—Gerlach, *Die Weissagungen des A. T. in den Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, 1863.—Duschak, *Josephus Flavius und die Tradition*, Wien 1864.—Plaut, *Flavius Josephus und die Bibel*, Berlin 1867.—Tachauer, *Das Verhältniss des Fl. Josephus zur Bibel und zur Tradition*, Erlangen 1871.—Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, 1879, pp. 23–53.—Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iii. 2, pp. 12–41, 1883.—Olitzki, *Flavius Josephus und die Halacha*, 1 Thl. 1885.—Grünbaum, *Die Priestergesetze bei Flavius Josephus*, 1887.

On the chronology of Josephus, especially for the earlier periods: Brinch, *Chronologiae et historiae Fl. Josephi examen Hafniae* 1701 (also in Havercamp's *Josephus*, ii. 2, 287–304).—Spanheim in Havercamp's *Josephus*, ii. 2, 407 f.—Carpzov, *Critica sacrae*, pp. 954–957.—Junker, *Ueber die Chronologie des Flavius Josephus*, Conitz 1848.—*The Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. v. 1850, pp. 60–81.—*Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, vol. vii. 1858, pp. 178–181.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, ii. p. 371.—Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs und Babel's*, 1857, pp. 105–109, 347–360.—Kuenen, *De staamboom van den masoretischen tekst des O. Testaments (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der koninkl. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Tweede reeks, deel iii.* 1873, pp. 289–339;

on Josephus, p. 321 ff.).—Destinon, *Die Chronologie des Josephus*, Kiel 1880.

On the sources of the second half of the *Antiquities*: Nussbaum, *Observationes in Flavii Josephi Antiquitates*, lib. xii. 3–xiii. 14. Dissertat. inaugur. 1875.—Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in seiner Archaeologie*, Leipzig 1879.—Destinon, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in der Jüd. Archaeologie*, Buch xii.–xvii. = *Jüd. Krieg*, Buch i., Kiel 1882.—Schemann, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in der jüdischen Archaeologie*, Buch xviii.–xx. = Polemos ii., cap. vii.–xiv., 3 Dissert. 1887.

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For the literature on the so-called witness to Christ in *Antiquities*, xviii. 3. 3, which, as a rule, also deals with Josephus more generally, see below at § 17.

On the geographical views of Josephus: Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. i. pp. 408–415, and elsewhere throughout the work.—Raumer, *Palästina*, 4th ed. 1860, pp. 466–471.—Berggren, *Flavius Josephus der Führer und Irreführer der Pilger im alten und neuen Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1854. Arnold, *Die Bibel, Josephus und Jerusalem; Sammlung und Beleuchtung aller Stellen der Bibel und des Josephus, welche auf die Topographie Jerusalem's Bezug nehmen*, 2 Abth., Halle 1865–1866.—For the explanation and criticism of the geographical statements: Boettger, *Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, Leipzig 1879.

For the illustration of the *Treatise against Apion*: Cruice, *De Flavii Josephi in auctoribus contra Apionem afferendis fide et auctoritate*, Paris 1844.—Creuzer, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1853, p. 64 ff.—Kellner, *De fragmentis Manethonianis quae apud Josephum contra Apionem*, i. 14 et i. 26 sunt, Marburgi 1859.—Zipser, *Des Flavii Josephus Werk*, “Ueber das hohe Alter des jüdischen Volkes gegen Apion,” nach hebräischen Originalquellen erläutert, Vienna 1871.—J. G. Müller, *Des Flavii Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion, Text und Erklärung*, Basel 1877.

D.—GREEK AND ROMAN WRITERS.

We are not required here to take into consideration all the Greek and Roman writers who may have made any sort of contribution to our history, but only those who have contributed something of considerable and permanent value. The Greek and Roman historians whose works are still preserved, afford us only a few notices in regard to the special history of the Jewish people. Of much greater importance are the hints respecting the general characteristics of Judaism which we gather from contemporary authors, especially from satirists like Horace and Juvenal. But of yet higher value are the statements made by those historians who give special consideration to the history of Syria during the reign of the Seleucidae and the Roman period. For the history of Palestine during our period is most intimately linked with the general history of Syria. The historians who treat of the history of that country are therefore to be ranked among the authorities for our history. The most important of these are the following:¹—

¹ Modern editions of the original texts of the authors here named are issued in the collections of Didot in Paris and of Teubner in Leipzig.—Bibliographical lists of editions and literature regarding each are given by Engelmann, *Bibliotheca scriptorum classicorum*, 8th ed. by Preuss, 2 vols. 1880–1882.—A good estimate of these writers will be found under their several names in Nicolai, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. 1873–1878, and Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, 2 vols. London.

1. *Greek Writers.*

1. POLYBIUS of Megalopolis in Arcadia. He was one of the thousand distinguished Achaeans who in B.C. 167, under suspicion of being ill-affected toward Rome, were transported to Rome, and were detained there, or at least in Italy, for seventeen years. During his long residence in Rome, the conviction gained possession of him that there was a divine reason and need-be for the sovereignty of the Romans. He gave expression to this idea in his great historical work, which in forty books described the gradual upbuilding of the Roman Empire and universal supremacy from B.C. 220 to B.C. 146. Of these only the first five books are preserved in a complete form; of the rest we have only fragments, more or less extensive, contained for the most part in the collection of excerpts by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus. For the purposes of our history, only the best fifteen books, xxvi.—xl., come into consideration. In book xxvi. c. 10, Polybius enters first upon the history of Antiochus Epiphanes.

2. DIODORUS. This historian was born at Agyrium in Sicily, hence called *Siculus*, and lived during the reigns of Caesar and Augustus. He wrote a large universal history of all times and peoples, which he entitled *Βιβλιοθήκη*. It consisted of forty books, covered a period of eleven hundred years, and reached down to the conquest of Gaul and Britain by Caesar. Of this work there still remain books i.—v., giving the early history of Egypt and Ethiopia, of the Assyrians and the other peoples of the East, as well as the Greeks; books xi.—xx., from the beginning of the second Persian war, B.C. 480, down to the history of the successors of Alexander the Great, B.C. 302; of the other books we have only fragments, for the most part preserved in the collection of excerpts by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus. Some of these fragments have been brought to light only in recent publications by Mai, Müller, and Feder.—

For our purpose only the fragment from book xxix. 32, given in Müller, *Fragmenta histor. graecor.* ii., comes into consideration, where for the first time mention is made of Antiochus Epiphanes.

3. STRABO of Amasia in Pontus lived from about B.C. 60 to A.D. 20 ; but we cannot precisely determine the date either of his birth or of his death. Of his works we possess only the *Γεωγραφικά*, in seventeen books, written toward the end of his life, well known as a principal source of information in regard to ancient geography. Among the numerous historical notices interspersed in this great work, we meet with many which are of importance for the history of Syria. In his description of Palestine, xvi. 2. 25–46, Strabo has used, besides other authorities, one which treated of the state of affairs during the ante-Pompeian age, for he speaks of Gaza, which was destroyed by Alexander Jannaeus, as *μένουσα ἔρημος* (xvi. 2. 30), without mentioning that it had been rebuilt by Gabinius ; see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 70. Also, according to the authority used by him, the forcible Judaizing of Joppa and Gazara (Gadara) are fresh in the memory (xvi. 2. 28–29). These statements were perhaps derived from Posidonius, from whom Strabo here frequently quotes.

4. PLUTARCH was born about A.D. 50 at Chaeronea in Boeotia. Trajan bestowed on him consular rank, and Hadrian appointed him Procurator of Greece. We also know that in his native city he filled the office of Archon, and repeatedly presided at the festival of the Pythian Apollo. He died about A.D. 120.—Of his works we have to do with the Biographies, *βίοι παράλληλοι*, of distinguished men of Greece and Rome, of whom generally two, the one a Greek, the other a Roman, are placed alongside of one another. Somewhere about fifty of these are preserved, among which those of Crassus, Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, and Antony are of special interest in connection with our history.

5. APPIAN. Of Appian's life very little is known. He

says of himself at the conclusion of his historical work:² "I am Appian of Alexandria, who attained to the highest position of honour in my own land, and as a jurist conducted processes at Rome before the justiciary courts of the emperor, until the members of court deemed me fit to be made their procurator." From various passages in his works, it appears that he lived under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. The composition of his historical work falls in the time of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 150. It treats of the history of Rome, in twenty-four books. Instead of the synchronistic method, Appian chose to follow rather the ethnographic, "because he wished to give the history of events in each separate country in an unbroken narrative down to the time of its union with Rome. Thus he gives also the history of Rome in a series of special histories of the various lands and people that had been combined with the Roman Empire, describing in detail the history of each from the period of its first contact with Rome down to the time of its absorption into the empire, and then sketching in a brief style the incidents of more recent times" (Bähr in Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.*). Of the twenty-four books, the following are extant:—Of books i.—v. and ix., only fragments, but in a complete form; book vi. *Ἰβηρική* (*scil.* *ιστορία*), vii. *Ἀννιβαϊκή*, viii. *Λιβυκή καὶ Καρχηδονική*, xi. *Συριακή καὶ Παρθική* (of which the part on the Parthian history is lost), xii. *Μιθριδάτειος*, xiii.—xvii. *Ἐμφύλια* (that is, the Civil War), xxiii. *Δακική* or *Ἰλλυρική*. The extant five books on the Civil War, xiii.—xvii., are usually cited as *Appian. Civ.* i. ii. iii. iv. v.; the other books being named according to their contents as *Libyca* (or *Punica*), *Syriaca*, etc.

6. DIO CASSIUS, or, more correctly, Cassius Dio, was born at Nicaea in Bithynia about A.D. 155. He spent the period

² Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἤκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ρώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἤξίωσαν.

of his public life in Rome, and occupied successively the positions of aedile, quaestor, praetor, and, about A.D. 221, Consul. He administered the province of Africa as Proconsul. In A.D. 229 he retired from official life. We have no information at all regarding his later days or about the date of his death.—His great work on Roman history was most probably composed about A.D. 211–222, but it was continued by him down to A.D. 229. It consisted of eighty books, and comprised the whole Roman history from the arrival of Aeneas at Latium down to the year 229 after Christ. The following portions are still preserved:—Of the first thirty-four books only short fragments; more considerable pieces of books xxxv. and xxxvi.; books xxxvii.–liv. inclusive are complete, treating of the wars of Lucullus and Pompey with Mithridates, down to the death of Agrippa in B.C. 12, of books lv.–lx. inclusive, we have considerable portions; but of the rest, books lxi.–lxxx., we have only an epitome made by Xiphilinus in the eleventh century; while for the first thirty-four books we have not even this.

2. *Latin Writers.*

1. CICERO was born on 3rd January B.C. 106, at Arpinum, and died on 7th December B.C. 43, a victim of the proscriptions of Antony and Octavian. Cicero's Orations and Epistles are generally recognised as a main source of information on the history of his times, and especially on the history of Syria during the years B.C. 57–43.

2. LIVY was born at Patavium (Padua) in B.C. 59, and died in the same place A.D. 17. His great historical work treated of the history of Rome from the founding of the city down to the death of Drusus, in 142 books. Of these, only thirty-five have been preserved, namely, the first, third, fourth decade, and the first half of the fifth. For the purpose of our history only the first half of the fifth decade comes into con-

sideration. It comprises books xli.—xlv., dealing with the period B.C. 178—167. The summary of contents of the books that are lost, relating to more recent times, is still of some value to us.

3. **MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.** Augustus at his death left behind him, besides other writings, a review of the most important incidents in his reign, recorded on tablets of brass, and intended to be set up before his Mausoleum (Suetonius, *Aug.* 101: *indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulus, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur*). This review has come down to us almost complete in consequence of its having been engraved, according to the Latin text, and in a Greek translation, on the marble walls of the temple of Augustus at Ancyra in Galatia. What is there wanting in the Latin text is so far supplied by the fragments of the Greek translation that only unimportant blanks remain. Another copy of the Greek text is found in a temple at Apollonia in Pisidia, whereof also extracts are still preserved.—This comprehensive documentary memorial is, together with the histories of Dio Cassius and Suetonius, our chief authority for the reign of Augustus.—The most recent and most correct editions are: 1. Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, etc., 1862–1872, pl. 25–29; 2. *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* iii. 1873, pp. 769–799, 1054, 1064; 3. Bergk, *Augusti rerum a se gestarum indicem*, ed. 1873; 4. Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti, ex monumentis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi iterum edidit; accedunt tabulae undecim*, Berol. 1883, with a thoroughly comprehensive and informing commentary.

4. **TACITUS** was born about A.D. 55, and was praetor in A.D. 88, and Consul in A.D. 98. The date of his death is unknown. He seems to have been still alive at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, and may therefore have died somewhere about A.D. 120.—Of his historical works, the *Annals*, which in sixteen or eighteen books—their exact number is not certainly known—treated of the times of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero,

that is, of the period from A.D. 14 to A.D. 68, are admittedly the most important original authority for the history of these times, and so, too, for the history of Syria. They are arranged annalistically, so that they afford a sure determination of the chronology. A great piece is wanting in the middle. There are extant: books i.-iv. complete, v. and vi. partly, and xi.-xvi. defective at the beginning and the end. The portions preserved embrace the period of Tiberius, the second half of the reign of Claudius and that of Nero, with the exception of its close.—Of his other great work, the *History*, which consisted of twelve or fourteen books, dealing with the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, that is, from A.D. 68 to A.D. 96, only a fragment remains, books i.-iv. and a part of book v., treating of A.D. 68–70. Of special interest for us is Book v. 1–13, where Tacitus, by means of a few graphic strokes, gives a sketch of the history of the Jewish people down to the war with Titus.

5. SÜETONIUS. In regard to his life-course, we know that his youth synchronizes with the reign of Domitian, A.D. 81–96; that he had the rank of tribune conferred upon him during the reign of Trajan, A.D. 98–117; and that under Hadrian, A.D. 117–138, he was made *magister epistolarum*, but afterwards received his dismissal from that emperor. Among his writings only the *Vitae XII. Imperatorum* come into consideration in connection with our history. The *twelve Imperatores* are: *Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian*.

6. TROGUS POMPEIUS (JUSTINUS) wrote under Augustus a universal history from Ninus down to his own times, in forty-four books, with special reference to the history of Macedonia and the Diadochen dynasty, full of material, carefully compiled and resting on good Greek authorities.—The work itself is lost. Only the lists of contents or *prologi* of the forty-four books are preserved, and an *epitome* which a certain

Justinus, probably in the age of the Antonines, drew up. Even this short epitome is itself so full of material, that it forms for us an important source of information regarding the Seleucid period.

E.—THE RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

Compare specially: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832.—For the bibliography: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, 4 vols. 1715–1733.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, 3 vols. 1849–1863.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berol. 1852–1860.—Zedner, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum*, London 1867.—Strack, *Bibliographischer Abriss der neuhebr. Litteratur*, in *Lehrb. der neuhebr. Sprache und Litt.*, by Siegfried and Strack, 1884, p. 93 ff.

By “Rabbinical Literature” we understand that literature which has grown up out of the professional labours of the Rabbis or scribes. These labours consisted, not indeed exclusively, but mainly, in learned discussions and criticism of the Scriptures. Of such productions we have two different classes. On the one hand, some have discussed the law hypercritically in the jurist style; on the other hand, some have expanded and developed the sacred history and religious and ethical views by means of learned combinations. The productions of the first sort constitute the Halacha, or the traditional law; the productions of the second kind form the Haggada, or the legends, embracing religious and moral contents. For further information about both, see § 25, III.

The Halacha and Haggada were transmitted for the first hundred years by oral tradition only. In the Halacha strict adherence to literal accuracy in the transmission was insisted upon; whereas in the Haggada, greater freedom was given to subjective opinion and imagination. The final fixing of both in numerous and comprehensive literary works makes up what we style the Rabbinical Literature. The origin of this literature

dates almost without exception from the earliest years of the period immediately after that treated in our history. Only the Haggadic treatment of Genesis, which is known under the name of the *Book of Jubilees*, belongs to our period; as do also the earliest, but no longer extant, contributions to the Halacha. But almost the whole of the rabbinical literature that has been preserved reaches no farther back than the last decade of the second century after Christ. It is nevertheless an invaluable source for the times of Christ, for the fountain of the there fixed traditions is to be sought away back, not merely in the times of Christ, but in yet earlier periods.

The Halacha has been written down partly in close connection with the Scripture text, therefore in the form of commentaries upon Scripture, partly in systematic order, grouping the materials under various headings according to the subjects dealt with. The works belonging to the latter class very soon obtained the pre-eminence. They embrace—1. The Mishna; 2. The Tosephta; 3. The Jerusalem Talmud; 4. The Babylonian Talmud. They may be comprehended under the general designation of Talmudical Literature. In all of them Haggada is mixed up with Halacha; this blending being most conspicuous in the Babylonian Talmud, and least discernible in the Mishna.

The Haggada makes its appearance mainly in the form of commentaries on the Scripture text. The Halachic, as well as the Haggadic commentaries, may be comprehended under the general name of Midrashim.

The traditional conception of the Scripture text is given expression to in the Aramaic translations or the Targums. They too, therefore, are to be mentioned here, although in the form in which they have come down to us they are probably to be dated about one hundred years after the time of Christ.

Finally, as the residuum of historical tradition, we must refer to still other historical works which make reference to the period of which we treat,

I. THE TALMUDICAL LITERATURE.

1. *The Mishna.*

The word מִשְׁנָה (*stat. construct.* מִשְׁנֶה, varied from מִשְׁנָה, *stat. construct.* מִשְׁנֶה) has generally been rendered by the Church Fathers by δευτέρωσις.¹ This is correct, inasmuch as the verb שָׁנָה, according to its root significance, means δευτεροῦν, to repeat.² But in later usage "to repeat" came to be equivalent to "the teaching or learning of the oral law," *traditiones docere* or *discere*. For the mode of imparting such instruction was by the teacher dictating the matter again and again to the pupils, or even by the pupils themselves being made to repeat it over and over again.³ Hence מִשְׁנָה, which properly means

¹ A rich collection of patristic passages is given by Hody, *De biblicorum textibus originalibus*, etc. 1705, pp. 238–240.—I select the following:—Jerome, *Epist.* 121 *ad Algasia*m, quaest. x. : "I would fail to tell of the multitude of the traditions of the Pharisees which are now called δευτερώσεις, and which are silly fables. For indeed the size of my book forbids; and so many are vile, that I would blush to quote them."—The same in *Epist.* 18 *ad Damasum*, c. 20 : "But lest we should seem to omit any of those which the Jews call δευτερώσεις, in which they treat of all kinds of knowledge," etc.—In his *Comm. on Isa.* viii. : "Shammai, therefore, and Hillel, of whom the former is a quibbling, and the latter a profane interpreter of traditions and δευτερώσεις, make void the precepts of their own law."—In *Comm. on Isa.* lix. : "despising the law of God, and following traditions of men, which they call δευτερώσεις."—In his *Comm. on Ezek.* xxxvi. : "For we expect the heavenly Jerusalem gemmed and golden, not according to Jewish fables, which they call δευτερώσεις."—In *Comm. on Hos.* iii. : "Loving traditions of men and dreams of δευτερώσεις."—In his *Comm. on Matt.* xxii. 23 : *Pharisaei traditionum et observationum, quas illi δευτερώσεις vocant, justitiam praeferebant.*—For passages from Epiphanius, see under, note 24.—In the *Constitutiones Apostol.* i. 6, ii. 5, vi. 22, the ritual part of the Mosaic law is called δευτέρωσις, in contradistinction to the true νόμος, or moral law.

The teachers of the δευτερώσεις were called δευτερωταί, Euseb. *Praep. evangel.* xi. 5. 3, xii. 1. 4.—Jerome on *Isa.* iii. 10, and on *Hab.* ii. : *Audivi Liddae quendam de Hebraeis, qui sapiens apud illos et δευτερωτής vocabatur, narrantem hujusmodi fabulam.*

² So in the biblical Hebrew. Compare also *Sanhedrin* xi. 2, meaning to do something over again.

³ שָׁנָה, to teach, e.g. *Taanith* iv. 4; יהושע שונה, "thus was R. Joshua wont to teach." Compare Jerome, *Epist.* 121 *ad Algasia*m,

“repetition,” came to be regarded as signifying the doctrine of the law, and even the doctrine of the oral law as distinguished from the written Thora.⁴

The work specially designated by the name Mishna is the oldest codification of the traditional Jewish law that has come down to us. The material is here arranged according to its contents, distributed into six groups (סְדָרִים), containing altogether sixty tracts (מִסְכָּתוֹת, *sing.* מִסְכָּת). In our printed editions, by subdivision their number is increased to sixty-three.⁵ Each tract, again, is divided into chapters (פְּרָקִים); each chapter into paragraphs (מִשְׁנֵיֹת). The chapter division is very old; but the position and numbering of paragraphs is modern, and in the printed editions vary very considerably from those of the manuscripts.—The language of the Mishna is Hebrew; its contents, as we might expect, almost purely Halachic. Only two tracts, *Aboth* and *Middoth*, are Hag-

quaest. x. : “When on certain days they expound their traditions to their disciples, they are wont to say *οἱ σοφοὶ δευτερώσου*, that is, the wise teach traditions.” In the sense of “to learn,” *e.g.* *Aboth* iii. 7: “Whoever goes on the way and repeats (וְשׁוֹנֵה) and interrupts his repetitions (וּמְפַסֵּק), and says, How beautiful is this tree, how beautiful is this field, Scripture regards him as one who has forfeited his life.”—*Aboth* ii. 4: “Say not, When I have time I will learn (אֲשֶׁנָּה): for perhaps thou wilt have no time.”

⁴ Sometimes, as in the passage *Aboth* iii. 7, quoted in the previous note, *משנה* may be translated “repetition;” sometimes by “instruction,” as in *Aboth* iii. 8: “Whoever forgets a part of his lesson on the law (דְּבַר אֶחָד), is regarded by Scripture as,” etc. But, as a rule, it simply means the traditional doctrine of the law, especially in distinction from the written text, *מִקְרָא*, *Kiddushin* i. 10; *Aboth* v. 21. In cases where later scholars teach differently from earlier ones, the earlier doctrine is called *מִשְׁנַת רַאשׁוֹנָה*, *Kethuboth* v. 3; *Nasir* vi. 1; *Gittin* v. 6; *Sanhedrin* iii. 4; *Edujoth* vii. 2. The Mishna is distinguished from the Halacha by presenting the legal tradition as the subject of instruction rather than as a judicial code.

⁵ According to the original ordinance preserved, for example, in the *cod. de Rossi* 138, *Baba kamma*, *Baba mezia*, and *Baba bathra* form together only one tract, and also the *Sanhedrin* and *Makkoth* only one. Compare also Strack in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* 2 Aufl. xviii. 300 f.

gadic ; and besides, Haggadic elements, to a small extent, are found in the conclusion of the tracts, or in the explanation of particular Halachas.⁶

The names and contents of the sixty-three tracts are as follows :⁷—

First Seder, ס' זרעים.

1. *Berachoth*, בְּרָכוֹת, on formulae of blessings and prayers.
2. *Pea*, פְּאֵה, on the corners of fields which in harvest must be left unreaped for the poor ; and generally on the right of the poor in the produce of the soil, according to Lev. xix. 9, 10, xxiii. 22 ; Deut. xxiv. 19–22.
3. *Demai*, דְּמַאי, on the treatment of the fruit, especially about anything where it is doubtful whether it ought to be tithed or not.
4. *Kilajim*, כִּלְאִיִּם, on the illegal mixing of what is heterogeneous in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and in clothing, according to Lev. xix. 19 ; Deut. xxii. 9–11.
5. *Shebiith*, שְׁבִיעִית, on the Sabbatical year.
6. *Terumoth*, תְּרוּמוֹת, on the dues of the priests.
7. *Maasereth*, מַעֲשֵׂרוֹת, on the tithes of the Levites.
8. *Maaser sheni*, מַעֲשֵׂר שֵׁנִי, on secondary tithes, which are taken after the payment of the first tithes, and must, according to Deut. xiv. 22 ff., be paid at Jerusalem.
9. *Challa*, חֻלָּה, on the dough offerings, a 1-24th of the baking for home use, and 1-48th of the baking for sale, which, according to Num. xv. 17 ff., is to be given to the priests.

⁶ Compare Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 86 ff. A general sketch of the Haggadas in the Mishna is given in Pinner's translation in German of the tract *Berachoth*, Introduction.

⁷ A more detailed list of contents is given by Pressel in Herzog, 1st ed. xv. 620–639, and also by Strack in Herzog, 2nd ed. xviii. 305–328.—The list of contents given above is mainly derived from "the explanatory list" given in Delitzsch's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1870), pp. 113–118.

10. *Orla*, עֵרְלָה, on the prohibition against using the fruits of newly-planted trees during the first three years, according to Lev. xix. 23–25.
11. *Bikkurim*, בִּכּוּרִים, on the presenting of the firstlings of the produce of the ground.

Second Seder, ס' מוֹעֵד.

1. *Shabbath*, שַׁבָּת, on the Sabbath festival.
2. *Erubin*, עֶרֻבֵין, on the binding together of separate localities for the purpose of freer movement on the Sabbath.
3. *Pesachim*, פֶּסַחִים, on the Passover festival.
4. *Shekalim*, שְׁקָלִים, on the half-shekel tax, Ex. xxx. 11 ff.; Matt. xvii. 24.
5. *Yoma*, יוֹמָא, on the "day," that is, the great day of atonement.
6. *Sukka*, סֻכָּה, on the Feast of Tabernacles.
7. *Beza*, בֵּיצָה, or *Yom tob*, יוֹם טוֹב, whether one may eat an egg laid on a feast day, and generally on the observance of feast and Sabbath days.
8. *Rosh Hashana*, רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה, on the New Year festival.
9. *Taanith*, תַּעֲנִיִת, on the days of fasting and mourning.
10. *Megilla*, מִגִּלָּה, on the reading of the "roll," that is, of the book of Esther, and generally on the Feast of Purim.
11. *Moed katan*, מוֹעֵד קָטָן, on the feast days intervening between the first and last feast days of the great festivals.
12. *Chagiga*, חֲגִיגָה, on the duty of appearing at Jerusalem to offer at the three great festivals.

Third Seder, ס' נָשִׁים.

1. *Jebamoth*, יִבְמוֹת, on levirate marriage with the brother-in-law, according to Deut. xxv. 5–10.
2. *Kethuboth*, כְּתוּבוֹת, on marriage contracts.

3. *Nedarim*, נִדְרִים, on vows, especially with reference to their validity in the case of women, according to Lev. xxvii. and Num. xxx.
4. *Nasir*, נָזִיר, on the Nazarite vow, according to Num. vi. and xxx.
5. *Sota*, סוֹטָה, on proceeding against one suspected of adultery, according to Num. v. 11–31.
6. *Gittin*, גִּטִּין, on writings of divorcement (גֵּט), and what gives legal claim to the obtaining of a divorce.
7. *Kiddushin*, קִדּוּשִׁין, on betrothal.

Fourth Seder, ס' נוֹיָקִין.

1. *Baba kamma*, בָּבָא קָמָא, “the first gate,” the first division of the threefold treatise on injuries, treating of the legal damages due for various kinds of injuries done by one to another.
2. *Baba mezia*, בָּבָא מְצִיעָא, “the middle gate,” treats of complaints and claims, especially between masters and slaves, employers and employed, borrowers and lenders.
3. *Baba bathra*, בָּבָא בְּתָרָא, “the last gate,” on the municipal regulations most influential upon the development of social life.
4. *Sanhedrin*, סְנֵהֶדְרִין, on the Sanhedrim and the criminal law.
5. *Makkoth*, מַכּוֹת, on punishment by flogging.
6. *Shebuoth*, שְׁבוּעוֹת, on oaths and offences against sanctity.
7. *Edujoth*, עֲדוּיֹת, “witnesses,” contains controverted propositions from all departments; the traditional validity is “witnessed to” by celebrated authorities.⁸

⁸ The name of this tract, according to Levy, *Neuhebraisch. Wörterbuch*, iii. 620, ought to be given as *Ediyoth*; and Strack in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. 319, has been induced to accede to this demand.

8. *Aboda sara*, עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה, on idolatry and generally on heathenism.
9. *Aboth*, אָבוֹת, or *Pirke Aboth*, פְּרָקֵי אָבוֹת, a collection of sentences from the most famous scribes, dating from somewhere about B.C. 200 to A.D. 200.⁹
10. *Horayoth*, הוֹרָיוֹת, decisions on unintentional offences caused by erroneous decisions of the Sanhedrim, and on unintentional offences of the high priests and princes.

Fifth Seder, מ' קדשים.

1. *Sebachim*, זִבְחִים, on sacrifices.
2. *Menachoth*, מִנְחֹת, on meat-offerings.
3. *Chullin*, חֻלִּין, on the right method of slaying animals not to be offered, and on the eating thereof.
4. *Bechoroth*, בְּכוֹרוֹת, on the sanctifying of the first-born among men and cattle.
5. *Arachin*, עֲרָכִין, "treasures," treating, according to Lev. xxvii., of the redemption of persons and things which had been devoted to the service of the sanctuary, or had so devoted themselves.
6. *Temura*, תְּמוּנָה, on the exchanging of things devoted to God, Lev. xxvii. 10.
7. *Kerithoth*, כְּרִיתוֹת, on the penalty of extermination, or rather what those have to do who have uninten-

But the solitary example on which Levy relies, namely, *malkiyoth*, is not in point, since even in that instance the correct rendering would be *malkuyoth*. So also for *chanruth* we have manuscript authority in its plural form of *chanuyoth*, e.g. *cod. de Rossi* 138 has in *Aboda sara* i. 4 and *Tohoroth* vi. 3, חֲנוּיֹת.

⁹ No tract of the Mishna has been so often printed and translated as this. Some of the more recent editions are mentioned in Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 30. In addition, compare *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna*, by Raphall and de Sola, giving translations of *Berachoth*, *Kilajim*, *Sbebiith*, *Erubin*, *Pesachim*, *Yoma*, *Sukka*, *Yom Tob*, *Rosh Hashana*, etc., Londop 1845.

tionally broken a command which involves the penalty of utter destruction.

8. *Meila*, מַעֲלָה, on the embezzlement of things devoted to God, Num. v. 6-8.
9. *Tamid*, תָּמִיד, of daily morning and evening sacrifices, and generally of the daily temple service.
10. *Middoth*, מִדּוֹת, of the size and arrangements of the temple.
11. *Kinnim*, קָנִים, of the offerings of doves by the poor, according to Lev. v. 1-10 and xii. 8.

Sixth Seder, שֵׁשׁ טַהָרוֹת.

1. *Kelim*, כֵּלִים, on household furniture and its purifying.
2. *Ohaloth*, אֹהֳלוֹת, on the defilement of tents and houses, specially by the dead, according to Num. xix.
3. *Negaim*, נִגְעִים, on leprosy.
4. *Para*, פָּרָה, on the red heifer, that is, on atonement for pollution contracted from the dead, according to Num. xix.
5. *Tohoroth*, טַהָרוֹת, of the lesser kinds of defilements.
6. *Mikwaoth*, מִקְוֹאוֹת, of the water fitted for bathing and washing.
7. *Nidda*, נִדָּה, of the defilement peculiar to the female sex.
8. *Machshirin*, מַכְשִׁירִין, properly "making fit," treating of the liquids which, falling upon fruits, render or do not render them impure, according to Lev. xi. 34, 38.
9. *Sabim*, זָבִים, on the running of ulcers and bloody issues.
10. *Tebul yom*, טָבֵל יוֹם, treats of the defilement which is removed by bathing, but requires isolation until the going down of the sun.
11. *Yadayim*, יָדַיִם, on the pollution and the cleansing, washing of the hands.
12. *Ukzin*, עִקְצִין, on the defilement of fruits through their stalks and rinds or husks.

Tolerably sure results in regard to the age and origin of this work may also be gained from certain indications given in the text itself. In innumerable instances, where the opinions of scholars on particular points of law are divergent, not only is the view of the majority given, but the views of the dissenting scholar or scholars, with the distinct mention of the names. In this way somewhere about 150 authorities are quoted in the Mishna; the most, indeed, only very seldom, but some almost through all the tracts. The most frequently cited authorities are the following:¹⁰—

First Generation, from about A.D. 70 to A.D. 100.

Rabban¹¹ Jochanan ben Sakkai, 23 times.—R. Zadoc or Zadduc.¹²—R. Chananya, president of the priests, סגן הכהנים, 12 times.—R. Elieser ben Jacob.¹⁸

Second Generation, from about A.D. 100 to A.D. 130.

A. Older Group: Rabban Gamaliel II., 84 times.—R. Joshua [ben Chananya],¹⁴ 146 times.—R. Elieser [ben Hyrcanos], 324 times.—R. Eleasar ben Asarya, 38 times.—R. Dosa ben Archinos, 19 times.—R. Eleasar, son of R. Zadduc.¹⁵

B. Younger Group: R. Ishmael, 71 times.—R. Akiba [ben

¹⁰ Since the editions vacillate here and there as to the name, I may say that the numbers given by me are taken from the so-called Jost edition of the Mishna, Berlin 1832–1834.

¹¹ On the title Rabban, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 315. The simple letter R signifies Rabbi.

¹² The name Rabbi Zadoc, or properly Zadduc, occurs sixteen times. But probably an older and a younger scholar have the same name.

¹³ The name R. Elieser ben Jacob occurs forty times. Probably here also two bearers of the same name are to be distinguished.

¹⁴ Those patronymics which are, as a rule, not given in the Mishna, are enclosed above in brackets.

¹⁵ With reference to this name, the same may be said as about R. Zadduc.

Joseph], 278 times.—R. Tarphon, 51 times.—R. Jochanan ben Nuri, 38 times.—R. Simon ben Asai, or simply Ben Asai, in the one form 4, in the other 21 times.—R. Jochanan ben Beroka, 11 times.—R. Jose the Galilean, 26 times.—R. Simon ben Nannos, or simply Ben Nannos, in each of these forms 5 times.—Abba Saul, 20 times.—R. Judah ben Betheria, 16 times.

Third Generation, from about A.D. 130 to A.D. 160.

R. Judah [ben Ilai, or more correctly Elai], 609 times.—R. Jose [ben Chalephta], 335 times.—R. Meir, 331 times.—R. Simon [ben Jochai], 325 times.—Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel II., 103 times.—R. Nehemiah, 19 times.—R. Chananya ben Antigonus, 13 times.

Fourth Generation, from about A.D. 160 to A.D. 200.

Rabbi [*i.e.* R. Juda ha-Nasi or ha-kadosh], 37 times.—R. Jose, son of R. Judah [ben Elai], 14 times.

The chronology which has been here adopted, while in its leading outlines perfectly certain, cannot be vouched for in every individual case. The fact that the men enumerated in the same generation were really contemporary with one another, is evidenced by the circumstance of their being more or less frequently referred to in the Mishna as disputing with one another. Thus, for example, we find Rabban Gamaliel II., R. Joshua, R. Elieser, and R. Akiba frequently engaged together in conversation and discussion, and that, indeed, with such indications as show that R. Akiba was a younger contemporary of the three previously named.¹⁶ So, too, we often find disputing with one another, R. Judah, R.

¹⁶ For the documents, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 351-379, § 25, notes 199 and 207.

Jose, R. Meir, and R. Simon. And in a similar way in respect to other scholars mentioned here, it can be determined with more or less certainty to which of the four generations each belonged.—But further, also, the succession of the generations can be ascertained by similar statements in the Mishna. R. Joshua and R. Elieser were pupils of Rabban Jochanan ben Sakkai;¹⁷ also, R. Akiba is so described.¹⁸ The men of the third generation, too, are linked on with the men of the second by personal relationships, etc.¹⁹—Finally, we are furnished with various outstanding points for the sure determination of an absolutely correct chronology. Rabban Jochanan ben Sakkai is said to have made various arrangements “after the temple had been destroyed;”²⁰ he was therefore alive immediately after that event. With this also agrees the statement that Akiba, who was about a generation younger, was a contemporary of Barcochba and a martyr during the war of Hadrian. In a like manner we may deal with the rest.²¹

Our statistics, then, have thus proved that the Mishna

¹⁷ *Aboth* ii. 8. Compare *Edwioth* viii. 7. *Yadayim* iv. 3 at the end.

¹⁸ *Sota* v. 2.

¹⁹ R. Jose passes a judgment in presence of R. Akiba (*Terumoth* iv. 13).—R. Judah was still a hearer of R. Tarphon (*Nedarim* vi. 6).—R. Simon takes part in a disputation with R. Akiba (*Machschirin* vi. 8).—R. Jose, Judah, and Simon tell about the views of R. Elieser and R. Joshua (*Kerithoth* iv. 2, 3).

²⁰ *Sukka* iii. 12. *Rosh hashana* iv. 1, 3, 4. *Menachoth* x. 5.

²¹ Documentary evidence for all the above statements is much too voluminous to be given here. In single cases where the Mishna gives no decision, the sources that follow, Tosephta and Talmud, are drawn upon. On the men of the first and second generations more particulars are to be found in Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 366–379. On the third and fourth generations, compare literature given in Div. ii. vol. i. p. 351, especially the articles in Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, pt. ii.; also Strack in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. 346–350.—I may mention that I have intentionally characterized the two groups of the second generation, not as two generations, because they are more closely connected with one another than either is with the first or with the third generation.

must have been collected and edited toward the end of the second century after Christ, for in a later composition it might be expected that more recent authorities would have been employed. In fact, the composition of the work has been ascribed to R. Judah ha-Nasi, or ha-kadosh, called also simply Rabbi, who lived at the end of the second century after Christ.²² But our statistics teach us something more even than this. It is clear that a couple of thousand of statements about the views of particular scholars could not have been transmitted by oral traditions. If in a work issued toward the end of the second century, by various scholars of earlier generations, even a couple of hundred particular decisions were communicated (by R. Judah ben Elai over six hundred!), there must have been written sources at their command. But the result of our statistics makes it probable that the final redaction had been preceded by two earlier summaries of written documents, one from the age of the second generation, and one from the time of the third generation. Certain phenomena in the text of the Mishna itself favour this theory,²³ as well as some rather obscure and

²² Compare on him: Bodek, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus als Zeitgenosse und Freund des Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi*; also under title: *Römische Kaiser in jüdischen Quellen*, Thl. i. 1868.—Gelbhaus, *Rabbi Jehuda Hanassi und die Redaction des Mischna*, Vienna 1880. Compare here: Strack, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1881, 52 ff.—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. pp. 440–450 (art. *Jehuda der Fürst*).—Some more literature in Strack, Herzog, xviii. 349.—On the period and the date of the death of R. Judah ha-Nasi, long discussions have been carried on between Rapoport and Jost. See Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 48, and the complete report in Bodek, pp. 11–64; also Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, ii. 118 ff.—Rapoport takes A.D. 192 as the year of his death; Jost, A.D. 219–220. The grounds for either are not very certain, but Rapoport's view seems more probable, though his statements about a friendly intercourse between Marcus Aurelius and Judah are very problematical.

²³ *Kelim*, fin. “R. Jose said: Happy thou *Kelim* (אשריר כלים), to begin with pollution and end with poverty.” It then appears that a redaction of the tract *Kelim* appeared in the times of R. Jose [ben Chalephta].—On various stages in the fixing of the tradition, whether oral or

doubtful traditions.²⁴ The opinion, still firmly maintained by many Jewish scholars, that written documents are not to be found before the time of Judah ha-Nasi, indeed not even in his days, is based upon the assumed prohibition of a written record of the Halacha, of which, however, the age and range of application are extremely uncertain.²⁵—At any rate this much is beyond dispute, that in the Mishna the Jewish law is codified in that form which it retained in the schools of Palestine from the end of the first to the end of the second century after Christ.

2. *Tosephta.*

The Mishna of R. Judah ha-Nasi has generally received canonical rank, and has served as the basis for the further

written, light is shed by such passages as treat of the meaning of propositions laid down by older scholars, e.g. *Ohaloth* ii. 3 ; *Tohoroth* ix. 3.

²⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 33. 9: Αἱ γὰρ παραδόσεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δευτερώσεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λέγονται. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται τέσσαρες· μία μὲν ἢ εἰς ὄνομα Μωσέως φερομένη· δευτέρα δὲ ἢ τοῦ καλουμένου Ῥαββὶ Ἀκιβᾶ· τρίτη Ἀδδᾶ ἦτοι Ἰούδα· τετάρτη τῶν υἱῶν Ἀσαμωναίου. In almost the same language Epiphanius expresses himself in another passage, *Haer.* 15: Δευτερώσεις δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τέσσαρες ἦσαν· μία μὲν εἰς ὄνομα Μωσέως τοῦ προφήτου, δευτέρα δὲ εἰς τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτῶν Ἀκίβαν οὕτω καλούμενον ἢ Βαρακίβαν· ἄλλη δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀνδᾶν ἢ Ἀνναντὸν καὶ Ἰούδαν· ἑτέρα δὲ εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἀσαμωναίου. Quite a wrong statement is made in a third passage, *Haer.* 42: μάθε . . . πότε δὲ ἢ παράδοσις αὐτοῖς γέγονε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ εὐρήσεις ὅτι τοῦ μὲν Δαβὶδ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυῶνος ἐπάνοδον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀκιβᾶ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνικῶν αἰχμαλωσιῶν, γεγέννηται, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν Ἀσσαμωναίου ἐν χρόνοις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντίοχου.—By the “Deuteroses of Moses,” is meant Deuteronomy; by the “Mishna of the Asmoneans,” most likely the ordinances of John Hyrcanus, who set aside the Pharisaic statutes, and so created a new system of law. A code of this Asmonean law is, it would seem, referred to in *Megillath Taanith*, § 10. Compare Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 103.—Mention is also made of a series of Halachoth by R. Akiba in *Tosephta Sabim* i., while by “the Mishna of Akiba” in *Sanhedrin* iii. 4, only his oral doctrine is to be understood. Compare on Akiba's work as a redactor: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 46; Jost, *Geschichte der Judenthums*, ii. 112; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 430 f.

²⁵ For more detailed information, see Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* xviii. 331–337. According to Grätz, even in the fourth century the

development of the law Another collection that has come down to us, the so-called Tosephta, תוספתא, *additamentum*,²⁶ has not attained such a rank. The material here gathered together belongs essentially to the age of the Tannaites (תנאים in Aramaic, meaning δευτερωται, the scholars of the age of the Mishna). The arrangement is quite the same as that of the Mishna. Of the sixty-three tracts of the Mishna, only *Aboth*, *Tamid*, *Middoth*, and *Kinnim* are wanting in the Tosephta. The other fifty-nine tracts, not merely fifty-two, as Zunz in his *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* affirms, have their exact parallels in the Tosephta. The two are therefore closely related. The precise nature of their relationship has not yet indeed been made sufficiently clear. But there are at least two points which may be stated with absolute certainty:—1. That the Tosephta is laid out in accordance with the plan of the Mishna, and professes to be an expansion of it, as the name itself implies; and 2. That the redactors

Mishna had not yet been committed to writing.—Frankel especially, in modern times, has insisted upon the assumption of written Mishna collections before that of R. Judah ha-Nasi. In his *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, 1859, he assigns a Mishna to R. Akiba and one to R. Meir. Compare further: Lewy, *Ueber einige Fragmente aus der Mischna des Abba Saul*, Berlin 1876.—Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 399–401.—Hoffmann, *Di erste Mischna und die Controversen der Tannaim* (Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminares in Berlin, 1882).—Lerner, *Die ältesten Mischna-Compositionem* (*Mag. für die Wissensch. des Judenth.* xiii. 1886).—Derenbourg sums up his opinion as follows (*Revue des études juives*, vi. 41): “It is well known that from the time of the destruction of the second temple down to the commencement of the third century of the Christian era, there have been different redactions of the Mishna. The first complete redaction seems to have been undertaken by R. Akiba before the war of Hadrian. Upon the reopening of the schools under the first Antonine, R. Meir resumed the same work, and then R. Judah the patriarch, descended from the famous family of Hillel, composed the code which has served as a basis for all subsequent rabbinical studies.”

²⁶ Not to be confounded with the Tosaphoth, the explanations of the Babylonian Talmud from the French rabbinical schools of the Middle Ages. See on these Tosaphists: Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, 1845, p. 29 ff.

had at their command in carrying out their scheme sources which are older than our Mishna. Hence, on the one hand, in the Tosephta we have authorities cited which belong to the post-Mishna times; while, on the other hand, the Tosephta has not unfrequently retained the original and complete literal quotation where the Mishna has given only an abbreviated text.²⁷ The Haggada bulk much more largely in the Tosephta than in the Mishna.

A complete separate edition of the Tosephta was issued for the first time quite recently by Zuckermannel, *Tosephta nach den Erfurter und Wiener Handschriften mit Parallelstellen und Varianten*, Pasewalk 1880. Supplement containing summary, register, and glossary, Treves 1882-1883.—On the Erfurt manuscript: Zuckermannel, *Die Erfurter Handschrift der Tossefta*, Berlin 1876; and Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 1877, pp. 153-155.—Previous to this, leaving out of account separate editions of special portions, the Tosephta had appeared only in the editions of the Alfasi. On these and on the separate editions of portions, see Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 34-36, 173; Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebr. in biblioth. Bodleiana*, col. 647 sq., 1087 sqq.; Alter Zedner, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum*, pp. 365 f., 757.

A great part of the Tosephta, consisting of some thirty-one tracts, is translated into Latin in Ugolini *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*: in vol. xvii. *Schabbath*, *Erubin*, and *Pesachim*; in vol. xviii. the other nine tracts of the second *Seder*; in vol. xix. the following eight tracts of the fifth *Seder*: *Sebachim*, *Menachoth*, *Chullin*, *Bechoroth*, *Temura*, *Meila*, *Kerithoth*, *Arachin*; in vol. xx. the whole of the eleven tracts of the first *Seder*.

On the Tosephta generally, compare: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, pp. 50 f., 87 f.—Dünner, *Die Theorien über Wesen und Ursprung der Tosephta kritisch dargestellt*, Amsterdam 1874.—Zuckermannel, *Verhältniss der Tosifta zur Mischna und der jerusalemischen Gemara zur babylonischen (Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissensch. des Judenthums, 1874-1875)*. By the same, *Tosifta-Variantem*

²⁷ From this Zuckermannel has wrongly concluded that the Tosephta preserved to us contains the original parts of the Palestinian Mishna which formed the text of the Jerusalem Gemara, while our Mishna has sprung up in the Babylonian Amora school as a new codex, partly abridged, partly amended, from the Tosephta.

(*Monatsschrift*, 1880-1881).—Schwarz, *Die Tosifta des Tractates Sabbath in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Mishna kritisch untersucht*, Carlsruhe 1879. By the same, *Die Tosifta des Tractates Erubin in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Mishna kritisch untersucht*, Carlsruhe 1882.—Hoffmann, *Mishna und Tosefta (Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums)*, ix. 1882, pp. 153-163).—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, ii. 1225-1227, art. "Tosephta."—Brüll, *Begriff und Ursprung der Tosefta (Jubelschrift zum neunzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. L. Zunz)*, Berlin 1884, pp. 92-110).—Pick, *Die Tosefta-Citate und der hebräische Text (Zeitschrift für die alttestamentl. Wissensch.)*, 1886, pp. 23-29).—Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. p. 298 f.

3. The Jerusalem Talmud.

On the basis of the Mishna the juristic discussion was carried on with unwearied energy and zeal in the schools of Palestine, especially in that of Tiberias, during the third and fourth centuries. By means of the codification of the new material that was in this way gathered together, there sprang up in the fourth century after Christ the so-called Jerusalem, or more correctly, Palestinian, Talmud.²⁸ In it the text of the Mishna is taken statement after statement in regular succession, and is explained by a casuistical system of distinctions that becomes ever more and more subtle and over-refined. For the purpose of explanation not only are the opinions of the "Amoreans," the scholars of the post-Mishna age, drawn upon, but very frequently dogmatic utterances of the Mishna age. Such propositions as are borrowed from earlier times which have not been incorporated in the Mishna, are called Baraytha, בְּרַיְתָא, "*extranea*," *scil. traditio*. They are

²⁸ תַּלְמוּד means teaching, doctrine; e.g. *Sota* v. 4-5, vi. 3. תַּלְמוּד, תּוֹרָה, *Pea* i. 1; *Kethuboth* v. 6; *Kerithoth* vi. 9.—The two component parts of the Talmud, the Mishna text lying at its basis and the explanatory discussion, are distinguished as "Mishna" and "Gemara." But this use of the words is unknown in Jewish antiquity. In the Talmud itself the so-called Gemara is always "Talmud." See Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. 299.

quoted in the Talmud in Hebrew, whereas for the rest the language of the Talmud is Aramaic.—The date of the composition of the Palestinian Talmud may be determined from the fact that, although indeed the Emperors Diocletian and Julian are mentioned, no Jewish authorities are referred to who can be assigned to a later period than the middle of the fourth century.²⁹—Besides the Halacha, which forms its principal contents, we also meet in it with rich Haggadic material.³⁰—Whether the Palestinian Talmud ever went over the whole range of the Mishna is still a disputed point. Only its first four *Seders*, together with the tract Nidda, have been preserved to us, and the tracts Eduyoth and Aboth are wanting.³¹

4. *The Babylonian Talmud.*

The Mishna is said to have been brought to Babylon by Abba Areka, usually called Rab, a scholar of R. Judah.³² In the schools of that place, too, it came to be used as the basis for continuous juristic discussion. The boundless accumulation of material here also led gradually to its codification. This was in all probability undertaken in the fifth century after Christ, but was not brought to a conclusion

²⁹ See especially Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 52 f. The passages referring to Diocletian are also given in Lightfoot, *Centuria chorogr. Matthæo præmissa*, c. 81 (*Opp.* ii. 28).

³⁰ The Haggadic passages are collected in the work *Jephé mar'eh* (יפה מראה) of Samuel Japhe in the sixteenth century. See here: Wolf, *Biblioth. hebr.* i. 1104, iii. 1109, iv. 995. Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica*, ii. 9, 96. Steinschneider, *Catalog.*, col. 2427. Zedner, *Catalogue of British Museum*, p. 750 f. Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* xviii. 364 f.—A German translation of Haggadic passages is given by Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen zum ersten Male in's Deutsche übertragen*, Zürich 1880.

³¹ For traces of the existence of other portions, see Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 54. Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. 337 f.

³² For an account of this scholar, see Mühlfelder, *Rabbin ein Lebensbild zur Geschichte des Talmud*, Leipzig 1871.

before the sixth century.—In the Babylonian Talmud as well as in the Palestinian, the statements of older scholars were frequently given in the Hebrew language. The Talmud itself was written in the Aramaic dialect of Babylon.—The Haggada is here represented still more literally than in the Palestinian Talmud.³³—The Babylonian Talmud, too, is incomplete. There are wanting: The whole of the first Seder with the exception of Berachoth; Shekalim out of the second; Eduyoth and Aboth from the fourth; Middoth and Kinnim and the half of Tamid from the fifth; and the whole of the sixth with the exception of Nidda. See Zunz, p. 54. It therefore embraces only 36½ tracts, while in the Palestinian Talmud 39 tracts are dealt with. Nevertheless, the Babylonian Talmud is at least four times the size of the Palestinian, has been much more diligently studied in Europe since the Middle Ages, and stands in much higher repute than the other.³⁴

The literature of the Mishna and both Talmuds, their editions, translations, and commentaries, are carefully enumerated by Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, ii. pp. 700–724, 882–913; iv. 321–327,

³³ See Zunz, p. 94.—The Haggada from the Babylonian Talmud is collected together in the work *En Jacob* (עֵין יַעֲקֹב) or *En Israel* (עֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל) of Jacob Chabib, belonging to the fifteenth century. On this compare Wolf, *Biblioth. Hebr.* i. 590 f., iii. 456 f., iv. 866 f. Zunz, p. 94. Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica*, i. 151 f. Steinschneider, *Catalog.* col. 1196 ff. Zedner, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in British Museum*, p. 746. Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, xviii. 364 f.—A German translation of the Haggada in the Babylonian Talmud is given by Wünsche, *Der babylonische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen wortgetreu übersetzt und durch Noten erläutert*, 3 parts, published in 1886, 1887, 1888.

³⁴ In reference to the mode of reference here adopted, it may be observed that the tracts of the Mishna are quoted according to chapters and Mishnas; those of the Palestinian Talmud either in the same way or according to the page number in the editions of Cracow; those of the Babylonian Talmud according to the page numbers, which are identical in all the editions. For example, *M. Berachoth* iv. 3, or simply *Berachoth* iv. 3, means therefore the Mishna; *jer. Berachoth* iv. ■ refers to the Palestinian Talmud; *bab. Berachoth* 28b, or simply *Berachoth* 28b, indicates the Babylonian Talmud.

437-445.—Winer, *Handbuch der theolog. Literatur*, i. pp. 523-525.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 40-49, 94-97, confines himself to the Mishna and Palestinian Talmud.—Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1886, nos. 393-407.—Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts preserved in the University Library*, Cambridge, vol. ii. pp. 1-12.—Zedner, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum*, 1867, pp. 545-555, 739-751.—Raph. Rabinovicz has written in Hebrew a critical review of all the complete and separate editions of the Babylonian Talmud since A.D. 1484, Munich 1877.—Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. 342 ff., 357-368.—We specify only the following :—

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE MISHNA.

Mishna sive totius Hebraeorum juris, rituum, antiquitatum ac legum oralium systema cum clarissimorum Rabbiorum Maimonidis et Bartenoras commentariis integris, etc. Latinitate donavit ac notis illustravit Guil. Surenhusius. 6 vols. fol. Amsterdam 1698-1703.

The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rests, edited from the unique manuscript preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, Add. 470, 1, by W. H. Lowe. Cambridge 1883. An exact reproduction of a valuable Cambridge manuscript, which, however, is not "unique," since there is certainly another of the same kind, the *cod. de Rossi* 138, at Parma, representing the same text in perhaps even a better form.

Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna. Translated by D. A. de Sola and M. J. Raphall. London 1843.

ששה סדרי משנה וכו'. 6 vols. Berlin 1832-1834. Issued by authority of the Society of Friends of the Thora and Science at Berlin, under the direction of J. M. Jost. The printed text with a German translation in Hebrew writing and a short Hebrew commentary.

Mischnajoth, Die sechs Ordnungen der Mischna. Hebrew printed text, German translation and exposition, by A. Sammt. Part I. giving the First Seder. Berlin 1887. If this edition be carried out to completion in accordance with the promise of its first part, it will be most worthy of recommendation for the use of the Christian theologian. The German translation follows closely that of Jost, but it is printed in German letters.

Editions of the Hebrew texts, with short Hebrew commentaries, have in

all times been issued in large numbers. Of the more recent editions, we may name those of Sittenfeld in Berlin 1863, of Cohn in Berlin 1876.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE PALESTINIAN TALMUD.

The *editio princeps* was issued by Bomberg in Venice in folio, without mention of the year; but this was, according to Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, iv. 439, either A.D. 1523 or A.D. 1524.

Besides this other three complete editions have appeared: at Cracow A.D. 1609, at Krotoschin A.D. 1866, and at Shitomir in 4 vols. fol. A.D. 1860–1867.—Several other editions have been projected, but were stopped after the appearance of one or more parts. See Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* xviii. 343.

A Latin translation of a great part of the Palestinian Talmud, extending to nineteen tracts, appeared in Ugolini *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrar.*, namely, in vol. xvii. *Pesachim*; in vol. xviii. *Shekalim*, *Joma*, *Sukka*, *Rosh hashana*, *Taanith*, *Megilla*, *Chagiga*, *Beza*, *Moed Katan*; in vol. xx. *Maaseroth*, *Challa*, *Orla*, *Bikkurim*; in vol. xxv. *Sanhedrin*, *Makkoth*; in vol. xxx. *Kiddushin*, *Sota*, *Kethuboth*.

An English rendering of the French translation of Moses Schwab has been undertaken. The first volume, containing the tract *Berachoth* according to the Jerusalem Talmud, was issued in the end of 1885. The French translation began to appear at Paris in 1871; and up to this time ten volumes have been issued, containing thirty-three tracts.

WÜNSCHE, *Der jerusalemische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen in's Deutsche übertragen*, Zürich 1880, gives only the Haggadic passages.

SCHILLER-SZINESSY, *Occasional Notices of Hebrew Manuscripts*; No. 1. *Description of the Leyden Manuscript of the Palestinian Talmud*. Cambridge 1878.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

The *editio princeps* was published by Bomberg at Venice in 12 vols. folio, A.D. 1520 ff. With this edition all subsequent issues agree exactly in the numbering of pages.

Among later editions there is none that can be regarded as satisfactory on critical grounds. The prejudices of Christian editors led unhappily to the perverse corruption of the text. On this point, see

Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, p. 1099. On the other hand, the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected occasioned such bitterness of feeling on their part that they forbade, under severest penalties, the printing in the Mishna or Gemara anything that had reference to Jesus of Nazareth. See circular to this effect printed by Leslie in his *Short and Easy Method with the Jews*. London 1812.

The Fragment of the Talmud Babli Pesachim of the Ninth or Tenth Century, in the University Library, Cambridge, edited with notes and an autograph facsimile, by W. H. Lowe. Cambridge 1879.

In UGOLINI'S *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrar.*, three tracts of the Babylonian Talmud are translated into Latin; in vol. xix. *Sebachim* and *Menachoth*; and in vol. xxv. *Sanhedrin*.

Several single tracts have been translated into German: *Berachoth*, by Pinner, Berlin 1842; *Aboda Sara* or Idolatry, by F. Chr. Ewald, Nürnberg 1856; *Baba Mezia*, by Sammler, Berlin 1876; *Taanith*, by Straschun, Halle 1883; *Megilla* with Tosafat transl. into German, by Rawicz, Frankf. 1883; *Rosch ha-Schanah*, by Rawicz, Frankf. 1886; Rabbínówicz, *Legislation civile du Talmud*, 5 vols. Paris 1877–1880, discusses passages on civil law from the various tracts of the Talmud.

WÜNSCHE, *Der babylonische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen wortgetreu übersetzt*, etc., 2 vols. 1886–1888, gives only the Haggadic passages.

FOR CRITICISM OF THE TEXT

RABBINOVICZ, *Variae lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum quum ex aliis libris antiquissimis et scriptis et impressis tum e codice Monacensi praestantissimo collectae annotationibus instructae*, written in Hebrew, not yet completed. Vols. i.–xv. Munich 1867–1886.

LEBRECHT, *Handschriften und erste Gesamtausgaben des Babylonischen Talmud*, No. 1, Berlin 1862, deals only with the manuscripts.

HELPS IN REGARD TO THE LANGUAGE.

BUXTORF, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*. Basel 1640.—

A reprint of this work has been issued by B. Fischer. Leipzig 1874.

LEVY, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, vol. i. 1876, א—י; vol. ii. 1879, י—ז; vol. iii. 1883.

מ—ע; vol. iv. still incomplete.—Also: *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums*. 2 vols. 1867–1868.

JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yérushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. Vol. i. London 1886. Containing 96 pp. quarto, and reaching down to אנפריסא.

HARTMANN, *Thesauri linguae Hebraicae e Mishna augendi particula*, i. ii. iii. Rostock 1825–1826. A diligent collection of the non-biblical linguistic materials of the Mishna.

GEIGER, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*. Breslau 1845.

DUKES, *Die Sprache der Mishna, lexikographisch und grammatisch betrachtet*. Esslingen 1846.

WEISS, משפט לשון המשנה, *Studien über die Sprache der Mishna*, in Hebrew. Vienna 1867.

LUZZATTO, *Grammatik der biblisch-chaldäischen Sprache und des Idioms des Talmud Bibli*. From the Italian by Krüger. Breslau 1873.

STRACK and SIEGFRIED, *Lehrbuch der neuhebräischen Sprache und Literatur* Carlsruhe 1884.

GENERAL LITERATURE ON THE MISHNA.

The most complete and comprehensive treatises on the origin and character of the Mishna, are the three following works written in the Hebrew language:—

FRANKEL, דרכי המשנה, *Hodegetica in Mishnam librosque cum ea conjunctos Tosefta, Mechilta, Sifra, Sifri*. P. I. *Introductio in Mishnam*. Lips. 1859.—Also: חוספות ומפתח לספר דרכי המשנה, *Addimenta et index ad librum Hodegetica in Mishnam*. Lips. 1867.

BRÜLL, מבוא המשנה, *Einleitung in die Mishnah, enthaltend das Leben und die Lehrmethode der Gesetzeslehrer von Ezra bis zum Abschlusse der Mishnah*. Frankfort 1876.—A second volume has been published under the title, *Einleitung in die Mishnah*, ii. ; *Plan und System der Mishnah*. Frankfort 1884.

WEISS, דור דור ודורשיו, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*. Vol. i. From the earliest Times down to the Destruction of the Second Temple, Vienna 1871; vol. ii. From the Destruction of the Second Temple down to the close of the Mishna, 1876; vol. iii. From the close of the Mishna down to the completion of the Babylonian Talmud, 1883; vol. iv. From the close of the Talmud down to the end of the first five thousand years according to Jewish reckoning, 1887.

SCHILLER-SZINESSY, article "Mishnah" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xvi. 1883, pp. 502-508.

TAYLOR, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, comprising Pirke Aboth and Pereq R. Meir in Hebrew and English, with critical and illustrative notes.* Cambridge 1877.

ROBINSON, *The Evangelists in the Mishna; or, Illustrations of the Four Gospels drawn from Jewish Traditions.* London 1859.

BENNETT, *The Mishna as illustrating the Gospel.* Cambridge 1884.

JOST, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Makkabäer*, iv. 103 ff.—Also: *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, ii. 114-126.

ZUNZ, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, pp. 45 f., 86 f., 106 f.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden* (2 Aufl.), iv. 210-240, 419-422, 430 f., 479-485, 494 f.—Also: *Beiträge zur Wort- und Sacherklärung der Mischna* (*Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1871).—Also: *Die Mischna in mündlicher Ueberlieferung erhalten* (*Monatsschr.* 1873, pp. 35-41).

DÜNNER, *Veranlassung, Zweck und Entwicklung der halachischen und halachischen exegetischen Sammlungen während der Tannaim-Periode, in Umrisse dargestellt* (*Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1871).—Also: *R. Juda ha-Nasi's Antheil an unserer Mischnah* (*Monatsschr.* 1872, pp. 161-178, 218-235).—Also: *Der Einfluss anderer Tannaiten auf R. Jehuda Hanassi's Halachah-Feststellung* (*Monatsschr.* 1873, pp. 321 ff., 361 ff.).

HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. 1883, pp. 789-798 (art. "Mischna").

On the scholars quoted and referred to in the Mishna, the "*doctores Misnici*," see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 351-379 (§ 25, IV.).

GEIGER, *Einiges über Plan und Anordnung der Mischna* (*Geiger's Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, Bd. ii. 1836, pp. 474-492).

COHN, *Aufeinanderfolge der Mischnaordnungen* (*Geiger's Jüdische Zeitschr. für Wissensch. und Leben*, Bd. iv. 1866, pp. 126-140).

LANDSBERG, *Plan und System in der Aufeinanderfolge der einzelnen Mischna's* (*Monatsschr.* 1873, pp. 208-215).

DERENBOURG, *Les sections et les traités de la Mischnah* (*Revue des études juives*, t. iii. 1881, pp. 205-210).

On the various series of tracts in some of the principal manuscripts and editions, see the tabulated list by Strack in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop* 2 Aufl. xviii. 302-304.

- DÜNNER, *Einiges über Ursprung und Bedeutung des Tractates Edajoth* (Monatssch. 1871, pp. 33–42, 59–77).
- JELLINEK, *Die Composition der Pirke Aboth* (Fürst's Literaturblatt des Orients, 1849, nos. 31, 34, 35).
- FRANKEL, *Zum Tractact Aboth* (Monatsschr. 1858, pp. 419–430).
- BRÜLL, *Entstehung und ursprünglicher Inhalt des Tractates Abot* (Jahrb. für jüd. Gesch. und Literatur, vii. 1885, pp. 1–17).
- A complete list of the Old Testament passages, quoted in the Mishna, is given by Pinner, *Tract. Berachoth*, Einl. fol. 21b.

ON THE PALESTINIAN TALMUD.

- Arguments** against the generally accepted opinion that the Jerusalem Talmud had been revised from the Babylonian Talmud, are given in Fürst, *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1843, nos. 48–51.
- FRANKEL, מְבוֹא הִירוּשָׁלַיִם, in Hebrew, with the Latin title: *Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitanum*. Breslau 1870.—Also: *Einiges über die gegenseitigen des Beziehungen des jerusalemischen und babylonischen Talmuds* (Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums, 1851–1852, pp. 36–40, 70–80).
- GEIGER, *Die jerusalemische Gemara im Gesamtorganismus der talmud. Lit.* (Jüd. Zeitschr. 1870, pp. 278–306).—Also: *Der jerusalem. Talmud im Lichte Geiger'scher Hypothesen* (Monatsschr. 1871, pp. 120–137).
- WIESNER, *Gibéth Jeruschalaïm*. A study on the nature, sources, origin, conclusion, and on the author of the Jerusalem Talmud, edited with critical notes by Smolensky. Vienna 1872.

ON THE TWO TALMUDS GENERALLY.

- WOLF, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 657–993, iv. 320–456.
- WAEHNER, *Antiquitates Ebraeorum, de Israeliticae gentis origine fatis, etc.*, vol. i. pp. 231–584. Göttingen 1742.
- BARCLAY, *The Talmud*, London 1878; containing selected treatises from the Mishna and Gemara, with commentary.
- LIGHTFOOT, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, on Gospels, Acts, Romans, and 1 Corinthians, in *Opera Omnia*. Francker 1699, vol. ii. pp. 243–742, 783–928.
- OORT, *The Talmud and the New Testament*, reprinted from the *Modern Review*. London 1883.
- DEUTSCH, *The Talmud, in Literary Remains*. London 1874.

- DAVIDSON, article "Talmud" in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*, vol. iii. Edinburgh 1862.
- PICK, article "Talmud" in M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclop. of Bibl. Theol. and Eccl. Literature*, New York 1881, pp. 166-187.
- STRACK, article "Thalmud" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. 297-369; a particularly careful and complete statement of rich and voluminous literature.
- JOST, *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Makkabäer*, Bd. iv. 1824, pp. 222 f., 323-328, nebst dem Excurs "Ueber den Talmud als historische Quelle," im Anhang, pp. 264-294.
- ZUNZ, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, pp. 51-55, 94.
- PINNER, *Compendium des hierosolym. und babyl. Talmud*. Berl. 1832.—Also: *Einl. in den Talmud, vor seiner Ausgabe und Uebersetz. des Tractates Berachoth*.—Also the first twelve sheets of the same, containing Maimonides' Preface to *Seder Seraim* (German and Hebrew).
- FÜRST, *Die literarischen Vorlagen des Talmuds (Literaturbl. des Orients, 1850, n. 1 ff.)*.—Also: *Kultur- und Literaturgesch. der Juden in Asien*. 1 Thl. 1849.
- FRANKEL, *Ueber die Lapidarstyl der talm. Historik (Monatsschr. 1851-1852, pp. 203-220, 403-421)*.—Also: *Beiträge zur Einl. in den Talmud (Monatsschr. 1861, pp. 186-194, 205-212, 258-272)*.
- GRÄTZ, *Die talmudische Chronologie (Monatsschr. 1851-1852, pp. 509-521)*.—Also: *Zur Chron. der talm. Zeit (Monatsschr. 1885, pp. 433-453, 481-496)*.—Also: *Gesch. der Juden*, iv. 384, 408-412.
- PRESSSEL, art. "Thalmud" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl., Bd. xv. 1862, pp. 615-664.
- JOST, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, ii. 202-212.
- BEDARRIDE, *Étude sur le Talmud* (142, p. 8). Montpellier 1869.
- AUERBACH, *Das jüdische Obligationsrecht*, Bd. i. 1870.—Gives in the very full introduction, especially pp. 62-114, a history of the development of the Talmud.
- BRÜLL, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des babylonischen Talmuds als Schriftwerkes (Jahrb. für jüd. Gesch. und Literatur, ii. 1876, pp. 1-123)*.
- DERENBOURG, art. "Talmud" in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, t. xii. pp. 1009-1038.
- HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. (1883) art. "Talmud, Talmudlehrer, Talmudschulen" (pp. 1155-1164), and various articles on individual teachers.
- WEISS, *Zur Geschichte der jüd. Tradition*, iii. 1883

BLOCH, *Einblicke in die Geschichte der Entstehung der talmudischen Literatur*, Vienna 1884 (see also : Brüll's *Jahrbb. für jüd. Gesch. und Literatur*, vii. 1885, pp. 101-106).

In the editions of the Babylonian Talmud, in vol. ix., at the close of the fourth Seder, we meet with several pieces which do not belong to the codex, but in part at least reach back to the Talmudic age:—

(a) The *Aboth derabbi Nathan*, an expansion of the *Pirke Aboth*, with many stories about the life of the Sage and other Haggadic legends. Its present form was given it first in post-Talmudic times.

A recension of this tract, diverging from the usually printed text, has been edited by Taussig, *נוה שלום*, *N'weh Shalom*; 1st part, containing *Aboth di R. Nathan*, is a recension differing from the printed text, *Seder Tannaim w'Amoraim* and *Varianten* or *Pirke Aboth*, from manuscripts in the Royal Library at Munich, edited and annotated, Munich 1872.—Both recensions are given by Schechter, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, hujus libri recensiones duas collatis variis apud bibliothecas et publicas et privatas codicibus edidit*, Vienna 1887.—A Latin translation of the common text is given in *Tractatus de patribus: Rabbi Nathane auctore, in linguam Latinum translatus opera Francisci Taileri*, London 1654.—Compare generally : Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 855-857.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 108 f.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. p. 19 f.—Zedner, *Catalogue of British Museum*, p. 748.

(b) The so-called small tracts: on these compare Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, ii. 237 ff.; Zedner, *Catalogue*, p. 748 f.; Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* xviii. 328.

1. *Sopherim*, on the writing of the roll of the law, and the various exercises of the Synagogue. Belonging to post-Talmudic times.

Separate edition : *Masechet Soferim*. Der talmudische Tractat der Schreiber, nach Handschriften herausgegeben und commentirt von Joel Müller, Leipzig 1878. Compare generally : Zedner, *Catalogue*, p. 749; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 96 f.; Hamburger, *Real-Enc. Supplem.* p. 104.

2. *Ebel rabbathi*, or euphemistically *Semachoth*, not *Simchoth* on the treatment of corpses, and on the customs observed in reference to the dead. It is quoted in the Talmud. Zunz, p. 90. Brüll, however, contests the idea that the tract cited in the Talmud is identical with the one that has come down to us. See Hamburger, *Supplement*, pp. 51–53.

3. *Kalla*, on marital intercourse and on chastity in general. According to Zunz, p. 89 f., it is probably older than the Jerusalem Talmud.

4. *Derek erez rabba*, on social duties, Zunz, p. 110 f.; Hamburger, *Supplement*, p. 50 f.

5. *Derek erez suta*, Precepts for Scholars, Zunz, pp. 110–112; Hamburger, *Supplement*, p. 50 f. Separate edition: *Der talmudische Tractat Derech Erez Sutta nach Handschriften und seltenen Ausgaben mit Parallelstellen und Varianten, kritisch bearbeitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Abr. Tawrogi, Königsberg 1885.*

6. *Perek schalom*, on peace-making, Zunz, pp. 110–112.

Seven similar small tracts have been recently published by Raphael Kirchheim, under the title שבע מסכתות קטנות ירושלמיות, *Septem libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, Frankfort 1851. These are the following:—1. *Massecheth Sepher Thora*; 2. *M. Mesusa*; 3. *M. Tephillin*; 4. *M. Zizith*; 5. *M. Abadim*; 6. *M. Kuthim*; 7. *M. Gerim*.—The sixth tract was published separately, with a commentary, under the title: כרמי שמרון, *Introductio in librum Talm. de Samaritanis*, Frankfort 1851.—On the tract *Gerim*, which was earlier recognised, see Zunz, p. 90. It is of later date than the Talmud.—On all the seven, see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie, Supplementalband*, p. 95, article “Kleine Tractate;” Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xviii. p. 328 f.

II. THE MIDRASHIM.

In the Mishna and the two Talmuds the Jewish law, the Halacha, is codified in systematic order. Another class of rabbinical literary works attaches itself closely to the Scripture text, commenting upon it step by step. These commentaries or Midrashim, מִדְרָשִׁים, are partly of Halachic, partly of Haggadic contents. In the older ones, *Mechilta*, *Siphra*, *Siphre*, the Halacha predominates; the more recent ones, *Rabboth* and those following it, are almost exclusively Haggadic. The former, in respect of age and contents, stand in very close relation to the Mishna; the latter belong to a later period, and are not the product of juristic discussion, but the residuum of practical lectures delivered in the synagogue. The following three works therefore form a group by themselves:—

1. *Mechilta*, מְכִילְתָּא, on a portion of Exodus.
2. *Siphra*, סִפְרָא, on Leviticus.
3. *Siphre* or *Siphri*, סִפְרֵי, on Numbers and Deuteronomy.

All the three were frequently made use of in the Talmud; *Siphra* and *Siphre* being also expressly quoted (Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, 46, 48; on *Mechilta*, see Geiger's *Zeitschr.* 1866, p. 125). In their original form they date back to the second century after Christ, but were revised and altered in later times. The *Mechilta* is ascribed to R. Ishmael (see on him, *Div. ii. vol. i. pp.* 373, 374). This opinion, however, is based simply on the fact that in *Mechilta*, as well as in *Siphre*, sayings of R. Ishmael and those of his school are very frequently quoted. The theory of Geiger is extremely problematical, that the original form of the *Mechilta* and *Siphre* represented an older Halachic tendency, which had already disappeared from the Mishna, *Siphra*, and *Tosephta*.—The Haggada is only feebly represented in *Siphra*, more strongly in *Mechilta*, and in

Siphre "there are considerable passages almost exclusively Haggadic, which comprise at least three-seventh parts of the whole work" (Zunz, *Die gott. Vorträge*, p. 84 f.).—The language of these, as well as of the other Midrashim, is Hebrew.

On the older editions of these three Midrashim, see Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 1349–1352, 1387–1389; iv. 1025, 1030 f.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 76 f., iii. 125, 126.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berol. 1852–1860, col. 597 sq., 627 sq.—Zedner, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum*, 1867, pp. 515 f., 699 f.—More recent editions are the following:—

מכילתא. *Mechilta*. Der älteste halachische und hagadische Commentar zum zweiten Buch Moses. Krit. bearbeitet von J. H. Weiss, Vienna 1865.

ספר מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל על ספר שמות וכו'. *Mechilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, the oldest Halachic and Haggadic Midrash on Exodus. Edited after the oldest printed editions, with critical note, explanations, indices, and introduction by M. Friedmann, Vienna 1870 (reviewed in *Monatsschr.* 1870, pp. 278–284).

ספרא דבי רב הוא ספר תורת כהנים וכו'. with commentary ("Hatora vehamitva"), Bucharest 1860.

ספרא דבי רב הוא ספר תורת כהנים וכו'. also under the title: *Sifra*, *Barajtha zum Leviticus, mit dem Commentar des Abraham ben David*, etc., ed. by Weiss, Vienna 1862.

ספרי. *Sifré debé Rab*, der älteste halachische und hagadische Midrasch zu Numeri und Deuteronomium, ed. by Friedmann, Vienna 1864.

A Latin translation of the *Mechilta* is given in Ugolini *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrum*, vol. xiv. Also a Latin translation of Siphra in the same volume, and of Siphre in vol. xv.

On the three above-named Midrashim generally, compare: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 1349 sqq., 1387 sqq.; iii. 1202, 1209; iv. 1025, 1030 sq.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, pp. 46–48, 84 f.—Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, p. 307 sqq.—Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 393–395.—Joel, *Notizen zum Buche Daniel. Etwas über die Bücher Sifra und Sifre*, Breslau 1873.—Weber, *System der altsynag. palästinischen Theologie*, 1880, p. xix. f.—Strack, art. "Midrash" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ix. 1881, p. 752 f.—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, ii. pp. 721–724, 1166 ff., articles *Mechilta* and *Talmud. Schriften*.—Schiller-Szinessy, article "Mishnah" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xvi.

1883, p. 507 f.—Hoffmann, *Bemerkungen zur Kritik der Mischna* (*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xi. 1884, pp. 17–30).

On *Mechilta* and *Siphre*: Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, pp. 434–450.—Also: *Jüd. Zeitschr. für Wissensch. und Leben*, 1866, pp. 96–126, and for 1871, pp. 8–30.—Pick, *Text-Varianten aus Mechilta und Sifre* (*Zeitschr. für die alttest. Wissensch.* 1886, pp. 101–121).

On *Mechilta*: Frankel, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Jud.* 1853, pp. 388–398; 1854, pp. 149–158, 191–196.

On *Siphra*: Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1854, pp. 387–392, 453–461. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.* xi. 1875, pp. 50–60.

Besides *Siphre*, there is yet another Midrash, on Numbers, the so-called second or small *Siphre*, *Siphre suta*, סִפְרֵי שׁוּטָא, which is known only from repeated quotations given from it in *Yalkut* and other Midrashic works. It seems also to have belonged to the Tannaite period. See in regard to it: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 48; Brüll, *Der kleine Sifre*, in the *Jubelschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage des Prof. Dr. H. Grätz*, Breslau 1887, pp. 179–193.

The following Midrashim contain almost nothing but Haggada:—

4. *Rabboth*, רבוֹת, or *Midrash Rabboth*, מדרש רבוֹת.

This is made up of a collection of Midrashim on the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth (the Song, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), which took their rise in very different times, but were subsequently gathered together as one whole under the above name.

(a) *Bereschith Rabba*, on Genesis. According to Zunz, it was compiled in Palestine during the sixth century. The last five chapters on Gen. xlvii. 28, and what follows, hence from the opening words of the passage וַיְהִי, called also *Vaiechi rabba*, are certainly of later date; according to Zunz, p. 255 f., of the eleventh or twelfth century. Compare generally: Zunz, pp. 174–179, 254–256. Lerner, *Anlage des Bereschith rabba und seine Quellen*, in *Mag. für die Wiss. des Jud.* book vii. 1880, and book viii. 1881. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Bereschit Rabba, in's Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1881.

(b) *Shemoth Rabba*, on Exodus, owes its origin to the same pen as *Vaiechi rabba*, and so belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century. Zunz, pp. 256–258. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Shemoth Rabba*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1882.

(c) *Vayyikra Rabba*, on Leviticus, was compiled, according to Zunz, in Palestine, somewhere about the middle of the seventh century. Zunz, pp. 181–184. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Wajikra Rabba*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1884.

(d) *Bamidbar Rabba*, on Numbers, written, according to Zunz, by two different authors, both of whom made use of *Pesikta*, *Tanchuma*, *Pesikta Rabbathi*, and the works of still later Rabbis. Zunz places the second author in the twelfth century. Compare generally: Zunz, pp. 258–262. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Bemidbar Rabba*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1885.

(e) *Debarim Rabba*, on Deuteronomy, compiled, according to Zunz, about A.D. 900. Zunz, pp. 251–253. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Debarim Rabba*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1882.

(f) *Shir Hashirim Rabba*, on the Song, also called *Agadath Chasith*, from the words with which it opens. It belongs to the later Midrashim, but is “presumably older than the *Pesikta Rabbathi*.” Zunz, p. 263 ff. Chodowski, *Observationes criticae in Midrash Shir Hashirim secundum cod. Monac. 50 Orient*, Halle 1877. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Shir ha-Schirim*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1880.

(g) *Midrash Ruth*, somewhere about the same date as the preceding. Zunz, p. 265. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Ruth Rabba*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1883.

(h) *Midrash Echa*, on Lamentations, also called *Echa Rabbathi*. It was compiled, according to Zunz, in Palestine, in the second half of the seventh century. Zunz, pp. 179–181. J. Abrahams, *The Sources of the Midrash Echah*

Rabbah, Leipzig Dissertation, 1881. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Echa Rabbati*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1881.

(i) *Midrash Koheleth*, or *Koheleth Rabba*, belonging to somewhere about the same time as the Midrashim on the Song and on Ruth. Zunz, p. 265 f. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Koheleth*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1880.

(k) *Midrash Esther*, or *Hagadath Megilla*, makes use of, according to Zunz, p. 151, Josippon, written about A.D. 940, and first quoted in the thirteenth century. Zunz, p. 264 f. Wünsche, *Der Midrash zum Buche Esther*, in's *Deutsche übertragen*, Leipzig 1881.—Originally, according to Jellinek and Buber, closely connected with this Midrash, is the "Midrash Abba Gorion," edited by Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, i. 1853, pp. 1–18; and by Buber, *Sammlung agadischer Commentare zum Buche Esther*, Wilna 1886. Compare also Brüll, *Jahrb. für jüd. Gesch. und Literatur*, viii. 1887, pp. 148–154, who expresses himself opposed to Jellinek and Buber's view.

On the entire *Rabboth* and its editions, compare generally: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 1423–1427, iii. 1215, iv. 1032, 1058. — Steinschneider, *Catalogus libr. Hebr. in Bibliothecum Bodleian.*, col. 589–594. — Zedner, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum*, pp. 539–542. — Strack, art. "Midrash" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, ix. 1881, pp. 753–755. — Schiller-Szinessy, art. "Midrash" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvi. 1883, p. 285 f. — Theodor, *Die Midraschim zum Pentateuch und der dreijährige palästinensische Cyclus* (*Monat.* 1885, 1886, 1887), seeks to show that the chapter division rests on the three years' Palestinian cycle. — Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud*, Supplementalband, pp. 107–111, art. "Midrash Rabba." — Editions with Hebrew commentaries are numerous in recent times. For example, that of Warsaw 1874, of Wilna 1878.

5. *Pesikta*, פסיקתא.

The *Pesikta* does not treat of a whole biblical book, but of the biblical lessons for the feast days and the more important

Sabbaths of the entire year, taking up sometimes the readings of the day from the Pentateuch and sometimes those from the prophets (Zunz, p. 190). Since the work is frequently quoted from in the later literature, Zunz made the attempt to reconstruct the text without having a copy of the work within reach, and succeeded in producing what in all essential points agrees with the original. The complete text was first edited by Buber in A.D. 1868.—Owing to its manifold resemblances to *Bereshith Rabba*, *Vayyikra Rabba*, and *Echa Rabbathi*, Zunz, p. 195, considered that the text of the Pesikta must be regarded as dependent on these, and hence set down the time of its composition at A.D. 700. So also Geiger, Weiss, and Hamburger. On the contrary, Buber, Berliner, and Theodor regard the Pesikta as older than those Midrashim.—It must have originally begun with the reading for the New Year (Zunz, p. 191; Geiger, *Zeitschrift* for 1869, p. 191); whereas in the manuscripts which Buber follows it begins with the Feast of Dedication.

Edition: פסיקתא, *Pesikta*. Die älteste Hagada, redigirt in Palästina von Rab Kahana. Herausgegeben nach einer in Zefath vorgefundenen und in Aegypten copirten Handschrift durch den Verein *Mekize Nirdamim*. Mit kritischen Bemerkungen, Verbesserungen und Vergleichen der Lesearten anderer drei Handschriften in Oxford, Parma und Fez, nebst einer ausführlichen Einleitung von Salomon Buber, Lyk 1868. German translation: Wünsche, *Pesikta des Rab Kahana*, nach der Buber'schen Textausgabe in's Deutsche übertragen, Leipzig 1885.

Compare generally: Zunz, pp. 185–226.—Carmoly, *Pesikta* (*Monatsschrift*, 1854, pp. 59–65).—Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 495 ff.—Weber, *System der altsynagog. paläst. Theol.* p. xxii.—Strack, article "Midrash" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ix. 1881, p. 755 f.—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Supplementalband, p. 117 ff., art. "Pesikta."

Besides this *Pesikta de Rab Kahana*, or *Pesikta* simply, there are other two works which bear that name:—

(a) *Pesikta Rabbathi*, which, like the older *Pesikta*, treats

of the biblical readings for certain feast days and Sabbaths of the Jewish year. The date of its origin is the second half of the ninth century. Zunz, p. 244.

(b) *Pesikta Sutartha*, a Midrash on the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth, by R. Tobia ben Elieser of Mainz, in the beginning of the twelfth century. It was quite a mistake to give to this book the name of *Pesikta*, for it has nothing at all in common with the other two books that bear this name. Compare Zunz, pp. 293–295. A Latin translation is given in Ugolini's *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, vols. xv. and xvi.

On these two works and their editions see: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 391, 720 f., iv. 1031.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 160, iii. 427.—Steinschneider, *Catalog. libr. Hebr. in Biblioth. Bodl.*, col. 631 sq., 2674 sq.—Zedner, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in Library of British Museum*, pp. 633, 758.—Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ix. 756. Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop.*, Supplement, pp. 119–122, art. “*Pesikta*.”

A “*New Pesikta*,” which is closely related to the *Pesikta Rabbathi*, but shorter and more popular in style than it, has been edited by Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. vi. 1877, pp. 36–70.

6. *Pirke derabbi Elieser*, פְּרָקֵי דֵר' אֵלִיעֶזֶר, or *Baraytha derabbi Elieser*, בְּרֵיתָא דֵר' אֵלִיעֶזֶר.

A Haggadic work, in fifty-four chapters, which follows in all essential respects the course of the pentateuchal history. It goes into specially minute details about the creation and the first man, and then again it lingers over the story of the patriarchs and the Mosaic age.—It was written at the earliest not before the eighth century (Zunz, p. 277).

Compare: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 173 sq., iii. 110, iv. 1032.—Zunz, pp. 271–277.—Sachs, *Bemerkungen über das gegenseitige Verhältniss der Beraita des Samuel und der Pirke de R. Elieser* (*Monatsschr.* 1851–1852, pp. 277–282).—Strack and Hamburger are referred to in the last note. Pinner gives an outline of its contents in the introduction to his translation of the tract *Berachoth* (1842).—A list of editions, etc., is given by

Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 232.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, col. 633 sq.—Zedner, *Catalogue*, p. 221.—A Latin translation is given by Vorstius, *Capitula R. Elieser ex Hebraeo in Latinum translata*, Lugd. Bat. 1644.—Proof that the Barajtha derabbi Elieser is different from the Barajtha R. Samuel is given by Zunz in Steinschneider's *Hebr. Bibliographie*, vol. v. 1862, p. 15 f.

7. *Tanchuma*, תנחומא, or *Yelamdenu*, ילמדנו.

A Midrash on the Pentateuch. Zunz fixes the date of its composition in the first half of the ninth century, and assumes that it had its origin in Europe, perhaps in Greece or in the south of Italy. It obtained the name *Yelamdenu* from its frequent use of the formula: "It is taught us by our Master"—*Yelamdenu rabbenu*.—Zunz has proved, pp. 226–229, that both of these designations, *Yelamdenu* and *Tanchuma*, were originally applied to one and the same Midrash. But the author of *Yalkut* had before him two different recensions, which he distinguished as *Yelamdenu* and *Tanchuma* (Zunz, p. 229 f.). And the common printed text is also distinguished from both of these as a comparatively recent abbreviation of *Tanchuma*; so that we have in all no less than three recensions of the text of this Midrash. Buber edited the original text of *Tanchuma* in 1885. Up to this time, however, we have no complete text of *Yelamdenu*. In opposition to Buber's opinion, that the original *Tanchuma* is older than *Bereshith Rabba*, *Pesikta*, or the *Babylonian Talmud*, Neubauer has written in the *Revue des études juives*, xiii. 225 sq., and Brüll in the *Jahrb. für jüd. Geschichte und Literatur*, viii. 121 ff. *Tanchuma*, however, is undoubtedly the oldest Haggadic Midrash on the whole Pentateuch (Zunz, p. 233).

On the common printed text and its editions: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 1159 sq., iii. 1166 sq., iv. 1035.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 409.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, col. 596 sq.—Zedner, *Catalogue*, p. 543.—Recent editions have been issued at Stettin 1864, at Warsaw 1875.

Midrasch Tanchuma. Ein agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch von Rabbi Tanchuma ben Rabbi Abba. Zum ersten Male nach Handschriften aus den Bibliotheken zu Oxford, Rom, Parma und München herausgegeben etc. von Salomon Buber, 3 vols., Wilna 1885.

Fragments from Yelamdenu and Tanchuma are given in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. vi. 1877, pp. 79–105. Fragments of Yelamdenu in Neubauer, *Le midrasch Tanchuma et extraits du Yelamdenu et de petits midraschim* (*Revue des études juives*, xiii. 1886, pp. 224–238; xiv. 1887, pp. 92–113).

For a general information reference may be made to the following: Zunz, pp. 226–238.—Weber, *System der Alt-synagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, xxiv. f.—Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ix. 757 f.—Theodor, *Buber's Tanchuma* (*Monatsschr.* 1885, pp. 35–42, 422–431).—*Die Midraschim zum Pentateuch und der dreijährige palästinensische Cyclus* (*Monatsschr.* 1885, 1886, 1887).—Bacher, *Zu Buber's Tanchuma-Ausgabe* (*Monatsschr.* 1885, pp. 551–554).—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Supplementalband, p. 154 f., art. "Tanchuma."—Brüll, *Jahrb. für jüd. Gesch.* 1887, pp. 121–144.

8. *Yalkut Shimoni*, ילקוט שמעוני (from לקט, to collect).

This is an immense Midrashic compilation on the whole Hebrew Bible, in which, after the style of the patristic Catenae, explanations of each separate passage are put down in order, collected from the older works. According to Zunz, p. 299 f., the work was composed in the first half of the thirteenth century.—A certain Rabbi Simeon Haddarshan is named as the compiler, whose native place or residence is said to have been Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Zunz supposes that he was Simeon Kara, who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, lived in South Germany.

Compare: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 1129 sq., iii. 1138.—Zunz, pp. 295–303.—Rapoport in *Kerem Chemed* (written in Hebrew), vii. 4 ff.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. 327 sq.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, col. 2600–2604.—Zedner, *Catalogue*, p. 702.—Strack in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ix. 738.—Recent edition, Warsaw 1876–1877.

III. TARGUMS.

The Targums or Aramaic translations of the Old Testament also belong to the Rabbinical Literature, inasmuch as expression is given in them likewise to the traditional understanding of the Scripture text. This is especially true of those which are not strictly literal, but rather free paraphrastic renderings of the original.—We mention here only the Targums on the Pentateuch and on the Prophets, for the Targums on the Sacred Writings or Kethubim can scarcely come under consideration by us owing to their late origin.

1. ONKELOS ON THE PENTATEUCH. The few notices about the person of Onkelos that are to be found in the Talmud describe him sometimes as a scholar and friend of the elder Gamaliel, according to which he must have lived about the middle of the first century after Christ, sometimes as a contemporary of R. Elieser and R. Joshua, according to which he must have lived in the first half of the second century. They agree only in this one particular, that he was a proselyte.³⁵ The Chaldaic translation of the Pentateuch which has been ascribed to him is distinguished from all other Targums by its almost painful literalness.³⁶ Only in a few, and those mostly poetic, passages (Gen. xlix.; Num. xxiv.; Deut. xxxii.—xxxiii.), does it incline towards the Haggada by fanciful exposition.³⁷ In other places departures from the text have been occasioned simply by a desire to avoid anthropomorphisms and expressions or modes of representation that

³⁵ See De Wette, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Boston 1843, § 58. Frankel, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, p. 4.

³⁶ Nöldeke, *Die alttestamentl. Literatur*, p. 257 f.

³⁷ Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 62. Specimens of translation in Volck, art. "Thargumim" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, xv. 366–369. Hävernick, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Edin. 1852, p. 332.

seemed to be unworthy of God.³⁸ The dialect of Onkelos is, according to Geiger³⁹ and Frankel,⁴⁰ the East Aramaic or Babylonian. Nöldeke in his earlier writings⁴¹ described it as "a somewhat later development of the Palestinian Aramaic already represented in some of the books of the Old Testament;" but latterly he has adopted the more definite view, that Onkelos is a Palestinian production re-edited in Babylon, "in general conformed in respect of language to the Old Palestinian dialect, but in respect of particular phrases very decidedly coloured by the dialect of Babylon."⁴² At a very early period Onkelos secured a great reputation. The Babylonian Talmud and the Midrashim frequently quote passages from it.⁴³ And in later times, indeed, it had an entire Masora devoted to itself.⁴⁴ It has been often printed, e.g. in the rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the London Polyglott. Berliner has issued a critical edition.⁴⁵

2. JONATHAN ON THE PROPHETS. Jonathan ben Uzziel is said to have been a scholar of Hillel, and must therefore have lived during the first decades of the Christian era.⁴⁶ The Targum ascribed to him embraces all the Prophets,

³⁸ Volck in Herzog, p. 369.—Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, pp. 209 ff., 268 ff.—Maybaum, *Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos*, etc. Breslau 1870.—Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.* 1871, pp. 96–102.

³⁹ Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 93.

⁴⁰ *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, p. 5 f.

⁴¹ *Die alttestamentl. Literatur*, p. 257.

⁴² *Lit. Centralbl.* 1877, p. 305.

⁴³ See the passages in Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 63 f.

⁴⁴ Compare Bleek, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 350, London 1869, vol. ii. p. 440 f.—Berliner, *Die Massorah zum Targum Onkelos*. Leipzig 1877.

⁴⁵ Targum Onkelos. Herausgegeben und erläutert von A. Berliner, vol. i. text; vol. ii. notes, introduction, and index. Berlin 1884. Specimens of the text with Babylonian system of points are given in Merx, *Chrestomathia targumica*, 1888.

⁴⁶ See the passages in De Wette, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 58. Volck, p. 369.

Nebiim, that is, the historical books and the prophets properly so called. It is distinguished from the Targum of Onkelos by its decidedly more paraphrastic character. "Even in the case of the historical books Jonathan often acts the part of an expositor; in the case of the prophetic books again, such a style of exposition is uninterruptedly pursued as makes it really a Haggadic work."⁴⁷ In respect of dialect, what was said above of Onkelos is equally applicable here. Jonathan also soon attained a high reputation, and is very frequently quoted in the Talmud and Midrashim.⁴⁸ Like Onkelos, it has been often printed; *e.g.* in the rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the London Polyglott. Lagarde issued a small critical edition on the basis of a *codex Reuchlinianus*.⁴⁹

According to the traditional views which we have thus reported, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan were written somewhere about the middle of the first century after Christ. Zunz and many recent scholars still are inclined to set them down to that period. But this opinion has been ably contested, especially by Geiger. A series of circumstances strongly supports the idea that both works must have been wrought up in Babylon, where a rabbinical school had been first established during the third century after Christ. Geiger therefore assumes that both Targums were composed, or rather revised and edited, in Babylon not before the fourth century.⁵⁰ Frankel agrees with him in all essential points, only putting Onkelos a little earlier, as belonging to the third

⁴⁷ Zunz, pp. 62, 63. On the character of the translation and paraphrase of Jonathan, see Bleek, *Introduction*, vol. ii. pp. 441, 442. Keil, *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 260. Hävernicks, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Edin. 1852, p. 333. Frankel, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, pp. 13–40.

⁴⁸ See the passages in Zunz, p. 63.

⁴⁹ *Prophetæ Chaldaice. Paulus de Lagarde e fide codicis Reuchliniani edidit.* Lips. 1872.—Specimens of the text with Babylonian pointing in Merx, *Chrestomathia targumica*, 1888.

⁵⁰ Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, 1857, p. 164.

century.⁵¹ This latter opinion might be supported by the fact that Onkelos seems to have been made use of by Jonathan.⁵² The idea that the Targum on the Prophets was edited in the fourth century is also confirmed by tradition, for the Babylonian Talmud quotes it as the "Targum of R. Joseph," a Babylonian teacher of the fourth century.⁵³ But as to Onkelos, nothing whatever is known of his existence save that he composed the Targum that is named after him. For the notice which the Babylonian Talmud (*Megilla* 3a) gives of Onkelos and his Chaldaean translation of the Pentateuch, is to be found in the parallel passage in the Jerusalem Talmud attached to the name of Aquila and his Greek translation (*Jer. Megilla* i. 9). And the latter is undoubtedly the original form of the statement. Elsewhere, too, the names אונקלוס and עקילס are interchanged.⁵⁴ It seems therefore that in Babylon the old and correct statement about a translation of the Pentateuch by the proselyte Aquila was erroneously attached to the anonymous Chaldaean Targum, and that the name Onkelos therefore is merely a corruption of the name Aquila.⁵⁵ But even if the two Targums were first issued during the third and fourth centuries, it cannot be doubted that they are based upon earlier works, and only form the conclusion of a process that had been going on for several centuries. Even the Mishna speaks of Chaldee translations of the Bible.⁵⁶ The New Testament is sometimes found in its rendering of Old Testament passages in striking agreement with the Targums (*e.g.* in Eph. iv. 8),—a clear proof that the latter in respect of

⁵¹ *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, pp. 8–11.

⁵² Zunz, p. 63. De Wette, § 58.

⁵³ Frankel, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, p. 10.

⁵⁴ De Wette, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 58.

⁵⁵ Bleek, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. ii. p. 441. Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 61–64. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. 98.

⁵⁶ *Yadayim* iv. 5.

their materials reached back to the Apostolic age. Also express mention is made of a Targum on Job in the period preceding the overthrow of the temple.⁵⁷ Fragments even from the time of John Hyrcanus are preserved in our Targums.⁵⁸ From all this it is evident that in our Targums materials are made use of which had been gradually amassed during many generations, and that the works which we now possess were preceded by earlier written treatises. The linguistic character of the Targums, as Nöldeke has quite correctly maintained, testifies to the history of their origin. For in spite of their being revised and issued in Babylon, the Palestinian character of their language is unquestionable.

3. PSEUDO - JONATHAN AND JERUSALMI ON THE PENTATEUCH. Besides Onkelos, there are other two Targums on the Pentateuch, one of which contains the whole of the Pentateuch, while the other comprises only separate verses, and gives often only renderings of isolated words. The former is ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel; the latter is designated by the editors "Targum Jerusalmi." That the former cannot have been written by the author of the Targum on the Prophets has long been generally admitted. But Zunz⁵⁹ has also shown that Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalmi are only two different recensions of one and the same Targum; that both are quoted by older authorities (*Aruch* and *Elia*) under the name "Targum Jerusalmi;" and that even the recension now existing only as a fragment had been before the older authors in its complete form. The last statement may be questioned. Geiger thinks that the fragmentary Targum was from the beginning only "a collection of detached glosses," not probably on the Pseudo - Jonathan but on the primary

⁵⁷ Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 61 f.

⁵⁸ Nöldeke, *Die alttestamentl. Literatur*, p. 256.

⁵⁹ Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, pp. 66-72.

recension.⁶⁰ According to Seligsohn and Volck, the Jerusalmi was "not a fragment of what had originally been a complete paraphrase, but a Haggadic supplement and a collection of marginal glosses and various readings on Onkelos; but Pseudo-Jonathan, on this basis and, upon the whole, with the same tendency, composed a later redaction of the Jerusalmi."⁶¹ Bacher regards the fragmentary Targum as a collection of portions from the oldest Palestinian Targum. On the basis of the latter arose on the one side Onkelos, on the other side Pseudo-Jonathan, who already made use of Onkelos.⁶² At any rate, Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalmi are most intimately related to one another, and might best be designated as Jerusalmi I. and II. The attributing to Jonathan of the more complete issue is probably due to an erroneous interpretation of the abbreviation תי, which means תרגום ירושלמי.⁶³ This Jerusalem Targum transmitted in its twofold recension is related to the Targum of Onkelos as "a midrash for the simple explanation of words. Onkelos is only sometimes an expositor; the Jerusalemite is only sometimes a translator" (Zunz, p. 72). "His language is a Palestinian dialect of the Aramaic; hence we must pitch upon Syria or Palestine as its author's native country; and this assumption is confirmed by the oldest examples we have of the way in which the work was referred to—תרגום ארץ ישראל"⁶⁴ (Zunz, p. 73). As to the date, Pseudo-Jonathan, seeing that in his work there occur the names of a wife and daughter of Mohammed, cannot have composed it before the seventh or eighth century.⁶⁵ But besides those later portions it con-

⁶⁰ Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 455.

⁶¹ Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, xv. 372.

⁶² *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenland. Gesellsch.* 1874, p. 60.

⁶³ Zunz, p. 71.

⁶⁴ Zunz, p. 66. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 166.

⁶⁵ Zunz, pp. 75-77. Geiger, p. 165. Nöldeke, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, p. 259.

tains, like the other Targums, and perhaps even to a greater extent than these, fragments from a very early period, so that it may justly be styled "a thesaurus of views from various centuries."⁶⁶—Both recensions have often been printed, as, *e.g.*, in the London Polyglott.

For the literature on the Targums and their editions, see: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii. 1189 sqq.—Le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra*, ed. Masch, Part ii. vol. i. 1781, pp. 23–49.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 105–107, iii. 48.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus libr. hebr. in Bibliothec. Bodlei.* col. 165–174.—Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, 1884, ii. 175–200.—Volek in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, xv. 1885, pp. 375–377.

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⁶⁶ Nöldeke, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, p. 259.

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GRONEMANN, *Die Jonathan'sche Pentateuch-Uebersetzung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Halacha*. Leipzig 1879.

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IV. HISTORICAL WORKS.

Besides the Talmud, Midrashim, and Targums, there are also the following treatises, which ought to be classed among the works belonging to the circle of rabbinical works, inasmuch as they stand related in one way or another to our history. Only the first named, however, can be regarded as of any particular historical value.

1. *Megillath Taanith*, properly the "Book of the Fasts," a list of those days on which, owing to some association or another, any joyous event (especially during the period of the Maccabees) could not be celebrated. The observance of such days is already presupposed in Judith viii. 6.⁶⁷ Our list is quoted even in the Mishna, *Taanith* ii. 8, and seems to have been compiled in the first century after Christ. The text is Aramaic; the much later commentary is in Hebrew.—The little tract, which in earlier times was not very highly esteemed, has been found of great historical importance, and much use has been made of it, especially by Derenbourg and Grätz.

Edition with Latin translation: Meyer, *Tractatus de temporibus sacris et festis diebus Hebraeorum*, etc. *Accedit מלחמתיקניו volumen de jejuniis*, Amstelaedami 1724.—Derenbourg in his *Histoire de la Palestine* (1867), pp. 439-446, gives the Aramaic text with a French translation.—Compare generally: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 68 f., 384 f., ii. 1325 ff., iii. 1195 ff.,

⁶⁷ Judith viii. 6: ἐνέστειν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς χηρεύσεως αὐτῆς χωρὶς προσαββάτων καὶ σαββάτων καὶ προνουμηνιῶν καὶ νομηνιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ χαρροσυνῶν οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ.

iv. 1024.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 9, under *Abraham ha-Lewi*.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus libr. Hebr. in Biblioth. Bodlei.* col. 582.—Zedner, *Catalogue of the British Museum*, p. 517.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 127, 128.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. v. p. 381, vol. viii. p. 280 sq.—Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iii. pp. 597–615 (n. 1), and 685 ff. (n. 1).—Wellhausen, *Phar. u. Saduc.* pp. 56–63.—Schmilg, *Ueber Entstehung und historischen Werth des Siegeskalenders "Megillath Taanith,"* Leipz. 1874.—Joel Müller, *Der Text der Fastenrolle (Monatsschr. 1875, pp. 43–48, 139–144).*—Brann, *Entstehung und Werth der Megillat Taanit (Monatsschr. 1876, pp. 375 ff., 410 ff., 445 ff.).*—Cassel, *Kritisches Sendschreiben über die Probebibel; II. Messianische Stellen des Alten Testaments. Angehängt sind Anmerkungen über Megillath Taanith*, Berlin 1885.—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Supplementalband, pp. 104–107, art. "*Megillath Taanith.*"

2. *Seder olam*, also called *Seder olam rabba*, an exposition of the biblical history from Adam down to the time of Alexander the Great, with some notices also of later times.—It is quoted in the Talmud, and is ascribed to R. Jose ben Chalephta, who lived about the years 130–160 after Christ. This supposition, however, rests simply on the fact that R. Jose is quoted nine times as an authority.

Much more modern, composed at the earliest in the eighth century, is the *Seder olam sutta*, a genealogical work, which treats first of all of biblical times, and then seeks to give an unbroken list of the princes during the Babylonian exile.

An edition of both, with a Latin translation: '*Chronicon Hebraeorum majus et minus, latine vertit et commentar. perpet. illustravit J. Meyer. Accedit ejusdem dissertat. 3, Amstelaedami 1699.*—Compare generally: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 492–499, iv. 1029 sq.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 107 sq.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus Bodlei.* col. 1433–1437.—Zedner, *Catalogue of the British Museum*, p. 689 sq.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 85, 135–139.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. i. pp. 200, 209, vol. viii. p. 49.—Fürst, *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, pp. 547–552.—Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 200.—Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Supplement. p. 132 f.

3. *Megillath Antiochus*, a short legendary history of the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes and the conquests of the Asmoneans. It belongs to the post-Talmudic age, and is historically worthless. The original Aramaic text was first printed in the present century. Numerous older editions give a Hebrew translation, which in its manuscript form is still extant.

On the manuscripts of the Aramaic and Hebrew texts, see especially: Curtiss, *The Name Maccabee*, Leipzig 1876, p. 36 sqq. In addition, consult: Merx, *Chrestomathia targumica* 1888, p. xvi., which calls attention to two manuscripts of the British Museum (*Oriental Manuscripts*, 2377, 2212) as giving the Aramaic text with the Babylonian pointing.—Bartolocci in his *Bibliotheca rabbinica*, i. 388 sqq., gives the Hebrew text with a Latin translation. The Latin translation alone is copied by Fabricius in his *Codex pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 1165 sqq.—A modern edition of the Hebrew text: Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, i. (1853) pp. 142–146.—The Aramaic text was first edited by Filipowski in 1851: *The Choice of Pearls . . . to which is added the Book of Antiochus, published for the first time in Aramaic, Hebrew, and English*, by H. Filipowski, London 1851. Also more recently by Jellinek in *Bet ha-Midrash*, vi. (1877) pp. 4–8.

Compare generally: Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 204 sq., iii. 130.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 317.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus libr. hebr. Bodlei.* col. 206 sq.—Zedner, *Catalogue of British Museum*, p. 51.—Zunz, p. 134.—Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. v. p. 287 sq.

4. *Josippon* or *Joseph ben Gorion*. Under this name there exists, written in Hebrew, a history of the Jewish people from Adam down to the destruction of the temple by Titus. The author wishes to pass himself off for the ancient Josephus, but calls himself erroneously Joseph son of Gorion, and not infrequently departs so widely from the rôle which he had assumed as even expressly to quote from the true Josephus (Zunz, p. 150). The latter is, indeed, abundantly made use of, but in a very free and eclectic manner, while much purely legendary material is introduced from other sources. It

would seem that this author had before him, not the Greek text, but a Latin translation of Josephus, and for the *Bellum Judaicum*, indeed, only the paraphrastic and loose rendering of the so-called Hegesippus. According to Zunz, pp 150–152, the work originated in Italy during the first half of the tenth century after Christ.

Among the numerous editions, the following deserve to be mentioned: *Josephus Gorionides s. Josephus Hebraicus juxta venetam edit. latine versus et cum exemplari Constantinop. collatus atque notis illustratus a J. F. Breithaupto*, Gothae 1707, in Hebrew and Latin. The same with a new title, Gothae et Lips. 1710.—A Hebrew-Latin edition had been already issued at a much earlier date by Sebastian Münster, *Josephus Hebraicus diu desideratissimus opera Seb. Münsteri*, Basil 1541; but it was disfigured by many arbitrary abbreviations.—A Latin translation of the whole text was given by Gagnier, *Josippon sive Josephi ben Gorionis historiae Judaicae libri sex, ex hebraeo latine vertit*, etc., Oxon. 1706.

Compare generally on the work and its editions: Oudin, *De script. eccles.* ii. col. 1032–1062.—Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i. 508–523, iii. 387–389.—Meusel, *Bibliotheca histor.* i. 2 (1784), pp. 236–239.—Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graec.*, ed. Harles, v. 56–59.—Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 111–114.—Steinschneider, *Catalogus libr. hebr. Biblioth. Bodlei.* col. 1547–1552.—Zedner, *Catalogue of the British Museum*, p. 344 sq.—Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 146–154.—Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*, Leipzig 1836, pp. 37–40.—Külb, art. “*Josephus Gorionides*,” in Ersch und Gruber’s *Allgem. Encyclop.* Sec. ii. Bd. 23 (1844), p. 184.

FIRST DIVISION.



**POLITICAL HISTORY OF PALESTINE
FROM B.C. 175 TO A.D. 135.**

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES DOWN TO THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM BY POMPEY.

THE RISE OF THE MACCABEES AND THE PERIOD OF FREEDOM, B.C. 175-63.

INASMUCH as the history of Israel during this period is very much mixed up with the history of Syria, we propose to give first of all—

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SYRIA DURING THE LAST CENTURY OF THE SELEUCID DYNASTY, B.C. 175-63.

SOURCES.

Eusebii *Chronicorum libri duo*, ed. Schoene, vol. ii. Berol. 1866, vol. i. 1875 ; especially an extract given there from Porphyry.—Also the Chronicle of *Sulpicius Severus*, ed. Halm, 1866, contains some statements of importance. See Bernays, *Ueber die Chronik des Sulp. Severus*, 1861, pp. 61-63. — Scattered notices will also be found in *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and *Justin*. *Appian* gives a good summary sketch.—The Book of Daniel, chap. xi., and the commentary on it by Jerome (*Opp.* Vallarsi, v. 701-724), come into consideration only for Antiochus Epiphanes.—The two books of Maccabees, especially the first. Josephus, in books xii. and xiii. of his *Antiquities*, enlarges upon the story, and adds, especially for the history of the Seleucidae, many important historical statements derived from other writers.—And, finally, of the utmost importance are the numerous dated coins. For the literature of this subject, see above, § 2. D. Special attention should be called to Eckhel, Mionnet, de Saulcy, and the Catalogue of the British Museum by Gardner.

LITERATURE.

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- EWALD, *History of Israel*, vol. v. Supremacy of the Seleucidae; the Maccabees; the sons of John Hyrcanus, pp. 286–394.
- STANLEY, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*. Third series. 2nd edition. London 1877. Lect. xlviii.–xlix. pp. 285–396.
- NIEBUHR, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, iii. (1851). Also: *Historischer Gewinn aus der armenischen Uebersetzung der Chronik des Eusebius in Klein, Schr. i.* 179–304.
- FOY-VAILLANT, *Seleucidarum imperium sive Historia regum Syriae ad fidem numismatum accommodata*. Paris 1681.
- FLATHE, *Geschichte Macedoniens und der Reiche, welche von macedonischen Königen beherrscht wurden*. Bd. ii. (1834). The most complete modern history of the Hellenistic Kingdoms.
- FROELICH, *Annales compendiarîi regum et rerum Syriae numis veteribus illustrati*. Viennae 1744, editio altera 1750.
- STARK, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*. 1852.

A good summary of the sources is given by Clinton.—For the determining of the general chronological framework the chief sources are: 1. The Extract from Porphyry in the Chronicle of Eusebius; 2. Separate statements in the First Book of Maccabees. The Seleucid era, according to which the dates in this book are reckoned, begins probably, not in autumn, but rather in spring of B.C. 312 (see above, § 3. A.). 3. The coins, whose dates have been lucidly collected and arranged by de Saulcy, *Mémoire sur les monnaies datées des Séleucides*, Paris 1871.

Porphyry, the well-known Neo-Platonic philosopher of the third century after Christ, wrote a chronological work in which he made careful use of the best sources. From it Eusebius in his Chronicle makes extracts with reference to the history of the Ptolemies (Eusebii *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 159 sq.), and with reference to the Macedonian kings (Eusebii *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 229 sq.). But undoubtedly from this same source, although

Porphyry is not there named, is derived the whole similar paragraph on the history of the Seleucidae (Eusebii *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 247-264). The text of the Chronicle of Eusebius with this passage complete is now extant only in an Armenian translation, first edited by Aucher, Eusebii *Chron.* vol. i. (1818), translated anew for Schoene's edition into Latin by Petermann. Fragments of the Greek text are met with in a Parisian manuscript, from which they were published even by Scaliger in the Appendix to his *Thesaurus temporum*, 1606, and more recently by Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis*, vol. ii. (1839) p. 115 sqq. Müller in his *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, iii. 706-717, gives among the fragments of Porphyry, the Armenian and Greek text, together with a historical commentary.

In this passage Porphyry fixes the chronology of the Seleucidae according to the Olympiad era, and indeed in such a way that he takes into account only whole years; hence the year in which a change of kings occurs is reckoned to the one who preceded a full year, while the reign of his successor is made to begin with the following year. Thus, for example, although he makes the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes begin with Olympiad 151. 3, it actually began in Olympiad 151. 2. It is further to be remarked that, in dealing with the frequent appearances of pretenders to the throne, he dates the reign of the successful pretender from the year in which his opponent was overthrown.

From what sources Porphyry has derived his information may be learned from the following statement of Jerome, although its immediate reference is not to Porphyry's Chronicle, but to his book on Daniel: *Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis multiplex Graecorum historia necessaria est: Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse sequutum se dicit; Josephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Josephus, praecipueque nostri Livii et Pompeii Trogi atque Justini, qui omnem extraemae visionis narrant historiam* (Hieronymus, *Praefatio in Danielelem*, Opp. ed. Vallarsi, v. 621 sq.).

But valuable as the work of Porphyry is, so carefully culled from the best original documents, we ought also to guard against any over-estimation of its worth. His statements about Olympiads are evidently "deductions from calculations of the years of the several reigns" (Gutschmid, *Geschichte Iran's und seiner Nachbarländer*, 1888, p. 77, Anm.), and

thus do not possess the weight of immediate traditional testimony.

ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES, B.C. 175-164.

He was the son of Antiochus III. the Great, and brother of Seleucus IV. Philopator, who reigned B.C. 187-175. During the reign of his brother Seleucus he lived as a hostage at Rome. Seleucus procured for him liberty to return to his native land by sending as hostage to Rome his own son Demetrius; but before Antiochus reached home Seleucus had been murdered by Heliodorus. Antiochus then usurped the throne to which by right his nephew Demetrius ought to have succeeded (*Appian. Syr.* 45).—Antiochus died after a reign of eleven years, in B.C. 164, while engaged in a campaign against the Parthians.

That his reign lasted for eleven years is stated by Porphyry (*Euseb. Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 253, 263 sq.), Jerome (*ad Danielelem*, 11. 21 sq.), and Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* ii. 22). The date of the beginning of his reign is set down by Porphyry as Olympiad 151. 3, and so actually Olym. 151. 2, which is equivalent to B.C. 175-174. This statement is borne out by the fact that the coins also begin with the year 138 of the Seleucid era, which corresponds to 175-174 before Christ. The First Book of Maccabees, on the other hand (chap. i. 10), places the beginning of the reign in the Seleucid year 137, that is, in B.C. 176-175, which can be reconciled with the statement of Porphyry only by supposing that the Seleucid year was reckoned from autumn to autumn, so that Olympiad 151. 2 would begin in the summer of B.C. 175. But if we assume that the First Book of Maccabees counts the year from spring to spring, we shall have to admit the existence of a slight discrepancy.—The death of Antiochus occurred, according to Porphyry, in Olympiad 154. 1, that is, in B.C. 164-163; according to the First Book of Maccabees (vi. 16), in the Seleucid year 149, which also answers to B.C. 164-163.

The chronology of the Egyptian campaigns of Antiochus, which is of importance also in Jewish history, is still matter of controversy. But according to non-Jewish sources, it is

highly probable that they belonged to the period between B.C. 170 and B.C. 168. This is further supported by the fact that the First Book of Maccabees (i. 20) makes mention for the first time of an Egyptian campaign in the Seleucid year 143, corresponding to B.C. 170–169, and indeed states precisely that autumn of B.C. 170 was the date of the return from it. Only the Second Book of Maccabees (v. 1) disagrees with this by reckoning that campaign the second. But the unreliableness of this document would make the assumption of an earlier campaign in B.C. 171 unjustifiable apart from other evidence. Compare generally on this question: Droysen, *De Lagidarum regno*, 1831, pp. 56–69, which I have not been able to consult; Jo. Christ. Conr. Hofmann, *De bellis ab Antiocho Epiphane adversus Ptolemaeos gestis*, Erlangae 1835; Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel*, pp. 202–208; Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, pp. 430–434; Grimm, *Das erste Buch der Maccabäer*, p. 15 f.; Joh. Friedr. Hoffmann, *Antiochus IV. Epiphanes*, 1873, pp. 36–58; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ii. 2 (1876), pp. 436–443.

On Antiochus generally, besides the works mentioned above, compare: Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 293–306; Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, third series, 1877, pp. 288–302. See also the article in Pauly's Real-Encyclop. der class. Alterthumswissenschaft, and the articles by Wieseler in Herzog, vol. i. pp. 458–463, and by Reuss in Schenkel, *Bibellexikon*. For further notice, see § 4.

ANTIOCHUS V. EUPATOR, B.C. 164–162.

This monarch was the son of Epiphanes. According to Porphyry he began to reign in his twelfth year, but according to Appian. *Syr.* 46 and 66, when he was only nine years old. From the statement of Porphyry it would seem as if he had been for a year and a half co-regent with his father; but the text is probably corrupt (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 253). During his short reign of only one and a half or two years he was simply a tool in the hand of his field-marshal and guardian Lysias, and was along with him, by the order of his cousin Demetrius, assassinated in B.C. 162.

The statements as to the length of this reign vacillate between a year and a half and two years; the former period is given by Porphyry in the *Summarium* (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 263 sq.), and the latter by Josephus in the *Antiquities*, xii. 10. 1 (Euseb. *Chron.* ii. 126 sq., *ad ann. Abrah.* 1852). The beginning and end are determined by the chronology of his predecessor and his successor.—Compare generally: Reuss in Schenkel and Wieseler in Herzog. Also Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.

DEMETRIUS I. SOTER, B.C. 162–150.

Demetrius was the son of Seleucus Philopator. He had been sent by him as hostage to Rome, but fled from thence, and assumed the reins of government in B.C. 162, after having had his cousin Antiochus Eupator assassinated.

In B.C. 153, Alexander Balas took up arms against him as a pretender to the throne. He claimed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and therefore the legitimate heir of the Syrian throne. Demetrius fell in battle against him in B.C. 150.

The flight of Demetrius from Rome and the consequences resulting from it are very vividly sketched by Polybius, who, as a friend of Demetrius, was personally engaged in the incidents which he narrates (Polybius, xxxi. 12, 19–22). Both Polybius (iii. 5) and Porphyry (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 255, 263 sq.) ascribe to Demetrius a reign of twelve years, while Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 2. 4) allows him only eleven years. Porphyry sets down the commencement of the reign at Olympiad 154. 4, that is really Olym. 154. 3, corresponding to B.C. 162–161; and the First Book of Maccabees (vii. 1) makes it 151 of the Seleucid era, which also answers to B.C. 162–161. The dated coins extend from 150 to 162 of the Seleucid era, or from B.C. 163–162 to B.C. 151–150. If the number of the year be rightly read as 150, the beginning of the reign must be set down before autumn of B.C. 162, which is reconcilable with the statement in First Maccabees on the supposition that its years are to be understood as spring years.—On the date of the insurrection of Alexander Balas, see below. The common text of Porphyry gives Olympiad 157. 4 as the date of the

death of Demetrius. Since this would give him a reign of thirteen years, it is most probably to be read Olympiad 157. 3, corresponding to B.C. 150–149. According to 1 Macc. x. 50 and 57, the death of Demetrius occurred not later than 162 of the Seleucid era, or B.C. 151–150.—Compare on Demetrius generally, the articles in Herzog and Schenkel.

ALEXANDER BALAS, B.C. 150–145.

When Alexander had wrenched the government from Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, who also himself bore the name of Demetrius, rose up against him. With this Demetrius II., Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt entered into alliance. Alexander was besieged in Antioch by the Egyptian king, fled to Arabia, and was there treacherously murdered in B.C. 145. On the fifth day after that bloody deed, the head of Alexander was brought to Ptolemy (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 8).

The coins of Alexander bear dates from 160 to 168 of the Seleucid era, that is, from B.C. 153–152 to B.C. 145–144. The First Book of Maccabees (x. 1) describes his revolt against Demetrius as having taken place in the Seleucid year 160, or B.C. 153–152; and indeed B.C. 153 must be fixed upon, since it occurred before the Feast of Tabernacles of the year referred to (1 Macc. x. 21).—His reign proper is reckoned by Porphyry and Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 4. 8) at five years. The common text of Porphyry puts down the beginning of it in Olympiad 157. 3, and the end in Olympiad 158. 4. Since this, according to Porphyry's style of reckoning, would give six years, probably we should read instead of 157. 3, 157. 4, that is really 157. 3, corresponding to B.C. 150–149.—The death of Alexander is placed by the First Book of Maccabees (xi. 19) in the Seleucid year 167, or B.C. 146–145. Porphyry's date is Olympiad 158. 4, which corresponds to B.C. 145–144.—Compare on Alexander, the articles in Pauly, Winer, Herzog, and Schenkel.

DEMETRIUS II. NICATOR, B.C. 145–138.

ANTIOCHUS VI., B.C. 145–(?). TRYPHO, (?)-138.

One of the generals of Alexander, Diodotus, named Trypho, disputed the succession with Demetrius in favour of the youthful son of Alexander, Antiochus VI.

Meanwhile Trypho himself aspired to the throne, had his ward Antiochus murdered, and made himself king. Soon after this, according to other accounts even previously, Demetrius undertook a campaign against the Parthians, in the course of which he was taken prisoner by the Parthians in B.C. 138. But Trypho was defeated by Antiochus VII. Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, at Dora, then shut up in Apamea, and compelled to end his life by his own hand (Strabo, p. 668; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 2; Appian. *Syr.* 68).

The revolt of Demetrius against Alexander Balas took place, according to 1 Macc. x. 67, in the Seleucid year 165, or B.C. 148–147, while his reign began in 167 of the Seleucid era, B.C. 146–145 (1 Macc. xi. 19). The dates of the coins extend from 167 to 174 Seleucid era, or from B.C. 146–145 to B.C. 139–138.—There are coins of Antiochus VI. from 167 to 170 of the Seleucid era, or from B.C. 146–145 to B.C. 143–142. Coins of Trypho bear the number of the years III. (de Saulcy, p. 42, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, p. 82 sq.) and IV. (Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, p. 69). Josephus assigns to the reign of Antiochus VI. a period of four years, and to Trypho a period of three years (*Antiq.* xiii. 7. 1–2). According to this estimate, the reign of Antiochus would date B.C. 145–141; that of Trypho, B.C. 141–138. This is in agreement with the statement of Porphyry, who gives to Demetrius, before his imprisonment, only a three years' reign (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 257, 263 sq.), from Olympiad 160. 1, which is really Olym. 159. 4, or B.C. 141–140, to Olympiad 160. 3, or B.C. 138–137. Porphyry evidently reckons the reign of Demetrius as beginning with the displacement by conquest or murder of Antiochus VI. In thorough accord with this, too, is the chronology of the First Book of Maccabees, xiii. 31, 41, which unhesitatingly assigns the murder of Antiochus by

Trypho to the Seleucid year 170, or B.C. 143–142. Finally, it is no serious discrepancy when, in 1 Macc. xiv. 1, the Parthian campaign of Demetrius is dated from the Seleucid year 172, or B.C. 141–140; while Porphyry, on the other hand, assigns it to Olympiad 160. 2, or B.C. 139–138. In direct contradiction, however, to the foregoing, stands the statement made by many writers (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 11, 7. 1; Appian. *Syr.* 67, 68; Justin. xxxvi. 1), that Antiochus was not murdered by Trypho before the time of the Parthian campaign of Demetrius, and indeed not till after Demetrius had been taken prisoner. This, however, is in opposition not only to the chronology of the First Book of Maccabees, but also to the circumstance that then there is not left a three or four years' reign for Trypho, which yet, according to Josephus and the coins, must be admitted. Then Trypho's death occurs almost contemporaneously with the seizure of Demetrius by the Parthians in B.C. 138. See in next paragraph under Antiochus Sidetes. It therefore seems to me hazardous to assume, with many modern critics, that the last-named authorities should have the precedence over 1 Macc. —Compare on this question, and on Antiochus VI. and Trypho generally: Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, 1793, pp. 269–274. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 331. Müller, *Fragmenta hist. Graec.* t. ii. p. xx. Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, t. v. 1875, pp. 43–49. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Iran's*, 1888, pp. 51–53. Also the articles in Pauly, Winer, Herzog, and Schenkel.

ANTIOCHUS VII. SIDETES, B.C. 138–128.

So long as Demetrius was the prisoner of the Parthians, Antiochus VII. held undisturbed sway in Syria.—In B.C. 129 he undertook a campaign against the Parthians, and in it he met his death in B.C. 128. During the war the Parthian king released Demetrius from his imprisonment, in order that he might seize for himself the government of Syria, and so compel Antiochus to return home.

On the surname Sidetes, compare Porphyry (Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 255): *in Sida urbe educatus, quapropter Sidetes utique vocabatur*. The city Side lies in Pamphylia.—The revolt of Antiochus VII. against Trypho occurred, according to 1 Macc. xv. 10, in the year 174 Seleucid, or B.C. 139–138.

Porphyry reckons his reign from Olympiad 160. 4, that is really Olympiad 160. 3, or B.C. 138–137. The coins begin with the Seleucid year 174, or B.C. 139–138, and reach down to Seleucid year 184, or B.C. 129–128 (de Saulcy, pp. 44–46).—The beginning of the Parthian campaign cannot, according to Livy, *Epit.* 59, be placed earlier than B.C. 129, immediately after the consul M. Peperna, whose consulship was in B.C. 130, and immediately before the consul C. Sempronius, whose consulship was in B.C. 129. Porphyry assigns the death of Antiochus, after a nine years' reign, to Olympiad 162. 4, or B.C. 129–128. According to Justin. xxxviii. 10, it occurred in the winter; according to Diodorus, xxxiv. 15 sq., in spring, therefore in the beginning of B.C. 128. In fact, the coins of Alexander Zabinas (see next paragraph) begin with the Seleucid year 184, or B.C. 129–128.—With these matters of fact in view, some coins of Antiochus, purporting to belong to the Seleucid year 185 and 186, the latter corresponding to B.C. 127–126, have occasioned great difficulties to the historians. Some have disputed the authenticity of their date (so Tôchon d'Annecy, *Dissertation sur l'époque de la mort d'Antiochus VII. Evergètes Sidétès, roi de Syrie, sur deux médailles antiques de ce prince, et sur un passage du II^e livre des Macchabées*, Paris 1815, pp. 61–65); others have assumed that even after the death of Antiochus, coins were issued with his name (so Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 251 f.). The most probable explanation is that the date has only been falsely read (see Nussbaum, *Observationes*, p. 51).—Compare generally: Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, t. v. 1875, pp. 265–280. Nussbaum, *Observationes in Flavii Josephi Antiquitates*, 1875, pp. 49–54. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Iran's*, Tüb. 1888, pp. 75–77, who places the death of Antiochus in B.C. 129. Also the articles in Pauly, Winer, Herzog, and Schenkel.

DEMETRIUS II. NICATOR, a second time, B.C. 128–125 or 124 (?).

ALEXANDER ZABINAS, B.C. 128–122 (?).

After a ten years' imprisonment among the Parthians, as Porphyry relates in Eusebius, Demetrius II. once again became king of Syria. There was soon raised up against him, through the intrigues of Ptolemy Physkon, an anti-king in the person of Alexander Zabinas, who claimed to

be a son of Alexander Balas. Demetrius was besieged by him in Damascus, obliged to fly, and murdered as he attempted to land at Tyre.

Coins of Demetrius are in existence which pretend to belong to the period from 180 to 187 of the Seleucid era, or from B.C. 133–132 to B.C. 126–125 (de Saulcy, pp. 51, 52). If the reading is in every case correct, it might be supposed that even during the Parthian imprisonment of Demetrius, coins were issued with his name printed on them (so de Saulcy, p. 55). But the reading is not by any means certain in every instance (Nussbaum, *Observationes*, p. 52 sq.). There are some which certainly are marked 183–187 of the Seleucid era (Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, p. 76 sq.; Bunbury, *Num. Chronicle*, 1883, p. 100 sq.).—Porphyry assigns to Demetrius after his imprisonment a reign of four years. The common text gives as its beginning Olympiad 162. 2, for which we ought certainly to read Olympiad 163. 2, that is really Olympiad 163. 1, or B.C. 128–127; and as the year of his death, Olympiad 164. 1, corresponding to B.C. 124–123. With this it is impossible to reconcile the fact that there exists coins of Antiochus VIII. Grypos, and of Cleopatra, professing to belong to the Seleucid year 187, or B.C. 126–125. Yet here again it may be questioned whether this is the correct reading.—Compare on Demetrius also the articles in Pauly, Winer, Herzog, and Schenkel.—For Alexander Zabinas, Porphyry gives no direct dates. His coins range over the period from 184 to 190 of the Seleucid era, or from B.C. 129–128 to B.C. 123–122 (de Saulcy, p. 57; Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, pp. 81–84; Bunbury, *Num. Chronicle*, 1883, p. 103 sq.).

SELEUCUS V., B.C. 125 or 124 (?).

Seleucus V. succeeded his father Demetrius on the throne; but soon after beginning his reign he was murdered at the instigation of his own mother.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. GRYPOS, B.C. 125 or 124–113.

Antiochus VIII. was the brother of Seleucus. He had still to do battle with the anti-king Alexander Zabinas, but

conquered him in the third year of his reign; according to Porphyry, in B.C. 122–121. He then caused Alexander to be executed, as Justin reports, xxxix. 2 (compare also Diodorus, xxxiv. 28). According to Porphyry, Alexander put an end to his own life by poison.

After a reign of eleven years, in B.C. 113, Antiochus VIII. Grypos was driven from the throne by Antiochus IX. Kyrikenos, who was his cousin on the father's side, his brother on the mother's side. Antiochus Grypos then withdrew to Aspendos.

The relationship between the two is as follows:—Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, who had been already the wife of Alexander Balas (1 Macc. x. 58), had separated herself from him and married Demetrius II. Nicator (1 Macc. xi. 12). From this marriage sprang Seleucus V. and Antiochus VIII. Grypos. But while Demetrius was detained among the Parthians, Cleopatra married his brother, Antiochus VII. Sidetes (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 1). From this marriage sprang Antiochus IX. Kyrikenos (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 1; Appian. *Syr.* 68). Porphyry in Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 260, says: τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἀντίοχῳ καὶ ἀνεψιῷ τὰ ἐκ πατρὸς.—Compare generally on the genealogy of the Seleucidae the table at the end of vol. ii. of this work.

The period of the reign of Antiochus VIII., down to his expulsion by Antiochus IX., is reckoned by Porphyry at eleven years, from Olympiad 164. 2, that is really Olympiad 164. 1, down to Olympiad 166. 4, or from B.C. 124–123 down to B.C. 113–112.—On the coins Antiochus VIII. appears sometimes as co-regent with his mother Cleopatra, sometimes alone. The coins of the former kind profess to belong to the period between 187 and 192 of the Seleucid era, or between B.C. 126–125 and B.C. 121–120 (de Saulcy, p. 61 sq.). For an account of the discrepancy between this date and that of Porphyry, see above under Demetrius II. and Alexander Zabinas. The proper coins of Antiochus VIII. begin with the Seleucid year 190, corresponding to B.C. 123–122 (de Saulcy, p. 65 sq.).

ANTIOCHUS IX. CYZICENOS, B.C. 113-95.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. GRYPOS, B.C. 111-96.

For two years Cyzicenos now ruled as sole monarch. But in B.C. 111, Grypos returned and wrested the greater part of Syria from his cousin. Only Coele-Syria remained in the possession of Cyzicenos. Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 260, says : *κρατεῖ μὲν αὐτὸς τῆς Συρίας, ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς τῆς Κόλλης*. Thus was the kingdom broken up ; and the two cousins and brothers engaged in a conflict with one another.

Antiochus Grypos died fifteen years after his return, in B.C. 96, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 4, by the hand of an assassin. His rights and claims were heired by his son Seleucus VI. He took up arms forthwith against Antiochus Cyzicenos, and laid siege to him in Antioch. In order to avoid imprisonment during the battle in B.C. 95, Antiochus put an end to his own life (Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 260).

To Antiochus IX. Cyzicenos, Porphyry assigns a reign of eighteen years, extending from Olympiad 167. 1, that is really Olympiad 166. 4, down to Olympiad 171. 1, or from B.C. 113-112 down to B.C. 96-95. The coins, indeed, begin as early as 196 of the Seleucid era, or B.C. 117-116 (de Sauley, p. 72 sq.). If both are correct, it must be assumed that Porphyry, with his date B.C. 113, does not mean the time of the revolt of Cyzicenos, but the time of his decided victory over Grypos. The return of Antiochus VIII. Grypos is set down by Porphyry in Olympiad 167. 2, or B.C. 111-110, and a reign of fifteen years is given him, extending down to Olympiad 170. 4, or B.C. 97-96. Josephus ascribes to Antiochus Grypos altogether a reign of twenty-five years, from B.C. 125-124 down to B.C. 96 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 4).

During the next twelve years, from B.C. 95 to B.C. 83, there now followed an almost unbroken series of conflicts between the five sons of Antiochus Grypos, namely, Seleucus VI.,

Antiochus XI., Philip, Demetrius III. Eucärus, and Antiochus XII. on the one hand, and the son of Antiochus Cyzicenos, Antiochus X. Eusebes, on the other (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 4, 14. 3, 15. 1; Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. 259-262; Appian. *Syr.* 69; and Clinton, pp. 340-342).

The result of these contendings was that Tigranes, king of Armenia, took possession for himself of the kingdom of Syria. His reign over Syria lasted for fourteen years, from B.C. 83 to B.C. 69.

The details, according to Josephus, who is here the most complete in his descriptions, are as follows:—Antiochus X. Eusebes, in order to revenge his father, made war against Seleucus VI., conquered him, and drove him into Cilicia, where he was put to death by the citizens of Mopsuestia on account of his oppressions. Then his brother, Antiochus XI., next took up the conflict against Antiochus Eusebes, but was defeated, and lost his life in the battle. The third brother, Philip, now appeared upon the scene, and entered the lists against Antiochus Eusebes, according to Porphyry, in Olympiad 171. 3, or B.C. 94-93, and succeeded in making himself master of at least a part of Syria, while the fourth brother, Demetrius Eucärus, had seized upon another portion, with Damascus as its capital. Then Antiochus Eusebes, according to Josephus, lost his life in a battle with the Parthians. The two brothers, Philip and Demetrius, now reigned for a long time, each over his own part of Syria. But by and by Demetrius declared war against Philip, besieged him in Beröa, east of Antioch, but was himself taken prisoner, and died in confinement. There were now left only Philip and the youngest brother, Antiochus XII., who continued to fight with one another. But Antiochus fell in a battle against the Arab chief Aretas, who thereupon took possession of Coele-Syria. At last the whole of Syria fell into the hands of Tigranes. According to Appian. *Syr.* 48, 69, Antiochus X. Eusebes was still alive and reigning when Tigranes seized upon Syria; and indeed, according to Justin. xl. 2, and Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 262, he was still living when Pompey made an end of the Syrian empire. The latter statement, however, has evidently resulted from a confusion between Antiochus X. Eusebes and Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus, who are both clearly enough distinguished by Appian. But the former is in every respect more probable, since Appian seems here to

have used reliable sources. It may then be assumed that Antiochus Eusebes had possession of the greater, Philip and Aretas of the smaller part of Syria, when Tigranes made himself master of the kingdom.

For the chronology of the years B.C. 95–83, the coins afford some important clues (Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, p. 95 sqq.). Yet we have not materials for determining all the details. There are dated coins of Philip from the Seleucid year 221 down to 229, or from B.C. 92–91 down to B.C. 84–83 (de Saulcy, p. 78); of Demetrius there are some from the Seleucid year 217 down to 224, or from B.C. 96–95 down to B.C. 89–88 (Gardner, *Catalogue*, p. 101; Eckhel, iii. 245); of Antiochus XII. there is one belonging to the Seleucid year 227, or B.C. 86–85 (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 1883, p. 437). Very puzzling are the coins of Philip which were printed in Antioch, and bear the figures 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 30, purporting to indicate the numbers of the years (de Saulcy, p. 79). If the dates are correctly read, and refer to the years of Philip's reign, it must be assumed that Philip had been able to maintain his position in Antioch even during the domination of Tigranes. In fact, Porphyry also assumes that Philip lived down to the time of Pompey (Euseb. *Chron.* i. 262). But according to Diodorus, *Fragm.* 34 (in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* t. ii. p. 24 sq.), this Philip, who made his appearance at the time of Pompey as a claimant, was a son of our Philip, and so grandson of Antiochus Grypos (see also Müller). We seem therefore to have no alternative but to assume that those numbers signify, not the years of Philip's reign, but the years of an era that began somewhere about B.C. 113.

This much is known regarding the period of Tigranes: that according to Appian. *Syr.* 48, 70, and Justin. xl. 1–2 (according to the correct reading), he reigned over Syria fourteen years. The end of his reign, however,—that is, his defeat by Lucullus,—occurred, as is well known from the Roman history, in B.C. 69.

After the defeat of Tigranes by Lucullus, Syria did not all at once fall into the possession of the Romans. Lucullus assigned it to a son of Antiochus Eusebes, who reigned from B.C. 69 to B.C. 65 under the title of Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus. It was Pompey who, on his victorious march through Asia, first made a complete end of the Seleucid dynasty, in B.C. 65 (Appian. *Syr.* 49, 70; Justin. xl. 2; Clinton, pp. 344–348)

Syria now became a Roman province (Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 39).

Pompey first of all, in B.C. 65, sent his legates from Armenia to Syria, and in B.C. 64 he went himself; but the definite arrangements of Syrian affairs were first settled in B.C. 63-62 (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 345 sq.; Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 215 ff.). In B.C. 65 or 64, probably the disturbances broke out of which Diodorus, *Fragm.* 34 (in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* t. ii. p. 24 sq.), gives an account. Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus sought to maintain his possession of the throne by the aid of Sampsigeram of Emesa. At the same time a struggle was made for a like purpose by Philip, son of King Philip, and grandson of Antiochus Grypos, who sought to support his claims by the assistance of the Arab prince Azizus. But Antiochus was taken prisoner by Sampsigeram, and afterwards put to death, and Philip was able to escape the snares of Azizus only by flight.

By means of this report of Diodorus of the end of Antiochus Asiaticus, we see how utterly groundless was the statement of older scholars, that Antiochus Asiaticus obtained possession of the small kingdom of Commagene, and became the founder of the dynasty of Commagene (see in opposition, Clinton, pp. 346-348). But it is quite true that the dynasty of Commagene had a connection by affinity with the Seleucidae. Consult upon this matter the inscriptions, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 362; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 552; *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum*, t. iii. 1, n. 557; and especially Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. 2, n. 136d, from Ephesus. The latter tells of a βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον Θεὸν Δίκαιον Ἐπιφανῆ Φιλορωμαῖον καὶ Φιλέλληνα, τὸν ἐγ βασιλείῳς Μιθραδάτου Καλλινίκου καὶ βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου τῆς ἐγ βασιλείῳς Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλομήτορος Καλλινίκου. This same Antiochus, with the same genealogy, appears also in an inscription communicated by Puchstein (Puchstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Kurdistan, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1883, p. 49 ff.). The Antiochus to whom both inscriptions refer was undoubtedly a king of Commagene; the other Antiochus, the father of Laodice, was evidently a Seleucid, according to Waddington, Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus; according to Mommsen, Antiochus VIII. Grypos. The latter conjecture is certainly correct, for Antiochus VIII. Grypos is designated on coins Ἐπιφανής, is called by Porphyry and Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 2, Φιλομήτωρ, and the cognomen Καλλνίκος, which Mommsen was not then able to authenticate, has also been since confirmed

by an inscription from Delos (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. viii. 1884, p. 105 sq.). His daughter Laodice is clearly identical with the Laodice mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 4 (Gutschmid, *Geschichte Iran's*, 1888, p. 80, Anm.). Compare generally : Mommsen, *Die Dynastie von Commagene* (*Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, Bd. i. 1876, pp. 27-39). Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i., 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 398 ff.

§ 4. RELIGIOUS DESTITUTION AND REVIVAL (B.C. 175-165)

SOURCES.

1 Macc. i.-iv. 2 Macc. iv.-xi.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5-7. Epitome of it in Zonaras, *Annal.* iv. 19-20.

The Book of Daniel, chap. xi. 21-45, and Jerome's Commentary (*Opp.*, ed. Vallarsi, v. 711-724).

Some facts collected from *Megillath Taanith* in Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 59-63.

LITERATURE.

The works already mentioned in p. 170 on Syrian history by Foy-Vaillant, Frölich, Clinton, Flathe, Stark, etc.

Treatises and Commentaries on the Books of the Maccabees, by Wace, Birrell (Apocrypha, with introd. notes, etc., New York 1880), Wernsdorff, Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, etc.

Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. v. 286-306.

Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (3 Aufl.), iv. 219-261.

Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 367-395.

Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. ii. 2, pp. 268-352.

Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften Alten Testaments*, § 451-460.

Pauly's *Real-Encyclop. der class. Alterthumswissensch.* i. 1 (2 Aufl.), art. "Antiochus IV."

Rossmann, *Die makkabäische Erhebung*. Vortag. Jena 1860.

Hoffmann (John Fried.), *Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, König von Syrien*. Leipzig 1873.

Wiederholt, *Antiochus IV. Epiphanes nach der Weissagung*, Dan. xi. 21, xii. 3, und der *Geschichte* (*Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1874, pp. 567-631).

Menke's *Bibelatlas*, Bl. IV. Specialkarten über "Judäa und Phönicien zur Zeit des Antiochus Epiphanes."

Since the conquests of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, the Jewish people had lost their political independence. The

northern kingdom of the ten tribes had been overthrown by the Assyrians, the southern kingdom of Judah by the Chaldeans. The sovereignty had passed from the Chaldeans to the Persians, and from the Persians, after a supremacy of two centuries, to Alexander the Great.¹ In the wild commotions of the Diadochean period, Palestine formed a main object of strife between Ptolemy Lagus and his opponents, and was therefore sometimes under one, sometimes under another master. With short intervals it continued throughout the third century under the sway of the Ptolemies. But in the beginning of the second century, Antiochus the Great succeeded in permanently securing possession of Phœnicia and Palestine. In place of the Ptolemies, the Seleucidae now became the suzerains of the Jewish people.²

¹ According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 8. 4-5, Alexander is said to have made a sacrifice in Jerusalem. The story in its details perhaps is unhistorical. The thing is not, however, in itself impossible. Compare generally: Flathe, *Geschichte Macedonius*, i. 310 ff. Henrichsen, *Das Verhältniss der Juden zu Alexander dem Grossen* (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1871, pp. 458-480). Blümmer, *Alexander der Grosse in Jerusalem*, Festschr. Büdingen 1872. Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften A. T.'s*, § 426.—Also the later Jewish legends have much to say about Alexander. See Vogelstein, *Beiträge zur Alexandersage* (*Monatsschr. für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Bd. xv. 1866, pp. 121-134, 161-178). Donath, *Die Alexandersage in Talmud und Midrasch mit Rücksicht auf Josephus Flavius, Pseudo-Callisthenes und die mohammedanische Alexandersage*, Fulda 1873 (*Rostocker Dissert.*). Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. art. "Alexander der Grosse." Lévi, *La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud* (*Revue des études juives*, t. ii. 1881, pp. 293-300). Lévi, *Les traductions hébraïques de l'histoire légendaire d'Alexandre* (*Revue des études juives*, t. iii. 1881, pp. 238-275). Lévi, *La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch* (*Revue des études juives*, t. vii. 1883, pp. 78-93). Lévi, *Le voyage d'Alexandre au Paradis* (*Revue des études juives*, t. xii. 1886, p. 117 sq.). 'ס' חולדות אלכסנדר, Hebrew Text with Introduction by Lévi, Paris, Durlacher, 1887 (see *Revue des études juives*, t. xiv. 1887, p. 299 sq.).

² See further particulars in the above-named works on Syrian history. Stark has clearly proved (*Gaza*, pp. 403 ff., 423 ff.) that after the battle of Panias, in B.C. 198, Phœnicia and Palestine continued permanently under the dominion of the Seleucidae.

Even in the beginning of the Persian domination the Jews had resolved to organize themselves anew as a religious and political community. But the form in which the Jewish commonwealth was restored after the exile was essentially different from that which prevailed before. It was from this time forward a government of priests. As they were pre-eminently religious interests that had given the impulse to the reconstruction, so also the form of the new commonwealth was more that of a religious than of a political association. The priests had in it a predominating influence, at least from the time of Ezra. Indeed, a priest stood at the head of the political organization. For the so-called high priest was not by any means simply the supreme director of worship, but was at the same time also the supreme head of the State, in so far as civil authority was not exercised by the great king and his officers. The rank of high priest was held for life, and was hereditary.* Alongside of him, probably even during

* See the list of high priests from Joshua, the contemporary of Zerubabel, down to Jaddua, in Neh. xii. 10, 11. Jaddua was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. (Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 7. 2, 8. 7). The successors of Jaddua, according to Josephus, were:—

Onias I., son of Jaddua (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 7), or, according to 1 Macc. xii. 7, viii. 20, a contemporary of King Areus of Sparta, B.C. 309–265.

Simon I. the Just, son of the preceding (*Antiq.* xii. 2. 4. Compare Div. ii. vol. i. 355).

Eleasar, brother of the preceding (*Antiq.* xii. 2. 4), according to the book of Aristeeas, a contemporary of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, B.C. 283–247.

Manasseh, uncle of the preceding (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 1).

Onias II., son of Simon the Just (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 1–2), of the age of Ptolemy III. Euergetes, B.C. 247–222.

Simon II., son of the preceding (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 10). Compare Sirach l. 1 ff.; 3 Macc. ii. 1.

Onias III., son of the preceding (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 10), of the time of Seleucus IV. and Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 175, and hence referred to in the early history of the Maccabean struggle; 2 Macc. iii.–iv.; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1.

The high priest Hezekiah, spoken of by the Pseudo-Hecataeus (quoted in Josephus, *contra Apion.* i. 22) as the contemporary of Ptolemy Lagus, is

the Persian period, and in any case from the beginning of the Greek domination, stood a council of elders, the *γερουσία*, with the high priest at its head as its executive organ. How far administration and legislation lay in the hands of this native board, and how far these were exercised by the Persian and Greek suzerains, cannot now be determined with any certainty. Under the Greek suzerains the political independence of the Jewish people could not be less, but probably greater, than it had been before (compare generally, § 23. 3).

The extent of the Jewish commonwealth, which still possessed a relatively considerable measure of independence, was probably limited to Judea proper, that is, the province lying south of Samaria, which in its range corresponded nearly with the kingdom of Judah of earlier days. All the coast cities were excluded from it, for these were mainly occupied by a heathen population, and formed independent communities by themselves (see § 23. 1). How far those Gentile districts extended inland may be seen from this, that even Ekron and Gazara did not belong to Judea. Ekron was first united with

not reckoned by Josephus in the list given in his history.—The Christian chroniclers (Eusebius, *Demonstr. evang.*, ed. Gaisford, viii. 2. 62–72, Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 114–124; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 302–339, 356 sq., 390 sq.; Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 484, 512, 525; *Χρονολογικὸν σύντομον* in Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i. Append. col. 95; and others) have devoted special attention to these Jewish high priests, and have thus, in so far as their chronistic requirements went, fixed precisely the period of each. But it now appears from their statements that they had at their command no other authority than Josephus. Their conclusions are therefore purely arbitrary, and every attempt to determine the chronology accurately with their aid is necessarily doomed to failure. This applies specially to the endeavour of Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, ii. 368 ff., who makes use even of the Pseudo-Philonic “*Breviarium temporum*,” on which compare Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graec.*, ed. Harles, iv. 743, and the article on Annius of Viterbo, by Fabricius, *Biblioth. graec.* 1 Augs. xiv. 211–219, and Wachler in Ersch and Gruber’s *Allgem. Encyclop.* Section I. Bd. iv. pp. 183–185.—A thoroughgoing examination of the lists of high priests in the Byzantine Chroniclers is made by Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, Bd. ii. 1885, pp. 170–176.

the Jewish domain and Judaized in the time of Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 88, 89), Gazara first in the time of Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 43-48). On the situation of these towns, see below under § 6 and 7. Also the whole of the land east of the Jordan was excluded from the Jewish territory. We find there partly Hellenistic communities (see § 23. 1), partly independent tribes, under native rulers.⁴ In the country west of the Jordan, towards the end of the third and the beginning of the second century, "Judea" and "Samaria" formed each a separately administered province alongside of "Coele-Syria" and "Phoenicia."⁵ Galilee was not reckoned as a distinct province, and so it belonged to one of the four above named, but scarcely to Judea, toward which it did not conveniently lie. Now the Pseudo-Hecataeus, indeed, expressly affirms that Alexander the Great gave to the Jews Samaria as a district free from tribute.⁶ But even if this statement were more credible than it is, it could not by any means apply to the period of the Seleucid rule, since even under the Maccabean high priest Jonathan it is related as a proof of the special favour of King Demetrius II., that he took three *νομοί* from Samaria and united them with Judea, and made over this whole district to the Jews free of tribute.⁷ Ordinarily, therefore, the territory

⁴ One such who may be cited as an example was that Timothy, *ηγούμενος* of the Ammonites, against whom Judas Maccabees fought (1 Macc. v. 8, 11, 34, 37, 40). For it is extremely improbable, from what we are told in 1 Macc. ix. 35-42 of the independence of the tribes living there, that he was a general set over the Ammonites by the King of Syria.—Also Aretas, the *τύραννος* of the Nabateans (2 Macc. v. 8), belonged to that same class.

⁵ This is made quite evident from the two thoroughly harmonizing accounts given in Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 1 and xii. 4. 4.

⁶ Pseudo-Hecataeus in Josephus, *contra Apionem*, ii. 4: *τὴν Σαμαρείτιν χώραν προσέθηκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορολόγητον.*

⁷ 1 Macc. xi. 34: *ἐστάκαμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθέμ· προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος.* Compare xi. 28. This present was promised before, but not bestowed (1 Macc. x. 30, 38); it was confirmed by Antiochus VI. (1 Macc. xi. 57).

of the Jewish high priest embraced only Judea. And that, too, Judea in the narrower sense, without Galilee, for this is evidently the meaning of the passages quoted from the First Book of Maccabees.⁸

The spread of the Jewish population was by no means limited to the bounds of Judea in the political sense. Even the circumstance that during the Maccabean age stress was laid upon the union with Judea of the three southern districts of Samaria (1 Macc. xi. 34; Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim), leads to the conjecture that the population within those districts was mainly Jewish,—in other words, that they had not with the schismatical Samaritans offered sacrifices on Mount Gerizim, but in Jerusalem, and that they had maintained religious fellowship with the Jews there.⁹ But also in the

⁸ "Judea" when mentioned alongside of "Samaria" can only mean Judea in the narrower sense, that is, the southern province. This also is in accordance with the linguistic usage of the First Book of Maccabees, in which, so far as I see, always Judea proper is meant by *ἡ Ἰουδα* or *Ἰουδαία* (so e.g. 1 Macc. xii. 46–52). The linguistic usage prevailing in Josephus, in the New Testament, and in the Mishna, which distinguishes "Judea," "Samaria," and "Galilee" as three separate districts (see § 22. 1), was thus already firmly maintained in the Maccabean age. But if we admit that in the quoted passages (1 Macc. x. 30, 38, xi. 28, 34) Judea in the narrower sense is meant, then this result follows, that not only before the beginning of the Maccabean rising, but also even under the Maccabean high priests Jonathan and Simon, the province of Galilee did not belong to the territory of the Jewish high priest. For it is always only Judea that is spoken of in the three *νομοί* of Samaria attached thereto. It is only in 1 Macc. x. 30 that three *νομοί* of "Samaria and Galilee" are said to have been united with Judea. But, on the one hand, that scheme was never fully carried out; and so even here, in accordance with the exact parallels in other passages, only the three *νομοί* in the south of Samaria can be meant. There has therefore been either an interpretation of *Γαλιλαίας*, or "Samaria and Galilee" are taken together to mean the province of Samaria. Most probably it was first through the conquests of John Hyrcanus and his successors that Samaria and Scythopolis, as also Galilee, were united politically with the Jewish domain.

⁹ Observe how in 1 Macc. xi. 34, "doing sacrifice at Jerusalem" is brought forward as a characteristic of the position of those who are free from tribute.

province of Galilee, and even in Gilead, in the country east of the Jordan, at the beginning of the second century, a considerable number of Jews must have resided, who maintained religious intercourse with Jerusalem; for it was one of the first acts of the Maccabee brothers, after the restoration of the Jewish worship, to bring help to their brethren in the faith in Galilee and Gilead who had been oppressed by the heathen: Simon went to Galilee, Judas to Gilead (1 Macc. v. 9-54). The manner in which they afforded this help shows us, however, on the other hand, that then the general mass of the population of those districts was no longer Jewish. For neither Simon nor Judas took the provinces as such under Jewish protection. But after Simon had defeated the heathen in Galilee, he led all the Jews away out of Galilee and Arbatta (properly עֲרְבוֹת, the lower districts of the Jordan), together with their wives and children and all their possessions, into Judea, in order that there he might keep them in safety (1 Macc. v. 23).^{9a} In precisely the same way Judas dealt with those Jews that lived in Gilead, after he had overthrown the heathen there (1 Macc. v. 45-54). It therefore seems quite evident that the Jews in Galilee and Gilead formed then a "dispersion" among the heathen; and the first Maccabees made no sort of attempt to Judaize those provinces, but, on the contrary, withdrew from them their Jewish population. It was John Hyrcanus, or one of his successors (probably not before Aristobulus I.), who first introduced that policy.

^{9a} On the meaning of 1 Macc. v. 23, Keil remarks in his Commentary: "In τοὺς ἐν Γαλ. κ. ἐν Ἀρβ. it is not implied that he transferred all the faithful Jews of those districts to Judea, for he does not use πάντας. Josephus, in *Antiq.* xii. 8. 2, has therefore applied the words only to the Jews kept prisoners by the heathens; but for this he has no authority in the phrase employed. Probably only those are meant who through fear of new attacks from the heathen wished to settle in Judea, and had made this wish known to Simon." This may be so far correct, but no one would be compelled to settle there. But undoubtedly all are meant who were really zealous adherents of the Jewish faith. This is proved by the

The internal development of Judaism from the time of Ezra to that of the Maccabees, or even down to the compilation of the Talmud, can be sketched only in very general outlines. The starting-point, indeed, is known to us in fuller detail—the priestly law introduced by Ezra in the fifth century before Christ; and then, again, the culmination: the codification of the Jewish law in the Mishna in the second century after Christ. Between these two points lies a period of six centuries. What stage of development had Judaism reached at the outbreak of the Maccabean revolution? We can only say, it was already on the way to those results which are set before us in the Mishna; and the Maccabean age was simply the period of the greatest crisis through which it was called to pass during that whole era. The attempt was made to overthrow the foundations of its earlier development, to convert the Jewish people to heathenism. The result was that the foundations laid before by Ezra were now strengthened, and the theoretical elaboration of the law and its practical applications were prosecuted with glowing enthusiasm. The law which Ezra had introduced was essentially a ceremonial law. The religion of Israel is there reduced to strictly legalized forms, in order that it may be made more secure against the influences of heathenism. In the form of a law given by God Himself, the Jew was told what he had to do as a faithful servant of Jehovah, what festivals he should cele-

full parallel report of the proceedings of Judas in Gilead (1 Macc. v. 45–54); the omission of the word πάντα in 1 Macc. v. 23 naturally makes no difference. Compare J. D. Michaelis, *Deutsche Uebersetzung des ersten Buchs der Maccabäer*, p. 108: “As I understand the verse, its meaning is: Simon took all the Jews dwelling in Galilee with him into Judea; because after his withdrawal they would have been exposed to new dangers and persecutions from the heathen. So also did the Syrian interpreter understand it.” Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch*, p. 83: “The verse makes no other impression than this, that Judas took with him into Judea the Jews true to the law whom he found in Galilee and round the Jordan, in order that they might not be exposed to new troubles on his departure.”

brate, what sacrifices he should offer, what tribute he should pay to the priests who conduct the services, and generally what religious ceremonies he should perform. Precision in the observance of all these prescribed rites was to be made henceforth the gauge and measure of piety. And in order to make this precision as exact as possible, it was necessary that an authentic interpretation be supplied. A special order under the name of "Scribes" devoted themselves to the study of the law as a profession, and engaged upon a subtle and refining exposition of it. But the pious considered it to be their chief business to fulfil with zeal and conscientiousness the law as thus expounded. That very considerable progress in this direction had been made even in the second century before Christ, is distinctly proved by the history of the Maccabean revolution. There was a religious party which interpreted the Sabbath command so strictly, that they would rather surrender without a struggle than infringe upon the observance of the Sabbath by wielding the sword (1 Macc. ii. 32-38). It also belonged to the ideal of piety, which even the author of the book of Daniel had already set before the eyes of his comrades in the faith as an essential condition, that they should not defile themselves with the eating of the food of the heathen (Dan. i.).

But alongside of this legalistic tendency there were operating in Palestine, from the time of Alexander the Great, influences of an altogether different kind, which proved the more decidedly and dangerously hostile to the interests of the law and its promoters the longer they existed. These were the Hellenizing tendencies. It had been the fond dream of Alexander to found a universal empire, which would be held together not merely by the unity of the government, but also by the unity of language, customs, and civilisation. All the Oriental races were to be saturated with Hellenic culture, and to be bound together into one great whole by means of this intellectual

force. He therefore took care that always Greek colonists should directly follow in the steps of his army. New cities were founded, inhabited only by Greeks, and also in the old cities Greek colonists were settled. Thus over one half of Asia a network of Greek culture was stretched, which had as its object the reducing under its influence of the whole surrounding regions. The successors of Alexander continued his work; and it is a striking testimony to the power of Greek culture, that it fulfilled in large measure the mission which Alexander had assigned it. All Western Asia, in fact, if not among the wide masses of the population, yet certainly among the higher ranks of society, became thoroughly Hellenized. Even in Palestine about the beginning of the second century this movement was in full progress. It cannot indeed be proved that all those cities, which we have come to reckon during the Roman period as Hellenistic cities (see § 22. 2 and § 23. 1), had been already Hellenized in the beginning of the Maccabean period. But this may safely be assumed in regard to the majority of them. Many had Hellenic institutions introduced by Alexander the Great himself, others by his successors, and everywhere Greek influence and Greek ideas were promoted.¹⁰ Even in the pre-Hellenic age, Gaza, as its coins prove, had lively commercial intercourse with Greece; from the time of its conquest by Alexander it was a Macedonian arsenal and residence for troops; and Josephus describes it as a πόλις Ἑλληνίς.¹¹ Anthedon by its very name betrays its Greek origin. In Ashkelon coins of Alexander the Great were stamped.¹² Ashdod on its coins, which date from the

¹⁰ See the proofs given in § 22. 2 and § 23. 1. On the cities founded by Alexander the Great and his successors, see: Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 Aufl. Thl. iii. 2, pp. 202 ff., 302 ff. Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, 447-459.

¹¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3. For the rest, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 66 ff.

¹² The proof for this and many of the following statements is given in § 23. 1.

age of the Diadochae or even earlier, makes use indeed of the Hebrew language, but writes the letters in Greek characters (*IP AΣΑΝΑ ΑΣΙΝΑ*). Joppa is the old site of the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, and was in the age of the Diadochae a Macedonian garrison town. Apollonia is manifestly a foundation of the Greek times. Straton's Tower has indeed a Greek name, but was really founded at an earlier date by the Sidonians. On the other hand, Dora was possibly even in the fifth century before Christ put under tribute by the Athenians. In Acre, afterwards Ptolemais, as early as the times of Isaeus and Demosthenes, there was a Greek trading colony. The coins impressed there with the name of Alexander were already very numerous, and in the age of the Diadochae it was an important garrison town. The real Hellenizing and refounding of it as Ptolemais was probably the work of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus. —Along with these coast towns we must also include a number of inland cities. We know certainly of Samaria that it was colonized by Alexander. Scythopolis is met with bearing this Greek name as early as the third century; and even earlier we have Paneion, the grotto at the source of the Jordan, as the sanctuary of Pan. Along with Scythopolis, Polybius (v. 70) makes mention of an important city not otherwise known, Philoteria on the Lake of Gennesaret, in the time of Antiochus the Great, B.C. 218, which, like the similarly named city in Upper Egypt, had its name probably from a sister of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus.¹³—Of the cities of the countries east of the Jordan, Hippus and Gadara were distinctly reckoned πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες.¹⁴ Pella and Dium are denominated Macedonian cities, and were founded perhaps by

¹³ On the Philoteria of Upper Egypt (that name is so written), see Strabo, p. 769. Our Philoteria in Palestine had this name conferred upon it at a later date, and is identical with some town known formerly under another designation. A trace of its existence is still to be found in the days of Alexander Jannäus. See § 10 towards the conclusion.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3.

Alexander the Great, and at latest during the Diadochean age. The derivation of the name Gerasa from the γέροντες, the veterans of Alexander the Great, is probably nothing more than an etymological fancy. This, however, is certain, that the old capital of the Ammonites was Hellenized by Ptolemy II. Philadelphus under the name of Philadelphia. And finally, the Second Book of Maccabees speaks generally of πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες within the boundaries of Judea (2 Macc. vi. 8).

Within the encircling network of Hellenistic cities the small province of Judea kept itself clear of the influence of Greek customs and ways. There, too, Hellenism encroached more and more. The indispensable requirements of daily life obliged the Jews to make use of the universal language of the Greeks. How otherwise would commercial intercourse with foreign lands have been possible? But with the language came also the manners and customs, and indeed the whole culture of Greece. In the beginning of the second century the progress of Hellenism in Palestine must have already become quite observable. For only thus can we explain how a section of the people, including the upper classes and the educated, readily gave their consent to the Hellenizing projects of Antiochus Epiphanes, and even went beyond him in carrying them out.¹⁵—Had this process been allowed to go on

¹⁵ On the spread of Greek culture in Palestine in the times of the Maccabees, and that even among men well disposed towards Judaism, compare: Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor* (1875), pp. 127–129. Freudenthal calls attention particularly to the following points. 1. The Book of Aristeas takes for granted that the Palestinian scholars, who had been summoned to Alexandria for the translation of the Pentateuch, were skilled in Greek. 2. The grandson of Jesus Sirach, who translated his proverbs into Greek, was a native of Palestine. The Greek translator of the book of Esther was also a Palestinian, according to the representation of the book in the Septuagint.—But further, it seems quite certain that the Jewish Hellenist Eupolemus, of whose works fragments are still extant (see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 203–206), is to be identified with that Eupolemus of Palestine whom Judas Maccabeus sent as leader of a Jewish embassy to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11).

in its natural and peaceful course, then the Judaism of Palestine would probably have in time assumed a form in which it would be scarcely recognisable,—a form even more syncretistic than that of Philo. For it belonged to the very essence of Hellenism that it should dominate and colour the modes of religious worship, and at least clothe them in Grecian garments. We find it so in Syria as well as in Egypt. Nor would it have happened otherwise in Judea, if matters there had been permitted to take a smooth course. But the more perfect that legalistic Judaism had become on the one hand, and the more thoroughly developed the central principle of Hellenism had grown upon the other, the more decided and irreconcilable did the opposition between the two appear. Within the circle of the Jewish people itself there now arose two antagonistic parties: the party friendly to the Greeks and the party of “the pious” (חֲסִידִים, Ἀσιδαῖοι, 1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13), who held stoutly by the strict ideal of the scribes. But the whole preliminary history of the Maccabean revolution makes it evident that already the adherents of the former party were in the majority. Everything seemed conspiring to present before Hellenism an open door. It appeared as if nothing else was now left for “the pious” but to form themselves into a sect. But just then a powerful reaction set in, brought about by the attempt of an unintelligent despot, Antiochus Epiphanes, prematurely and with rude violence to force upon them Hellenic institutions. The Jewish worship was to be completely abolished, purely Greek rites were to be introduced, all Jewish ceremonies were all at once to be forbidden. It was just the extreme and radical character of this attempt that saved Judaism. For now not only the strict party of *Chasidim*, but the whole mass of the people, was roused to do battle for the old faith. And the further development of events led to the complete expulsion of Hellenism from Jewish soil, at least in matters of religion.

So far as our information reaches, this is the only example of an Oriental religion completely emancipating itself from the influence of Hellenism.

Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, had succeeded his brother Seleucus IV. in the government of Syria, after that king had been murdered by his minister Heliodorus, and held possession of the throne from B.C. 175 till B.C. 164.¹⁶ He was by nature a genuine despot, eccentric and undependable, sometimes extravagantly liberal, and fraternizing with the common people in an affected manner; at other times cruel and tyrannical, as he showed himself in his treatment of Judea. The picture drawn of him by Polybius describes him under the more pleasing aspect. This is the sketch he gives: ¹⁷—

“ Sometimes he would slip away from the palace and would appear at one time here, at another time there, in the city, sauntering along in company with one or two. Very often he was to be found in the workshops of the silversmiths and goldsmiths, where he would chat away with the moulders and other workmen, and seek to impress them with his love of art. Then

¹⁶ With reference to the particular circumstances under which Antiochus IV. came to the throne, see Appian. *Syr.* 45; Johannes Antioch. in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iv. 558.

¹⁷ Polyb. xxvi. 10: Ὡς ἀποδιδράσκων ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐνίοτε τοὺς θεράποντας οὐ τύχοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλὺν ἐφαίμετο δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος. Μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἀργυροκοπέοις εὕρισκετο καὶ χρυσοχοεῖοις, εὐρησιλογῶν καὶ φιλοτεχνῶν πρὸς τοὺς τορευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τεχνίτας. Ἐπειτα καὶ μετὰ δημοτῶν ἀνθρώπων συγκαταβαίνων ὠμίλει ὃ τύχοι, καὶ μετὰ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων ξένων συνέπινε τῶν εὐτελεστάτων. Ὅτε δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων αἰσθοίτο τινας συνευχαυμένους ὅπου δήποτε, οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν ποιήσας παρῆν ἐπικωμάζων μετὰ κερατίου καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ παραδόξον ἀνισταμένους φεύγειν. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐσθῆτα τήβενναν ἀναλαβὼν περιῆει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀρχαιρεσιάζων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούμενος, τοὺς δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὡς δήμαρχος. Τυχῶν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος, διήκουε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν γιγνομένων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ διέκρινε μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας. Εἰς ὧν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἤγε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφελῆ τινα

he would condescend to familiar intercourse with any sort of people he chanced to come across, and would carouse with the meanest strangers who might happen to be present. But when he learned that young folks anywhere were to have a drinking bout, he would appear among them unexpectedly with horn and bagpipe, so that most, through sudden fright, would rush precipitately away. Often, too, he laid aside his royal robes, and, dressed in a toga, would go to the forum as a suppliant for an office. He would then seize some by the hand, others he would embrace, and entreat them to give him their vote, sometimes for the office of aedile, sometimes for that of tribune of the people. If he succeeded in obtaining the office, and was seated according to Roman custom in the ivory chair of state, he would take into consideration the cases that were to be adjudicated upon in the forum, and give his decisions with much earnestness and conscientiousness. Rational people, therefore, were at a loss what to think about him. Some regarded him as a simple and homely man, others looked upon him as crazed. He acted in a similar manner in the bestowal of his gifts. To some he gave bone dice, to others dates, to others gold. But if perchance he should meet any one whom he had never seen before, he would give him unexpected presents. But in the sacrifices

αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ μαινόμενον. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἦν παραπλήσιος· ἐδίδου γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀστραγάλους δορκαδεῖους, τοῖς δὲ φοινικοβαλάνους, ἄλλοις δὲ χρυσίον. Καὶ ἐξ ἀπαντήσεως δὲ τισιν ἐντυγχάνων, οὓς μὴ ἐοράκει ποτέ, ἐδίδου δωρεὰς ἀπροσδοκῆτους. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας. Τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις τεκμήραιτο ἔκ τε τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐν Δῆλῳ βωμὸν ἀνδριάντων. Ἐλοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις βαλανείοις, ὅτε δημοτῶν ἢ τὰ βαλανεῖα πεπληρωμένα, κεραμίαν εἰσφερομένων αὐτῷ μύρων τῶν πολυτελεστάτων. Ὅτε καὶ τίνος εἰπόντος, Μακάριοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοις χρώμενοι καὶ ὀδωδότες ἡδύ, καὶ μηδὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον προσειπών, ὅπου ἡκεῖνος τῇ ἐξῆς ἐλοῦτο, ἐπεισελθὼν ἐποίησεν αὐτοῦ καταχυθῆναι τῆς κεφαλῆς μέγιστον κεράμιον πολυτελεστάτου μύρου, τῆς στακτῆς καλουμένης, ὡς πάντας ἀναστάντας κυλίεσθαι λουμένους τῷ μύρῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν γλισχρότητα καταπίπτοντας γέλωτα παρέχειν, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα.

which he had offered up in cities, and in the honours which he gave to the gods, he went beyond all other kings. As a proof of this we may point to the Temple of Zeus at Athens, and the images around the altar at Delos. He was wont also to bathe in the public baths, when they were quite full of their habitual visitors, where vessels of the most costly perfumes would be brought to him. When somebody once said to him: 'Happy art thou, O king, since thou hast such perfumes and givest forth such fragrance;' he went on the following day, without having said anything to the man, to the place where he bathed, and showered upon his head the contents of a large vase of that most precious ointment called *stacte*; whereupon all made a rush forward in order to wash themselves with the ointment. But on account of the slipperiness of the pavement many fell, amid shouts of laughter, the king himself joining in the mirth."—Thus far Polybius. Diodorus and Livy give similar accounts. They give special prominence to his love of pomp and his munificence. Brilliant spectacles, magnificent buildings, kingly presents, these were the sort of things in which he delighted.¹⁸ But in everything he was inclined to rush to extravagant extremes, so that Polybius already styled him *ἐπιμανής* rather than *ἐπιφανής*.¹⁹

Such being the character of the man, we need not trouble ourselves seeking to discover any very deep motives for his proceedings against Judea. Tacitus has, upon the whole, given a fair estimate of them when he said: Antiochus strove to overthrow the superstition of the Jews and to introduce

¹⁸ Compare generally, Polybius, xxviii. 18. 3, xxix. 9. 13, xxxi. 3 f.—Diodorus, xxix. 32, xxxi. 16 (ed. Müller).—Livy, xli. 30.—Ptolemy VII. in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iii. 186.—Heliodorus in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iv. 425.

¹⁹ Athenaeus, lib. x. p. 439 (in the editions of Polybius, xxvi. 10): Πολύβιος ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καλεῖ αὐτὸν Ἐπιμανῆ καὶ οὐκ Ἐπιφανῆ διὰ τὰς πράξεις.

among them Greek customs, but was prevented by the war with the Parthians "from improving the condition of this most detestable race."²⁰ His endeavour was to advance everywhere the lustre of Greek culture. In Judea a section of the people declared in favour of his plans. He was naturally prepared to give that party his support, and to make over to it the government of Judea. But when the Jewish people organized an opposition to these schemes, this roused the capricious humour of the despot. He first of all chastised the refractory people by plundering the rich treasures of their temple, which must have been very enticing to the king, now sorely in need of money. Then, as the opposition still continued, he proceeded to radical and sweeping measures. The Jewish worship was completely suspended, all Jewish ceremonies were strictly forbidden, and with rude violence a thoroughgoing Hellenizing process was attempted.

At the head of the party in Judea attached to the old faith at the time when Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne, stood the high priest of that day, Onias III. The leader of the party friendly to the Greeks was his own brother Jesus, or, as he is better known under his Greek name, Jason.²¹ In Jerusalem the inclination in favour of Greek customs was already so strong that the friends of the Greeks could venture upon the attempt to seize the government for themselves, and to carry out their plans by force. Jason promised the king a great sum of money,—whether as a gift bestowed once and for all, or as a regular tribute, is not very clear,—if he would transfer to him the high-priesthood, permit him to erect a gymnasium and an ephebeion, and finally allow "the inhabitants of Jerusalem to be enrolled as Antiocheans," τοὺς ἐν

²⁰ Tacitus, *Historia*, v. 8: rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare admissus, quominus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est.

²¹ That Jason was originally called Jesus, is mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1.

Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι, that is, grant them the title and privileges of citizens of Antioch.²² Antiochus was quite ready to concede all this. Onias was driven out, and Jason was installed as high priest.²³ The Hellenizing process was now carried on with energy. There is indeed no mention of any attack having been made upon the Jewish religion. But in every other direction he put down "the institutions that were according to the law, and brought up new customs against the law" (2 Macc. iv. 11). A gymnasium was erected below the castle; the young men of Jerusalem exercised themselves in the gymnastic arts of the Greeks. The very priests forsook their service at the altar and took part in the games of the palaestra. The contempt for Jewish customs went so far that many sought artificially to remove the traces of their circumcision.²⁴ With a latitudinarianism of a genuinely Hellenistic type, Jason sent a contribution to the sacrificial festival of Hercules at the games celebrated every fourth year at Tyre. This, however, was so offensive to the Jews entrusted with

²² On the meaning of this formula, see commentaries by Grimm and Keil on 2 Macc. iv. 9. Compare also the history of Ptolemais, § 23 (Div. ii. vol. i. p. 90 f.).

²³ 2 Macc. iv. 7-10.—Josephus tells the story differently. For while, according to 2 Maccabees, Onias had been deposed and subsequently, even after Jason had himself lost the high-priesthood, murdered (2 Macc. iv. 33, 34), Josephus simply says that after the death of Onias his brother Jesus obtained the rank of high priest (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 1: ἀποθανόντος Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερασύνην Ἀντίοχος δίδωσιν). But the narrative of Josephus is evidently given in a summary manner and inexactly; and the representation of 2 Maccabees is confirmed by Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22, since these passages probably refer to Onias III.

²⁴ See generally, 2 Macc. iv. 11-17; 1 Macc. i. 11-15; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1. Removing the traces of circumcision (1 Macc. i. 15, ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας) was done with a view to escape the reproach of the heathen in the baths and in the exercise grounds. It seems, according to various reports, to have become still more common in later times. See especially, Paulus on 1 Cor. vii. 18. Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, § 16. Jerome (*adv. Jovinian.* i. 21, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, ii. 270; *comm. in Jes.* lii. 1 = *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, iv. 601 sq.) is wrong in declaring the operation impossible. Compare generally, Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* col.

the carrying of it, that they entreated that the money should be applied to building ships.²⁵

For three years, from B.C. 174 to B.C. 171, Jason administered his office after this fashion. Then he fell, through the machinations of a rival, who continued his work in a manner still more contemptible. Menelaus, by promising still larger gifts of money, was able to bring about Jason's overthrow, and to secure the transference to himself of the high priest's office.²⁶ He roused against himself the bitter animosity of the people by appropriating the treasures of the temple. He also was the instigator of the murder of the former high priest Onias III., who had sought the asylum of the sanctuary at Daphne, from which, however, he was decoyed and treacherously murdered.²⁷

Meanwhile Jason had not abandoned his claims to the high-priesthood. In B.C. 170, when Antiochus was engaged upon his expedition against Egypt, he succeeded by a sudden stroke in making himself master of Jerusalem, and forcing his rival to betake himself for protection to the castle. This success of Jason was, according to the representation of the Second Book of Maccabees, the occasion that led to the king's direct interference against Jerusalem. Antiochus looked

1274 sqq., under the word *קטן*. Lossius, *De epispasmo Judaico* (also in Ugolini *Thes.* t. xxii.). Groddek, *De Judaeis praeputium attrahentibus* (in Schoettgen, *Horae hebr.* i. 1159–1177, and in Ugolini *Thes.* xxii.). Lightfoot, *Horae hebr.* on 1 Cor. vii. 18 (*Opp.* ii. 899). Wolf, *Curae phil. in Nov. Test.* on 1 Cor. vii. 18. Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* on 1 Cor. vii. 18. Fabricius, *Biblioth. graec.*, ed. Harles, iii. 695, on Symmachus. Lübker, *Der jüdische *επισπασμός** (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1835, pp. 657–664). Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. *Beschneidung*, at the end. Grimm, *Commentary* on 1 Macc. i. 15. Steiner in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, i. 410.

²⁵ 2 Macc. iv. 18–20.

²⁶ 2 Macc. iv. 23–27. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1, consult also xv. 3. 1, xix. 6. 2, Menelaus was Jason's brother. But this is in contradiction to the Second Book of Maccabees, which seems generally at this point to be pretty accurately informed.

²⁷ See generally, 2 Macc. iv. 27–50.

upon the proceeding as a slight to his majesty, and resolved to chastise the rebellious city.²⁸

When, toward the end of B.C. 170, he had returned from Egypt,²⁹ he marched against Jerusalem in person with his army, and there gave direction for a terrible massacre, and plundered the enormous treasures of the Jewish temple, in which he is said to have received assistance from Menelaus himself. All the valuable articles, among them the three great golden pieces of furniture in the inner court of the temple, the altar of incense, the seven-branched candlestick, and the table of shewbread (on these see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 281 f.), he carried away with him to Antioch.³⁰

The cup of sorrow and humiliation for the believing Israelites, however, had not yet been completely drained, and the worst was yet to come. Two years later, in B.C. 168, Antiochus undertook another expedition against Egypt. But this time the Romans took the field against him. The Roman general, Popilius Laenas, had sent him a decree of senate, in which he was required, if he were to avoid being regarded as an enemy of Rome, to abandon once for all his schemes against Egypt; and when Antiochus answered that he wished time to consider the matter, Popilius gave him that well-known brief *ultimatum*, describing a circle round about him with his staff and addressing him with a determined “*ἐνταῦθα βουλεύου*.” Antiochus was thus compelled, whether he would or not, to yield to the demands of the Romans.³¹ The result of this blasting of his plans with regard to Egypt was that

²⁸ 2 Macc. v. 1-11.

²⁹ According to 1 Macc. i. 20, supported by Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 3, this expedition was made in the Seleucid year 143, or B.C. 170-169.

³⁰ 1 Macc. i. 20-24; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 3; 2 Macc. v. 11-21.—For the fact of the plundering of the temple, Josephus in *Contra Apionem*, ii. 7, refers to the statements of Polybius, Strabo, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenes, Castor, Apollodorus.

³¹ Polybius, xxix. 11. Diodorus, xxxi. 2 (ed. Müller). Livy, xlv. Appian, *Syriaca*, c. 66. Justin, xxxiv. 3. Compare Dan. xi. 29 f.

Antiochus directed his energies immediately to a war of extermination against the Jewish religion.³² Since nothing more could be done in Egypt, he would carry out all the more determinedly his schemes in Judea. He sent a chief collector of the tribute to Judea (his name is not given in 1 Macc. i. 29, but in 2 Macc. v. 24 he is called Apollonius), with orders to Hellenize Jerusalem thoroughly.³³ The Jewish population which would not yield was treated with great barbarity; the men were killed, and the women and children sold into slavery. Whoever was able escaped from the city. In place of the Jewish population thus destroyed, strangers were brought in as colonists. Jerusalem was to be henceforth a Greek city.³⁴ In order that such measures might have enduring effect, the walls of the city were thrown down; but the old city of David was fortified anew and made into a powerful stronghold, in which a Syrian garrison was placed. This garrison remained in possession of the citadel during all the subsequent struggles of the Maccabees, and maintained the supremacy of the Syrian kings amid all changes. Simon was the first, twenty-six years after this, in B.C. 142–141, to gain possession of the citadel, and so to vindicate the independence of the Jews.³⁵

³² This connection between the failure of the Egyptian campaign and the persecutions in Palestine is pointed out in Dan. xi. 30 f.

³³ The sending of this Apollonius, if we compare 1 Macc. i. 20 and i. 54 with 1 Macc. i. 29, occurred in the Seleucid year 145, or B.C. 168–167.

³⁴ 1 Macc. i. 29–40; 2 Macc. v. 23–26; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4.—It is evident from 1 Macc. i. 38 compared with 1 Macc. i. 30–32 and 2 Macc. v. 24, that what was chiefly aimed at was the exterminating of the Jewish population and the re peopling of the city with Greek or Grecianized inhabitants. It was therefore quite the same procedure which the Jews themselves carried out at a later period in Joppa and Gazara (1 Macc. xiii. 11 and 43–48). On the consequences of these measures, see 1 Macc. ii. 18, iii. 35, 45.

³⁵ The ἀκρόπολις of Jerusalem had been already frequently referred to during the previous years (2 Macc. iv. 12, 27, v. 5). But it was now newly strengthened, 1 Macc. i. 33–36; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4, while the walls of the city were thrown down, 1 Macc. i. 31. On the taking

The destruction of the Jewish population of Jerusalem was only a means towards the chief end after which Antiochus was striving. Throughout the whole land the Jewish religion was to be rooted out, and the worship of the Greek gods introduced. The observance of all Jewish rites, especially of the Sabbath and circumcision, was forbidden on the pain of death; the Jewish mode of worship was abolished. In all the cities of Judea sacrifices were to be offered to the heathen deities. Officers were sent into all the districts, charged with the duty of seeing that the commands of the king were strictly obeyed. Wherever any one showed reluctance, obedience was enforced with violence. Once a month a rigorous search was instituted:

of this citadel by Simon, see 1 Macc. xiii. 49-52; during the period intervening it is often referred to (1 Macc. ii. 31, iii. 45, iv. 2, 41, vi. 18-21, 26, 32, ix. 52, 53, x. 6-9, 32, xi. 20 f., 41, xii. 36, xiii. 21).—The situation of this citadel is one of the most debateable questions in the topography of Jerusalem. But it seems to me an incontestable result of modern investigations, that it lay on the southern slope of the eastern hill, therefore to the south of the temple rock. Then the supposition that it had been built in place of the city of David would be out of the question (1 Macc. i. 33, ii. 31, vii. 32, xiv. 36). But the city of David, according to Neh. iii. 15, lay evidently in the neighbourhood of Siloah, therefore south of the temple, and indeed not on the great western hill on which at this day the main part of the city lies, but on a separate eminence of the rising ground to the east, that is, on the temple rock. For Zion, on which the city of David lay (2 Sam. v. 7; 1 Kings viii. 1), is not, as later Christian tradition represents it, the west hill, but that same rising ground on which the temple lay, therefore the east hill. This is confirmed by the usual phraseology of 1 Maccabees, where "Zion" and "the temple rock" are used as identical terms (1 Macc. iv. 37-60, v. 54, vi. 48-62, vii. 33). The evidence afforded by these statements would long ago have been recognised, were it not that this was contrary to the geographical distribution of those days. For at present there is no rising ground visible to the south of the temple site which could have been suitable for a citadel. But that in earlier times it was otherwise has been demonstrated by the excavations of Guthe, according to which "a tolerably deep but not completely traced depression, which runs from north-west to south-east, turns round the southern spur of the temple rock, so that a fortress on the ridge of this spur would have a natural protection on all sides" (see Furrer's Review of Guthe's Excavations at Jerusalem, in the

if a copy of the book of the law were found in the possession of any one, or if any one had had his child circumcised, he was put to death. In Jerusalem, on the 15th Chisleu of the Seleucid year 145, that is, in December B.C. 168, at the great altar of burnt-offering a pagan altar was built, and on 25th Chisleu, for the first time, a sacrifice was offered upon it (1 Macc. i. 54, 59; this is "the abomination that maketh desolate," מְחִלָּה יִרְבֵּץ or מְחִלָּה יִרְבֵּץ, LXX.: βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, of which the book of Daniel speaks, Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11). This sacrifice, according to the account given in the Second Book of Maccabees, was rendered to the Olympic Zeus, to whom the temple of Jerusalem has been dedicated. The Jews were also compelled to keep the Dionysiac festival, crowned with ivy, marching in procession as devotees of Bacchus.³⁶

The Second Book of Maccabees relates wonderful stories

Theolog. Literaturzeitung, 1884, p. 278). — The theory here set forth in regard to the situation of the citadel is opposed by Olshausen, *Zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem*, Kiel 1833, p. 6 ff. Caspari, *Zion und die Akra der Syrer*, in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, and "Chronol. and Geograph. Introduction to Life of Christ," Edin. 1876, p. 271. Menke, *Bibelatlas* (1868), Blatt V. Riess, *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschr.* 1870, pp. 181–215, and *Biblische Geographie*, 1872, pp. 95–97. Klaiber, *Zeitschr. des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. iii. 1880, pp. 189–213; iv. 1881, pp. 18–56; xi. 1888, pp. 1–37. Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, 1881, pp. 32–42. Guthe, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* Bd. v. 1882, pp. 313–332. Mühlau, art. "Zion" in *Riehm's Wörterbuch*. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 267 f. Birch, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1877 ff. Then directly opposed to this theory: Gatt, *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschr.* 1884, pp. 34–84. For other literature see above, p. 19, and Arnold, art. "Zion" in 1st ed. of *Herzog*, xviii. 620–622; and *Jerusalem*, by Schultz in the 2nd edition, vi. 575. Köhler, *Lehrbuch der biblische Geschichte*, ii. 1, 274. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 1881, p. 177 ff. Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. v. p. 318 ff. Milman, *History of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 318.

³⁶ See generally: 1 Macc. i. 41–64; 2 Macc. vi. 1–11. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4; Dan. vii. 25, viii. 11 f., ix. 27, xi. 31 ff., xii. 11.—The month Chisleu of the Seleucid year 145 (1 Macc. i. 54) is not, as has been usually assumed, December B.C. 167, but December B.C. 168.

of the bright martyr courage with which a certain section of the people firmly adhered to the ancient faith. With considerable rhetorical extravagance it tells how an old man ninety years of age, called Eleasar, was tortured; and then also seven brothers, one after another, suffered before the eyes of their mother, who at last herself likewise met a martyr's death.³⁷ The question of the accuracy of these details must be left undecided. The fact is that a large circle of the people, notwithstanding all the violent measures of the persecutors, remained true to the faith and customs of their fathers. For their encouragement an unknown author, under the name of Daniel, published a hortatory and consolatory treatise, in which he set before his fellow-believers, for stimulus and incitement, stories culled from the history of earlier times, and with confident assurance of faith represents the speedy overthrow of the heathen rule, and the downfall of the worldly oppressors of the people of God (Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 44 ff.). The effect of such a work we can easily conceive must have been very great.

The passive resistance thus shown was soon succeeded by open revolt,—viewed from a human point of view, a foolhardy enterprise; for how could the small nation of the Jews secure any permanent advantage over the forces of the king? But religious enthusiasm waits not to ask about possibilities of success. The excitement broke forth into revolution in the town of Modein, at the call of a priest of the order of Joarib, named Mattathias, and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleasar, and Jonathan.³⁸ When the king's officer had

³⁷ 2 Macc. vi. 18–vii. 42. This story forms the theme of the Fourth Book of Maccabees, see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 244–248, and has also been treated in the later Jewish literature; see Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 124. On the use made of it in Christian ascetical literature, see Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 214.

³⁸ 1 Macc. ii. 1–5. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6. 1.—The name of the place is given in the First Book of Maccabees, according to the best reading,

entered that place, in order to insist upon the presentation of the heathen sacrifice, Mattathias refused to obey the command. "Though all the nations," said he, "that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brothers walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances." When he saw a Jew

as *Mωδεῖν* (so Fritzsche, 1 Macc. ii. 1, 15, 23, 70, xiii. 25, 30; only in ix. 19, *Mωδεῖν*); in Josephus, ed. Bekker, *Antiq.* xii. 6. 1, 11. 2, xiii. 6. 5, it is *Mωδεῖν*; in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 1. 3, it is *Mωδεῖν*. In the Mishna, *Pesachim* ix. 2 and *Chagiga* iii. 5, the reading vacillates between *מודיעים* and *מודיעות*, while indeed the latter form has in both cases a preponderating authority. It may, however, have arisen out of a misunderstanding occasioned by an emendation. In both passages *מן המודיעים* is rendered "from Modiim," a distance from Jerusalem is represented as giving release from the discharge of certain legal obligations. It was therefore assumed that *מודיעים* was to be taken as an adjective, and the form was changed accordingly. A man from Modiim is called in *Aboth* iii. 11, *המודיע*. Eusebius writes *Μηδεῖμ*; Jerome, *Modeim*. In regard to its variations of form, it may be compared with Sepphoris (*צפורין*, *צפירים*, *צפירי*, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 136). The plural is formed sometimes in the Aramaic, sometimes in the Hebrew manner, sometimes in a quite independent and peculiar style. — For determining its situation the following are decisive:—(1) The fact that the beautiful mausoleum built there for his parents and four brothers could be seen from the sea (1 Macc. xiii. 27–30); (2) The statement of Eusebius, to whose time the place was still known, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 281: *Μηδεῖμ, κώμη πλησίον Διοσπόλεως, ὅθεν ἦσαν οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι, ὧν καὶ τὰ μνήματα εἰς ἔτι νῦν δείκνυται*. So, too, Jerome, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 140: *Modeim, vicus juxta Diospolim, unde fuerunt Maccabaei, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulcra monstrantur*. It must therefore have been situated in the neighbourhood of Lydda (Diospolis), and on a higher site, therefore up toward the mountains. The conjecture, therefore, that it was to be identified with the Sôba of the present day, two and a half hours' journey west of Jerusalem, according to the monkish tradition, cannot be entertained for a moment (Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. 896 ff.). It may rather now be regarded as certain that the modern village *el-Medijeh*, east of Lydda, at the entrance into the mountain region, marks the spot of the ancient Modein. This was suggested first of all by the Franciscan, Emmanuel Forner (in *le Monde*, 1866, quoted by Guérin); then by Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, 1868, p. 99. Fritzsche in Schenkel's *Bibel*.

preparing to offer sacrifice, he rushed forward and slew him upon the altar. He also killed the king's commissioner, and levelled the altar to the ground.³⁹

He then fled along with his sons into the mountains. But soon a terrible disaster proved to him that mere flight meant nothing less than utter destruction. Multitudes of like-minded men had now withdrawn into hiding-places in the desert. There they were sought after by a detachment of the Syrian garrison of Jerusalem, and an attack was made upon them on a Sabbath day; and since they declined to offer any resistance because of the Sabbath, they were remorselessly hewn down to the last man, along with their wives and children.⁴⁰ To the vigorous, strong-minded Mattathias such a martyrdom seemed a poor way of contributing to the cause of God. He and those about him resolved to proceed to action, and, in case of necessity, not even to scruple engaging in battle upon the Sabbath day. And now the "Pious," Ἀσιδαῖοι, Ḥṣ'īrīm, attached themselves to him; that is, those who proved faithful in their observance of the law, who had hitherto showed their resolution simply in endurance.⁴¹ Mattathias then gathered together all the men fit for battle, who were ready to fight for their faith, passed with them up and down through the country, overturned the altars, slew the apostate Jews, circumcised un-

lexicon, iv. 233. Sandreczki in *Ausland*, 1871, Nr. 36. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine, Samarie*, ii. 55-64, 395, 404-413, 415-426; *Galilee*, i. 46-57. Mühlau in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Altertums*, p. 1009 f. *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener*, ii. 297, 341-352; and the great English Map, Sheet xiv.

³⁹ 1 Macc. ii. 15-26. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6. 2.

⁴⁰ 1 Macc. ii. 27-38. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6. 2.

⁴¹ The reading συναγωγῇ Ἀσιδαίων, 1 Macc. ii. 42, has been rightly received by Fritzsche into the text. That the Asidaeans were not identical with the circle of Mattathias has been specially emphasized by Wellhausen in his *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, pp. 78-86. They did indeed make common cause with the Maccabees, but afterwards they again separated from them (1 Macc. vii. 13). Compare also Lucius, *Der Essen-*

circumcised children, and gave encouragement to all to engage in open hostility to the heathen persecutors.⁴²

The work thus begun he was not to be permitted long to carry on. Soon after the beginning of the revolt, in B.C. 167-166, in the Seleucid year 146 (1 Macc. ii. 70), Mattathias died, after exhorting his sons to continue the work, and recommending Simon as a man of counsel, and Judas as best qualified to act as leader in battle. Amid great lamentations he was buried at Modein.⁴³

And thus now Judas came to the front as head of the movement. His surname, *ὁ Μακκαβαῖος*, from which the whole party has received the name of Maccabees, was probably intended to designate him as the vigorous, sharp-beating warrior, from *מַקְכָּה*, "the hammer."⁴⁴ "In his acts

ismus, 1881, p. 91 f.; and Div. ii. of this work, vol. ii. p. 26 ff. The correct view of Wellhausen is adopted by Montet in his *Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien*, 1883, pp. 139-142, 161 ff., especially 177-188. — The word *חַסִּידִים* frequently occurs in the Old Testament (e.g. Ps. xxx. 5, xxxi. 24, xxxvii. 28), and means simply the "pious;" but it is used to designate specially those who are peculiarly distinguished for their piety or rigid observance of the law. So also in the Mishna, *Berachoth* v. 1; *Sukka* v. 4; *Chagiga* ii. 7; *Sota* iii. 4, ix. 15. It is therefore essentially the same circle which subsequently received the party name of Pharisees.—Of the literature we may here mention: Drusius, *De Hasidais, quorum mentio in libris Machabaeorum, libellus*, 1603. Serarius, *Trihaeresion*, 1604. Scaliger, *Elenchus Trihaeresii Serarii*, 1605 (all three together in: Triglandius, *Trium scriptorum illustrum de tribus Judaeorum sectis syntagma*, 2 Bde., Delphis 1703. Compare the account of the controversy about Daniel in his article "Pharisäer" in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclop.* sec. iii. Bd. xxii. p. 18). Carpzov, *Apparatus historico-criticus*, pp. 165-172. Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Bd. iii. pp. 357 ff., 384, 395 f. Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. p. 132 ff., art. "Chassid."

⁴² 1 Macc. ii. 39-48. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6. 2.

⁴³ 1 Macc. ii. 49-70. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6. 3-4.

⁴⁴ On the various interpretations of the name, see Conrad Iken, *De Juda Maccabaeo* (in *Symbolae literariae*, t. i. pars 1, Bremae 1744, pp. 170-194); Winer, *RWB.* i. 631 f., art. "Judas;" Grimm, *Exeget. Handbuch zu 1 Makk.* p. ix. f. The derivation which prevailed in earlier times, especially during the seventeenth century, from the initial letters of the words *מַכְכָּה* מִי

he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey." Thus the First Book of Maccabees (iii. 4) characterizes him a hero of chivalry, bold and powerful, not waiting to ask about the possibility of success, but enthusiastically sacrificing his goods and his blood in a noble cause.⁴⁵ The triumphs which he achieved could indeed, in presence of such a terrible array of hostile forces, only be temporary. The cause which he represented must certainly have been lost if it had to depend only on the sword.

In its earliest stage the movement had a course of singularly good fortune. In one battle after another Judas won brilliant victories, which resulted in the restoring of the Jewish worship on Zion. A Syrian battalion, under Apol-

יהודה בְּאַלֶם (Ex. xv. 11), would have deserved serious examination if the word had first of all been used as the secret watchword of the party, as *ιχθύς* was among the early Christians. But it was in the first instance the surname of Judas (*ὁ Μανναβαῖος*). In modern times it has been usually explained as meaning מַקְרָה, "hammer." Against this derivation Curtiss in his work, *The Name Machabee*, Leipzig 1876 (compare *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, 436 f.; Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* 2nd ed. i. 505 f.). He writes מַכְבִּי, and explains it, after Isa. xliii. 17, as "the extinguisher," that is, the exterminator of his enemies. This is, to say the least of it, extremely problematical. The conclusions drawn by Curtiss from the orthography are doubtful, since we no longer know the original Hebrew form. All the more modern texts, the rabbinical, which write sometimes מַכְבִּי, sometimes מַקְבִּי, as well as the Latin texts, are derived from the Greek text of the First Book of Maccabees, which gives *ὁ Μανναβαῖος*. Also Jerome's form of the word Machabaeus, does not prove that he had known a Hebrew form מַכְבִּי, since he undoubtedly adopted the Latin orthography then prevalent. But the Greek *Μανναβαῖος* corresponds to the Hebrew מַקְבִּי, rather than to מַכְבִּי, although even the latter is not impossible. On the other hand, the conjecture of Curtiss is worthy of consideration, that מַקְרָה in the Old Testament (1 Kings vi. 7; Isa. xliv. 12; Jer. x. 4; also Judg. iv. 21) does not mean the great battle-axe or smith's hammer, which elsewhere is called מַפְיָן or מַפִּיץ, or פַּמִּישׁ, but the small workman's hammer. But should this consideration be regarded as decisive?

⁴⁵ Compare generally the characteristics given in 1 Macc. iii. 1-9.

lonius, probably the same of whom mention has already been made at page 206, was cut down by Judas, and Apollonius himself was slain. The sword which he took from him as spoil was the one which Judas from this time forth always himself used in battle.⁴⁶ Also a second Syrian army, which Seron, "the prince of the army of Syria," whom Judas went forth to meet, was completely routed by him at Beth-horon, north-west of Jerusalem.⁴⁷

The king found it necessary to take vigorous measures in order to suppress the revolt in Judea. While he himself, in B.C. 166-165 (1 Macc. iii. 37 gives the Seleucid year 147), went forth upon an expedition against the Parthians,⁴⁸ he sent Lysias back to Syria as imperial chancellor and guardian of the minor Antiochus V., and gave him orders to fit out a large army against Judea to quell the rebellion there.⁴⁹ Lysias sent three generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, with a large body of troops against Judea. The defeat of the Jews seemed so certain, that foreign merchants accompanied the Syrians in order to purchase as slaves the expected Jewish captives.⁵⁰

Meantime, however, Judas, and those adhering to him, had not been inactive. Now that Jerusalem had been wrested from the heathens, Judas collected his fighting men in Mizpah, the ancient stronghold of Israel in the times of the

⁴⁶ 1 Macc. iii. 10-12. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 1.

⁴⁷ 1 Macc. iii. 13-26. Josephus, *l.c.*—Βασιλεῶν, in the Old Testament בֵּית חֶרֶן; according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 233, sixteen miles west-north-west of Jerusalem, and so identical with the present Beit-ur. See Robinson, *Researches in Palestine*, vol. iii. 59-63. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 180. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, Judée, i. 338-344. Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 137.

⁴⁸ 1 Macc. iii. 31. Tacitus, *Historia*, v. 8.

⁴⁹ 1 Macc. iii. 27-37. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 2.

⁵⁰ 1 Macc. iii. 38-41. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 3. 2 Macc. viii. 8-11. According to the Second Book of Maccabees, Ptolemy was the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, who transferred the military operations to Nicanor Gorgias.

Judges, not far from Jerusalem.⁵¹ It no longer consisted merely of a small group of enthusiasts, but was a regular Jewish army, which he had there organized according to military rules; he “ordained captains over the people, even captains over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens.” By prayer and fasting he prepared himself for the unequal struggle. In the province of Emmaus, west of Jerusalem, at the entrance into the hill country, the armies encountered one another.⁵²

While the main body of the Syrian army remained in camp at Emmaus, Gorgias endeavoured with a strong detachment to engage the Jewish army. When Judas heard of this he circumvented him, and got between him and the main body lying at Emmaus. His brave words of encouragement aroused such enthusiasm among the Jews, that the Syrian troops were completely overpowered. When the detachment under Gorgias returned, they found the camp already in flames, and the Jews quite prepared to join with them in battle. Without venturing on such a conflict, they at once fled into the Philistine territory. This victory of the Jews, in B.C. 166–165, was complete.⁵³

⁵¹ *Μασσηφά*, 1 Macc. iii. 46, is the ancient *Πεζυζ*, which in the times of the Judges was the religious and political capital of Israel (Judg. xx. xxi.; 1 Sam. vii. 5 ff., x. 17 ff.). According to 1 Macc. iii. 46, it lay *κατέναντι* *Ιερουσαλήμ*, therefore not far from Jerusalem. Its situation cannot with any certainty be more exactly determined. See generally, Robinson, *Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii. 143, 144. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 213. Smend in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums*, p. 1003 f. Guérin, *Judée*, i. 395–402.

⁵² 1 Macc. iii. 42–60. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 3.—*Ἐμμαούμ* (1 Macc. iii. 40, 57), in the Roman times the capital of a toparchy, exists down to the present day under the name of Amwâs. The New Testament Emmaus is probably a different place lying near Jerusalem. Compare generally, Div. ii. vol. i. p. 159, and the literature quoted in the note on that page.

⁵³ 1 Macc. iv. 1–25. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 4; 2 Macc. viii. 12 ff.—The chronology is made out by means of a combination of 1 Macc. iii. 37,

In the following year, B.C. 165–164, and indeed, as further details show, in autumn of B.C. 165, Lysias himself led a new and still more powerful army against Judea. He did not make his attack directly from the north, but came against Judea from the south by the way of Idumea (1 Macc. iv. 29). He must therefore have fetched a compass round about Judea; it may have begun, as Hitzig conjectures, p. 393, on the east, round about the Dead Sea, or, what is more probable, on the west, since he had marched along the Philistine coast and round about the hilly region. At Bethzur, south of Jerusalem, on the road to Hebron,⁵⁴ the contending forces met. Although the Syrian army greatly exceeded in numbers, Judas this time again won so complete a victory that Lysias found himself obliged to return to Antioch in order to collect new forces.⁵⁵

After these two brilliant and decisive successes, Judas

which gives the Seleucid year 147, with 1 Macc. iv. 28, ἐν τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, or, what is the same, ἐν τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, meaning “in the following year,” and chap. iv. 52, which gives the Seleucid year 148. The incidents in question therefore occurred in the year of the Seleucid era 147, or B.C. 166–165; but whether in B.C. 166 or in B.C. 165 cannot be determined.—As the enemy’s general, the First Book of Maccabees names only Gorgias, the Second Book of Maccabees names only Nicanor. Both are probably correct, inasmuch as the former led the army in the field, and the latter was commander-in-chief of the whole army.

⁵⁴ Βαιθοσύρα (ἡ and τὰ), 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61, vi. 7, 26, 31, 49, 50, ix. 52, x. 14, xi. 65, xiv. 7, 33; in the צִיִּתְ צִיִּר frequently referred to in the Old Testament; according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 235 sq., 20 miles south of Jerusalem in the direction of Hebron (καὶ ἔτι νῦν κώμη Βηθσωρὰ καλεῖται ἐλθόντων ἀπὸ Αἰλίας εἰς Χεβρών ἐν εἰκοσι σημείοις), which is confirmed by the situation of the Beit-Sur of the present day, in the neighbourhood of Hulhul (the distance is really somewhat less). See Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 430–462. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 181 f. Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 288–295; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 311 sq., 324 sq.; also Sheet xxi. of the great English Chart.

⁵⁵ 1 Macc. iv. 26–35. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 5. 2 Macc. xi. 1–15. On the agreement of the statement in First and Second Maccabees, see Grimm on both passages.

again took possession of Jerusalem, and directed his attention to the restoration of the services of divine worship. The citadel of Jerusalem was indeed still held by Syrian troops, but Judas kept them continually in check by his people, so that the works of the temple could not be destroyed by them. Thus protected, the work was proceeded with. Everything impure was carried out from the temple. The altar of burnt-offering, which had been polluted by heathen sacrifices, was wholly taken down and a new one built in its place.⁵⁶ The sacred garments and furniture were replaced by new ones; and when everything was ready, the temple was consecrated anew by the celebration of a great feast. This took place, according to 1 Macc. iv. 52, on 25th Chisleu, in the Seleucid year 148, or December B.C. 165, or precisely the same day on which three years before, for the first time, the altar had been desecrated by the offering up of heathen sacrifices.⁵⁷ The festivities lasted for eight days, and it was resolved that every year the memory of those events should be revived by the repetition of the festival observance.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ The stones of the heathen altar of sacrifice, or rather of several such altars, were carried out to "an unclean place," therefore completely outside of the temple precincts (1 Macc. iv. 43). The stones of the earlier Jewish altar of burnt-offerings, on the other hand, were laid on the temple mount, on a suitable place, "until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them" (1 Macc. iv. 46). According to Mishna, *Middoth* i. 6, the stones of the Jewish altar were laid down in a chamber within the bounds of the inner court, but no longer on "holy" ground. With 1 Macc. iv. 43 and 46, Derenbourg, pp. 60, 61, combined two obscure passages in *Megillath Taanith* (§ 17 and 20), according to which the stones of the Jewish altar were removed on 23rd Marcheschwan, that is, November, those of the heathen altar somewhat later, on the 3rd Chisleu, or December. The exposition of the two passages, however, is still very uncertain.

⁵⁷ The date 25th Chisleu as the day of the consecration of the temple is obtained from *Megillath Taanith*, § 23. Compare Derenbourg, p. 62.

⁵⁸ Compare generally: 1 Macc. iv. 36-59. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 6-7. 2 Macc. x. 1-8.—To this date belongs the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple, τὰ ἐγκαίνια of John x. 22. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xii.

The reconsecration of the temple forms the first era in the history of the Maccabean revolt. Hitherto the struggles of the heroes of the faith had been invariably crowned with success. Judas had led his followers on from one victory to another. The future must now prove whether their power was elastic enough, and their enthusiasm enduring enough, to keep permanent possession of what had thus in so rapid a course been won.

7. 7: καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι δεῦρο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα, because during this festival it was the custom to burn lights (compare *Baba kamma* vi. 6, and Maimonides). According to 2 Macc. x. 6, it was celebrated after the manner of the Feast of Tabernacles, and is therefore actually called in 2 Macc. i. 9, "The Feast of Tabernacles of the month Chisleu." The Egyptian Jews were invited to take part in its celebration by two letters preserved in the beginning of the Second Book of Maccabees. For the literature with reference to this see Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 215. It was called in Hebrew חֲנֻכָּה, *Megillath Taanith*, § 23, and was observed for a period of eight days; *Bikkurim* i. 6; *Rosh Hashana* i. 3; *Taanith* ii. 10; *Megilla* iii. 4, 6; *Moed katan* iii. 9; *Baba kamma* vi. 6. A complete description of the festival in post-Talmudic times is given by Maimonides, *Hilchoth Megilla wa-Chanukha*, c. iii.-iv., in the third volume of his great work, *Jad-ha-chasaka* or *Mischne Tora*, St. Petersburg 1850-1852, Bd. ii. pp. 532-542; also in *Schulchan-Arukh*, § 670-685. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, ii. 248-251. Schröder, *Satzungen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Judenthums*, 1851, pp. 159-163.—At the synagogue services at the Chanuka festival, Num. vii. was read (*Megilla* iii. 6); the festival psalm was Ps. xxx. (Tract *Soferim* xviii. 2; Müller, *Masechet Soferim* 251). Hence the superscription of Ps. xxx. is שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת.—Compare generally the article "Kirchweihfest" in Winer, *RWB.*; Schenkel's *Bibellex.* by Dillmann; Riehm's *Handwörterbueh*; also Oehler, article "Feste der Juden" in Herzog's *Encyclopaedie*, and the commentaries on 1 Macc. iv. 59 (Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, Bissel, Wace) and on John x. 22 (Lightfoot, *Horae Hebr.*; Wetstein, *Nov. Test.*; Wolf, *Curas phil.* etc.).

§ 5. THE TIMES OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS, B.C. 165-161.

SOURCES.

1 Macc. v.-ix. 22 ; 2 Macc. xii.-xv.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8-11. A summary of this is given in Zonaras, *Annal.* iv. 20-22.

Megillath Taanith, § 30, in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 63.

The coins ascribed to Judas by de Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 84 sq., belong rather in all probability to Aristobulus I.; see § 9.

LITERATURE.

The works on Syrian history by Foy-Vaillant, Frölich, Clinton, Flathe, Stark, etc.

The treatises and commentaries on the Books of Maccabees by Wernsdorff, Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, Bissel, Wace, etc.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vol. v. 306-323.

HERZFELD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 272-296.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 395-421.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte des Juden*, Bd. ii. 2, pp. 352-376.

CONDER, *Judas Maccabaeus and the Jewish War of Independence*. London 1879.

STANLEY, *Jewish Church*, 1877, vol. iii. pp. 285-343.

Articles, of Judas Maccabaeus, in Winer, *RWB.*, and in Schenkel's *Bibelllexicon*.

During the next year and a half after the reconsecration of the temple down to the summer of B.C. 163, Judas remained master of Judea. The central government of Syria took no concern in the movements there, for its attention was wholly taken up elsewhere. Hence Judas was able unhindered to arrange for the strengthening of his position. The temple mount was furnished with stony fortifications. On the southern frontier of Judea, Beth-zur, which constituted the key

to Judea, was strongly fortified and garrisoned with Jewish troops.¹ And also throughout all the border districts military raids were made, partly in order to protect the Jews dwelling there, partly for the establishment of their own dominion. The Edomites, the Bajanites (a tribe otherwise unknown), and the Ammonites, all of whom had shown themselves hostile, were sharply chastised one after another.²

Complaints soon came from Gilead, east of the Jordan, and from Galilee, of persecutions which the Jews dwelling there had been subjected to on the part of the heathens. It was resolved that help should be sent to both. Simon went to Galilee with three thousand men, Judas to Gilead with eight thousand men.³ In neither case was there any idea of making a permanent conquest of the territory in question. But after Simon had won many battles against the heathen in Galilee, he gathered together the Jewish residents, with their women, children, and goods, and led them amid great rejoicing to Judea, where they would be kept secure.⁴ Judas acted in a similar manner in Gilead. In a series of successful engagements, especially in the north of the country east of the Jordan, he subdued the native tribes, whose leader was one Timotheus, then gathered together all the Israelites in Gilead, great and small, women and children, with all their possessions, and led them carefully, after he had been compelled to fight a passage for himself by Ephron, a town of

¹ 1 Macc. iv. 60, 61. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 7.—Beth-zur is in the subsequent history often referred to as an important post. See the passages quoted in note 54 under the previous section.

² 1 Macc. v. 1-8. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 1.—The Edomite district Akkrabbattine, 1 Macc. v. 3, has its name from the high ridge Akkrabbim, Num. xxxiv. 4, Josh. xv. 3, Judg. i. 36, and is not to be confounded with this well-known toparchy of Akkrabbattene, lying in the north of Judea. See Div. ii. vol. i. p. 158.

³ 1 Macc. v. 9-20. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 1-2.

⁴ 1 Macc. v. 21-23. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 2. For an explanation of 1 Macc. v. 23, compare above, page 192.

the east Jordan country otherwise unknown, through Beth-sean or Scythopolis to Judea⁵

During the period when Simon and Judas were absent from Judea, the direction of affairs there had been assigned to certain men called Joseph and Asariah. These two, in direct opposition to the orders of Judas, undertook a military expedition against Jamnia, but were driven back with considerable loss by Gorgias, who since his defeat had remained at Emmaus in Philistine territory. The First Book of Maccabees does not fail, in recording this incident, to call attention to the fact that it was by the hand of the family of the Maccabees that salvation was to be wrought for Israel.⁶

But Judas carried his military expedition farther a-field. He went out again against the Edomites, besieged and destroyed Hebron; then passed through Marissa (for thus we are to read in place of Samaria in 1 Macc. v. 66) into the land of the Philistines, overthrew Ashdod, cast down the altars there and the idols, and returned back to Judea with rich spoil.⁷ The object now quite evidently was no longer the protection of the Jewish faith, but the strengthening and extending of the Jewish power.

Meanwhile a change had taken place in the affairs of

⁵ 1 Macc. v. 24–54. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 3–5. Compare 2 Macc. xii. 10–31. For the geography, compare also Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ii. 2, pp. 453–459. Ephron is, as Grätz rightly remarks, certainly identical with the Γεφροῦς or Γεφροῦν conquered by Antiochus the Great (Polybius, v. 70. 12).

⁶ 1 Macc. v. 18, 19, 55–62. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6. On Jamnia, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 78 f.

⁷ 1 Macc. v. 63–68. Instead of Σαμάρειαν, 1 Macc. v. 66, we have in Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6, Μαρίσσαν, as also in the Latin text of the *codex Sangermanensis*. Compare also 2 Macc. xii. 35. Marissa, in the Old Testament מְרִישָׁה, is a very well known town in the south of Judea, then under Edomite rule (*Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1), and lying, according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 279, in the neighbourhood of Eleutheropolis, that is, just between Hebron and Ashdod. The reading given by Josephus is thus undoubtedly the correct one, and it was early adopted, as *e.g.*

Syria. Antiochus Epiphanes, in his undertakings in the eastern parts of the empire, had been no less unfortunate than his generals had been in Judea. He had advanced into the province of Elymais, but after making an unsuccessful attempt to appropriate the rich treasures of the temple of Artemis there, he had been compelled to retire back upon Babylon, and on the way, in the Persian town of Tabä, he died in B.C. 164, or, according to 1 Macc. vi. 16, in the Seleucid year 149, that is, B.C. 164–163.⁸ Before his end he appointed one of his generals, Philip, to be imperial chancellor, and tutor to his son Antiochus V. Eupator during his minority. But instead of him Lysias secured possession of the person of the young king, and obtained absolute sovereign power in the empire.⁹

The revolted Jews might not perhaps have been interfered with for a long time had not pressing appeals been made to Antioch directly from Judea. Judas now laid siege in B.C. 163–162, the Seleucid year 150 (1 Macc. vi. 20), to the Syrian garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem. Some of the garrison, notwithstanding the siege, escaped, and in company with representatives of the Greek party among the Jews,

by Grotius, Reland and Michaelis. Grimm, indeed, thinks that no motive can be found for mentioning a mere march through by Marissa. But, as Keil has correctly remarked, the march through is recorded for the reason that there a number of priests in a rash and ill-considered battle met their death (v. 67). On Ashdod, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 76 f.

⁸ 1 Macc. vi. 1–16. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 1. Polybius, xxxi. 11. Porphyry in Jerome on Dan. xi. 44, 45 (Hieronym. *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 722).—Instead of Artemis, as given by Polybius, Appian. *Syriaca*, c. 66, names Aphrodite. Compare in regard to the chronology, above, p. 172.—The stories of the Second Book of Maccabees are purely legendary (i. 13–16 and ix.). Grätz in the *Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1883, pp. 241–254, makes a venturesome attempt to drag in the statements of Dan. xi. 45 in order to determine the place where Antiochus died.

⁹ 1 Macc. vi. 14–17. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 2.

betook themselves to the king in order to urge upon him the necessity of his interfering. The representatives of the Greek party, in particular, complained of how much they had to suffer from their hostile fellow-countrymen, so that many of them had been slain and had their possessions taken from them.¹⁰

It was this that first again roused those in Antioch to take active measures. Lysias himself, in company with the youthful king, went forth at the head of a powerful army and marched against Judea. He once more made his attack from the south, and began with the siege of Beth-zur. Judas was obliged to raise the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem, and to go forth to meet the king. At Beth-Zachariah, between Jerusalem and Beth-zur, the armies met.¹¹ It soon appeared that over against the vigorous onslaught of the Syrian troops the Jews with all their valour could not secure any decisive or lasting victory. They went forth boldly to the conflict. Judas's own brother Eleasar distinguished himself above all the rest. He thought that he had discovered the elephant on which the young king was seated; he crept forward, stabbed the elephant from below, and was crushed under the weight of the falling animal. His self-immolation and all the efforts of the Jews, however, were in vain. The Jewish army was beaten, and that so completely, that the king's army soon appeared before the walls of Jerusalem, and laid siege to Zion, the temple mount.¹²

¹⁰ 1 Macc. vi. 18-27. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 3.

¹¹ Βαιθζαχαρία (1 Macc. vi. 32), according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 4, seventy stadia north of Beth-zur, is in the present day called Beit-Sakaria. See Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, pp. 276-277. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 181; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 316-319. The *Survey of Western Palestine*, *Memoirs* by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 35 sq., 108; and the great English Map, Sheet xvii. Ritter, in his *Geography of Palestine and Sinai*, wrongly identifies Beth-Zachariah with edh-Dhoheriyeh, in which case it would have lain to the south-west of Hebron.

¹² 1 Macc. vi. 28-48. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 3-5; *Wars of the Jews*, i.

Beth-zur also was obliged to yield and to receive a Syrian garrison. Those besieged in Zion, however, soon began to suffer from want of the means of life, since owing to the Sabbatical year no provision had been made beforehand.¹³ The utter discomfiture of the Jews now seemed imminent, when suddenly Lysias, on account of events occurring in Syria, found himself compelled to treat with the Jews for peace under favourable conditions. That same Philip whom Antiochus Epiphanes had nominated as imperial chancellor and tutor of his son Antiochus V. during his minority, had marched against Antioch in the hope of securing the power to himself. In order to have a free hand against him, Lysias granted to the Jews that which had hitherto been the occasion of the war, the liberty freely to celebrate their own religious ceremonies. It was henceforth to be permitted them to "observe their own institutions as formerly." On this condition those besieged in Zion capitulated; its strongholds were reduced, contrary to the promise sworn to by the king. The subjugation of the Jews was accomplished, but only after that had been granted to them on account of which the Syrian government had declared war against them five years before.¹⁴

1. 5. 2 Macc. xiii. 1-17. The defeat is only very shyly hinted at in the First Book of Maccabees vi. 47; while in the Second Book of Maccabees it is actually transformed into a victory! See with reference to this, Grimm, *Exeget. Handbuch zu 1 Makk.* p. 103, *zu 2 Makk.* p. 191 f.

¹³ 1 Macc. vi. 49-54. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 5. 2 Macc. xiii. 18-22. The mentioning of the Sabbatical year (1 Macc. vi. 49: ὅτι σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῇ; vi. 53: διὰ τὸ ἐβδόμου ἔτος εἶναι) shows us that the events occurred in B.C. 163. For the Seleucid year 150 (in which they are placed by 1 Macc. vi. 20 compared with vii. 1) runs, according to the mode of reckoning followed in the First Book of Maccabees, from spring of B.C. 163 to spring of B.C. 162. The Sabbatical year, however, always begins in autumn (*Mishna, Rosh hashana* i. 1). Since, then, they were already in want of victuals, they must have been in the second half of the Sabbatical year, after the fields during winter and spring had been left unsown. This, therefore, brings us to the summer of B.C. 163.

¹⁴ 1 Macc. vi. 55-62. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 6-7. 2 Macc. xiii. 23-26.

The understanding with the Jews at which Lysias and Antiochus V. in their own interests had arrived, was not interfered with by any of the following kings. None of them resorted again to the foolish attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes forcibly to introduce pagan culture and ceremonies among the Jews. The Jewish worship, which had been restored by Judas Maccabaeus amid all the changeful circumstances of the age, continued to be observed in essentially the same way. This deserves to be specially noted in order that a correct estimate may be formed of the conflicts which followed. The end aimed at in the struggle was now different from that previously before them. It had to do no longer with the preservation of religion, but, just as we have already seen in the preliminary history of the Maccabean revolt, with the question whether the friends of the Greeks or the national party within the Jewish nation itself should have the supremacy. It was essentially a Jewish internecine war, in which the Syrian superiors took part only in so far as they supported and put at the head of the provincial government sometimes the one, sometimes the other, of these two Jewish parties. To a certain extent, indeed, religious interests did come into consideration. For the Greek party were inclined to go farther in the way of favouring Greek institutions, while their nationalist opponents seemed more attached to the religion of Israel. But the fundamental points were no longer in dispute.¹⁵

In consequence of the events of the previous year, the party in Judea friendly to the Greeks were driven out of the government, and were indeed for the most part persecuted. Judas stood practically at the head of the Jewish people.¹⁶

¹⁵ Compare Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, p. 84: "The year 162 marks the proper end of the religious war of the Jews. Thereafter the occasion of the conflict was not religion, but government."

¹⁶ We get no information from the First Book of Maccabees as to the

It may be readily supposed that the opposition party did not quietly submit to this arrangement, but made vigorous efforts on their part to obtain again the governing power. But they succeeded in their efforts only after a change had occurred in the occupancy of the throne. Antiochus V. and Lysias had, indeed, after a short struggle overcome that Philip who had contended with them for the supremacy.¹⁷ But they themselves were soon driven out by a new pretender to the crown. Demetrius I., afterwards distinguished by the cognomen Soter, the son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, therefore nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes and cousin of Antiochus Eupator, who had previously lived as a hostage at Rome, and had vainly entreated from the Roman senate permission to return home, succeeded in secretly making his escape, and landed at Tripolis on the Phoenician coast.¹⁸ He was able soon to gather around him a considerable number of followers;¹⁹ indeed the very bodyguard of King Antiochus deserted him and his guardian Lysias, and joined Demetrius. By the orders of Demetrius both were murdered, and he himself proclaimed king in B.C. 162.²⁰ The Roman senate was at first in con-

person who administered the office of the high priest after the restoration of the Jewish worship. Nominally Menelaus was still high priest. He is said to have been put to death by Antiochus V. Eupator when he made definite concessions to the Jews, and the reason assigned for that was that Menelaus by his evil counsels was indirectly responsible for the rebellion of the Jews (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 7; compare 2 Macc. xiii. 3-8). But Menelaus was naturally unable in presence of Judas, who was in possession of the actual power, to exercise the functions of the high priest's office. Perhaps, indeed, Onias IV., son of Onias III., may have officiated. But, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1, he was not of age at the time of his father's death, and went immediately down into Egypt, and so after the execution of Menelaus the office was given, not to him, but to Alcimus (*Antiq.* xii. 9. 7).

¹⁷ 1 Macc. vi. 63. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 7.

¹⁸ Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 254 (=Synzell. ed. Dindorf, i. 550 sq.). 2 Macc. xiv. 1.

¹⁹ Justin, xxxiv. 3: *Delatus in Syriam secundo favore omnium excipitur.*

²⁰ 1 Macc. vii. 1-4. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 1. 2 Macc. xiv. 1-2

sternation over the flight of Demetrius, but by and by Demetrius managed on his part to induce the Romans to recognise him as king.²¹

Soon after Demetrius had entered upon the government, the leaders of the Hellenistic party, with a certain Alcimus at their head, or as his Hebrew name properly reads, Jakim,²² made representations to the king with reference to their oppression under the party of Judas. Judas and his brothers had meanwhile slain the adherents of the king, or expelled them from the country. Demetrius was naturally readily impressed by such a statement. Alcimus was appointed high priest, and at the same time a Syrian army under the command of Bacchides was sent to Judea, in order to instate Alcimus by force, if need be, in his office.²³

The further development of affairs is highly characteristic of the struggles of the Maccabees. The opposition to Alcimus on the side of the strict Jewish party was by no means engaged in by all its adherents. In consequence of quieting assurances which he gave, he was immediately acknowledged by the representatives of the strictest section of the scribes and the "pious" (*Ἀσιδάιοι*, 1 Macc. vii. 13), as the legitimate high priest of the family of Aaron. Only Judas and his adherents persevered in their opposition. They did not trust the promises of Alcimus, and considered that their

Livy, *Epit.* xlv. Appian, *Syriaca*, c. 47. In regard to the chronology, see above, p. 174.

²¹ Polybius, xxxi. 23, xxxii. 4.

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 7: "Ἀλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος κληθείς. In the sketch given by Josephus in *Antiq.* xx. 10, he names him simply Ἰάκειμος. Also in the text of the First Book of Maccabees, vii. 5, 12, 20, 21, 23, 25, and ix. 54-57, as well as 2 Macc. xiv. 3, various manuscripts have the addition ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος.

²³ 1 Macc. vii. 5-9. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 1-2. 2 Macc. xiv. 3-10.—According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 9. 7, Alcimus had been already nominated as high priest by Antiochus V. Eupator. According to 2 Macc. xiv. 3 ff., he had once even earlier than this filled the office of high priest.

religious interests could only be secured if they got the government into their own hands.²⁴

Results showed that they were not wrong. One of the first acts of Alcimus was to order the execution of sixty men belonging to the party of the Asidaeans. This struck fear and trembling into the hearts of the people, but had also the effect of arousing more determined opposition. Bacchides now thought that his presence in Judea was no longer necessary. Leaving behind a military force in Judea for the protection of Alcimus, he himself returned to Syria. Then Alcimus and Judas had practically an opportunity of measuring their strength and testing their own resources against one another. The open war between the two parties which now began seemed to tend more and more in favour of the Maccabees, so that Alcimus found it necessary to go to the king and to entreat of him further support.²⁵

Demetrius sent now against Judea another general, Nicanor, with a great army. Nicanor sought first of all through stratagem to obtain possession of the person of Judas. But Judas got information of this plot, and so the scheme miscarried. An engagement thus took place at Capharsalama,²⁶

²⁴ 1 Macc. vii. 10-15. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 2. The Second Book of Maccabees, xiv. 6, falsely identifies the Asidaeans with the party of Judas. See regarding this, Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, p. 79 ff.

²⁵ 1 Macc. vii. 16-25. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 2-3.

²⁶ The position of this place is unknown. Expositors of the First Book of Maccabees (Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, etc., on 1 Macc. vii. 31) set it south of Jerusalem, "since Nicanor after losing the battle withdrew to Jerusalem and then to Beth-Horon" (Keil). But this argument is not convincing. Nicanor did not sustain an actual defeat at Capharsalama, since his loss consisted only of 500 men (so 1 Macc. vii. 32 is to be read, instead of 5000). We may therefore represent the state of matters thus to ourselves, that Nicanor, after he had failed to gain any decisive advantage over Judas at Capharsalama, wished to make himself sure of the protection of Jerusalem, where he had the garrison of the citadel to back up his efforts. Under these circumstances nothing stands in the way of our setting Capharsalama to the north-west of Jerusalem, and identifying it with the

which resulted in the defeat of Nicanor. He then advanced upon Jerusalem, and wreaked his vengeance on the innocent priests. While they greeted him respectfully, he treated them with scorn and ridicule, and threatened that if they did not deliver up to him Judas and his army, he would on his victorious return set their temple on fire.²⁷

Therefore he returned to the district of Beth-Horon, northwest of Jerusalem, where he waited for reinforcements from Syria. Judas lay encamped over against him in Adasa.²⁸ On 13th Adar, B.C. 161, a decisive conflict was engaged in which resulted in the utter defeat of the Syrians. Nicanor himself fell in the tumult. When his people saw this, they threw their weapons away, and betook themselves to hasty flight. The Jews pursued them, surrounded them, and cut them down to the last man; so, at least, the First Book of Maccabees affirms. The victory must certainly have been

Carvasalim near Ramleh, not far from Lydda, of which mention is made in the eleventh century (so Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. iii. 46-59; Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 321). A כפר שלם is spoken of in the Talmud (Reland, *Palest.* p. 690; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 173), and by the Arabic geographer *Mukaddasi*, translated by Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* vii. 170.

²⁷ 1 Macc. vii. 26-38. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 4-5.

²⁸ Ἀδασά, 1 Macc. vii. 40, 45, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 5, thirty stades from Beth-Horon, is identical with the Ἀδασά in the neighbourhood of Gophna which was known to Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 220: καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη ἐγγυὲς Γουφνάου). It lay therefore north-east of Beth-Horon. Quite distinct from it is the similarly named חרֶבֶת אָדָסָה belonging to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 37; Mishna, *Erubin* v. 6), which, since it was in the district of Judah, cannot have been in the neighbourhood of Gophna, as Eusebius erroneously assumes (see on the contrary, Jerome, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 93). Compare the articles "Adasa" and "Hadasa" in the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm.—Many are now inclined to identify our Adasa with the ruins of Khirbet Adasa on the great road north of Jerusalem (Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 5-6; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 30, 105 f.; also the great English Map, Sheet xvii.). The identification seems to me doubtful, since Khirbet Adasa is about sixty stades from Beth-Horon, and not toward Gophna, but in a southerly direction.

overpowering and complete. For from this time the 13th Adar, corresponding roughly to our March, was annually observed as a festival under the name of "Nicanor's Day."²⁹

Judas was thus once more master of the situation. Josephus assigns to this period the death of Alcimus, and from this time reckons the priesthood of Judas. But the death of Alcimus, according to the First Book of Maccabees, occurred considerably later; and that Judas exercised generally the functions of the high priest, is extremely improbable.³⁰

There is, however, this element of truth in the statement of Josephus, that Judas now actually stood at the head of the Jewish commonwealth. And it was his determined plan to maintain himself, or at least his party, in that position. But the events which had occurred taught him that this was possible only after they had completely freed themselves from the Syrian yoke. The king of Syria had indeed showed his

²⁹ 1 Macc. vii. 39–50. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 5. ■ Macc. xv. 1–36. *Megillath Taamith*, § 30 (in Derenbourg, p. 63).—The year in which Nicanor's defeat occurred is not directly stated in the First Book of Maccabees, but by a comparison of 1 Macc. vii. 1 with ix. 3, it must be set down as the Seleucid year 151, or B.C. 162–161. But the month Adar of the Seleucid year 151 is equivalent to March B.C. 161. The consideration which in the first edition of this work was regarded as telling against this date, that it made the time since the accession of Demetrius too short for the occurrence of such events, I can no longer regard as offering any serious difficulty.

³⁰ On the death of Alcimus, see 1 Macc. ix. 54–56. On the high-priesthood of Judas, Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6, 11. 2. In itself it would not be inconceivable that Judas should also have usurped the functions of the high priest. But the First Book of Maccabees says nothing about such a proceeding. There was also a legitimate claimant present in the person of Onias IV., who would certainly be respected as such by Judas. Josephus himself in another place expressly says that after the death of Alcimus the office of the high priest remained unoccupied for seven years (*Antiq.* xx. 10 : διεδέξατο δὲ οὐδείς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ χωρὶς ἀρχιερέως οὔσα). This statement is supported by the investigations of Wieseler (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1877, pp. 293–298) and Grätz (*Geschichte der Juden*, ii. 2, p. 365 ff.; *Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1883, pp. 1–6).

inclination to secure the supremacy in Judea to the opposition party by force of arms. The resolve was therefore made to shake off once and for all every sort of subordination to the Syrians. In order to accomplish this purpose, Judas applied to the Romans for help. The rulers of the Western empire, ever since their conflicts with Antiochus the Great, between B.C. 192 and B.C. 189, had taken the liveliest interest in matters that affected the Syrian empire, and looked closely into everything that occurred with watchful eyes. They repeatedly interposed their authority to decide upon the affairs of Syria.³¹ All centrifugal movements in that quarter might therefore count upon their support. It was thus very natural that Judas should make the attempt with the help of the Romans to secure permanently that freedom which had been temporarily wrung from their enemy. In grand pictorial style the First Book of Maccabees describes how Judas had heard of the deeds and might of the Romans, and how this led him to endeavour to obtain their aid. Even the inaccuracies which are mixed up in this story serve to set before us very strikingly the measure of the knowledge of the Romans, which was then current in Judea. Judas therefore sent two men of his party as ambassadors to Rome, Eupolemus son of John, and Jason son of Eleasar, the former perhaps identical with that Eupolemus who is known to us as a Hellenistic writer, see Div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 203-206. The end which he had in view in so doing was avowedly the throwing off of the Syrian yoke (1 Macc. viii. 18: τοῦ ἀραι τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν). The Roman senate readily granted an audience to the Jewish embassy, and a treaty of friendship was made of which the principal provisions were

³¹ Thus Antiochus Epiphanes was obliged to abandon Egypt by Popilius Laenas. After the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Roman senate forced from Antiochus Eupator and his regent-guardian Lysias a considerable reduction of the standing army of Syria (Polybius, xxxi. 12; Appian. *Syriaca*, c. 46).

that the Jews should give help to the Romans and the Romans to the Jews in times of war (*συμμαχία*), but not on precisely equal terms, and in every case just as circumstances required (1 Macc. viii. 25, 27: *ὡς ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ὑπογραφή*). It therefore practically depended on the pleasure of the Romans how far they should consider themselves bound by the agreement.³²

About the same time as this treaty was concluded the Romans issued a missive to Demetrius, wherein they ordered him to desist from every sort of hostile proceeding against the Jews, who were the allies of the Romans.³³ Their interposition of authority came too late. Demetrius proceeded so rashly and energetically, that the overthrow of Judea had been already completed before there was any possibility of interference on the part of the Romans.³⁴ Immediately after he had received news of the death and defeat of Nicanor, he sent a great army under Bacchides to Judea, which appeared in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem as early as the first month of the Seleucid year 152, that is, in April B.C. 161 (1 Macc. ix. 3), only about two months after the fall of Nicanor.³⁵

³² 1 Macc. viii. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6.—A similar treaty of friendship between Rome and Astypalaea, of date B.C. 105, is known from an inscription, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 2485 (also in Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1882, pp. 347–349).—For an explanation and criticism of 1 Macc. viii., besides the commentaries of Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, Bissel, Wace, compare: Grimm, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.* 1874, pp. 231–238, with communications from Mommsen and Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philologiae Lipsiensis*, t. v. 1875, pp. 91–100.

³³ 1 Macc. viii. 31, 32.

³⁴ From the general drift of the First Book of Maccabees, it may be assumed that Judas had first arranged the embassy after the victory over Nicanor. On this supposition he cannot have lived to see the return of his ambassadors, for his death occurred only two months after Nicanor's defeat. Compare Grimm, *Exeget. Handbuch zu 1 Makk.* p. 131.

³⁵ As to the reckoning of the date, compare above, page 39.—Since Nicanor fell on the 13th Adar, the last month of the Jewish year (1 Macc. vii. 43, 49), while Bacchides appeared before Jerusalem "in the first month" of the Seleucid year 152 (1 Macc. ix. 3), a period of one and a

Bacchides encamped beside Berea, Judas beside Elasa (written also Eleasa and Alasa).³⁶ The superiority of the Syrians was so evident, that even in the ranks of Judas there no longer remained any hope of victory. His followers deserted in large numbers. With a few faithful men Judas ventured with the wild courage of despair on the hopeless conflict. The result was just what had been clearly foreseen: the troops of Judas were hewn down, and he himself fell in the battle. To his brothers Jonathan and Simon were granted the sad privilege of burying him in the grave of his father at Modein.³⁷

With the overthrow of Judas it was finally and definitely proved that it was a vain endeavour on the part of the Jewish nationalists to measure swords with the mighty forces of Syria. Brilliant as the earlier achievements of Judas had been, he was largely indebted to the recklessness and self-confidence of his opponents. Continuous military success was not to be thought of if only the Syrian authorities seriously roused themselves to the conflict. The following age cannot show even one conspicuous victory of the kind by which Judas had won renown. What the Maccabean party finally reached, it won through voluntary concessions of claimants of the Syrian throne contending with one another, and generally in consequence of internal dissensions in the Syrian empire.

half months, which is quite enough, is allowed for the equipment of the Syrian army. "But yet even should forty-five days seem to any one too little, I could even then come to his help with other thirty or thirty-one days. The year must have been an intercalary year, that is, it must have had the month Veadar intercalated" (Michaelis, *Anm. zu 1 Makk.* ix. 3).

³⁶ Both places are unknown. Also the remark in 1 Macc. ix. 15: ἄστυς Ἀζάρου ὄρους, scarcely gives sufficient ground for determining its locality, since the statement is very suspicious, and is owing perhaps to a translator's mistake. (Michaelis guesses that in Hebrew it stood אֶשְׁרוֹת הָהָר, "down at the foot of the mountain;" Josephus reads μέγας Ἀζᾶ ὄρους.)

³⁷ 1 Macc. ix. 1-21. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 11. 1-2.

§ 6. THE TIMES OF JONATHAN, B.C. 161-143.

SOURCES.

1 Macc. ix. 23-x. 30.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1-6. A summary of the history in Zonaras, *Annal* iv. 22-24.

The coins ascribed to Jonathan by de Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 85-93, belong to Alexander Jannäus, see § 10.

LITERATURE.

The works on Syrian history by Foy-Vaillant, Frölich, Clinton, Flathe, Stark, etc.

The Treatises and Commentaries on the Books of Maccabees by Wernsdorff, Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, Bissel, Wace, etc.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 324-333.

HERZFELD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 296-320.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl., under title: *Geschichte der Judäer von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's*, etc., 1888, pp. 1-23.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 421-450.

Articles "Jonathan" in Winer's *RWB.*, and Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*.

THE power of the Jewish national party was quite annihilated by the defeat and death of Judas. The party friendly to the Greeks, with the high priest Alcimus at their head, was able now unhindered to carry on the government committed to it by the king. Wherever any opposition was offered, it was at once vigorously suppressed. The friends of Judas were sought out and brought to Bacchides, who "took vengeance on them." The "unrighteous" and the "ungodly," as the opponents of the Maccabees are designated in the First Book of Maccabees, had now the rule in Judea.¹

¹ 1 Macc. ix. 23-27. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 1.

But the friends of Judas were by no means disposed to abandon all sort of resistance. They elected Jonathan, the brother of Judas, as their leader, "in order that he might direct the conflict."² No regular or serious undertakings indeed were at first to be thought of. They required first of all gradually to gather together their forces and wait a favourable opportunity. The earliest incidents of this period which we have, represent the doings of Jonathan more in the light of the raiding of a freebooter than the acts of a religious party. When their personal property was no longer secure in Judea, they sent it under the guardianship of John, a brother of Jonathan, over into the country of the friendly Nabathaeans. While so engaged, John, along with his baggage, was attacked by a robber tribe of the sons of Ambri, near Medeba, in the country east of the Jordan, and slain. In order to avenge his death, Jonathan and Simon crossed the Jordan and fell upon the sons of Ambri when these were engaged in great festivities in connection with a wedding celebration. Many were slain, and the rest fled into the mountains. On their return Jonathan and his followers were met at the Jordan by Bacchides and a Syrian army, and were in great jeopardy, but saved themselves by swimming across the Jordan.³

Bacchides now took measures to secure that the subjection of Judea under the Syrian rule should be more decided than

² 1 Macc. ix. 28—31. Josephus, *l.c.*

³ 1 Macc. ix. 32—49. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 2—4.—The fight with Bacchides took place on the eastern bank of the Jordan. For the account in 1 Macc. ix. 43—49 goes back again, after the intercalated story of 1 Macc. ix. 35—42, upon the statement of 1 Macc. ix. 34 (Βακχίδης . . . ἦλθεν . . . πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου). If, then, Jonathan and his adherents saved themselves by swimming over the river, they must have reached the western bank, and so remained in the wilderness of Judea (compare ix. 33). Hitzig is therefore in error (ii. 422 f.), who represents the case as if Jonathan had been driven by Bacchides into the country beyond the Jordan; compare Keil, *Commentar*, p. 160.

hitherto. He fortified the cities of Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-Horon, Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Tephon, and occupied them with Syrian garrisons. He likewise gave orders that the fortifications of Beth-zur, Gazara, and the citadel of Jerusalem should be strengthened. Finally, he took the sons of distinguished Jews as hostages, and put them in ward in the citadel of Jerusalem.⁴

About this time, in the second month of the Seleucid year 153, that is, in May B.C. 160 (1 Macc. ix. 54), the high priest Alcimus by his ungodly conduct caused great offence to those who adhered strictly to the observance of the law. He threw down the walls of the inner court, and "so destroyed the works of the prophets." In his death, which speedily followed, they beheld God's righteous judgment on such wickedness.⁵ The

⁴ 1 Macc. ix. 50-53. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 3.—The most of the towns here named are otherwise unknown. On Emmaus, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 159; on Beth-Horon, see above, page 214.—Bethel is the well-known ancient centre of Israelitish worship, according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 209, twelve Roman miles north of Jerusalem.—Thamnatha is in Hebrew תַּמְנָתָה or תַּמְנָה, the name of these places in Southern Palestine, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 158. The best known is תַּמְנַת־סֶרַח, where the tomb of Joshua was. According to the received text of 1 Macc. ix. 50, Thamnatha-Pharathon is to be taken as the name of one place. But probably Josephus, the Syriac, and the *Vet. Lat.* are right when they read καί between the two words. Pharathon is in Hebrew פָּרַעְתוֹן, a town in the tribe of Ephraim, Judg. xii. 13, 15, perhaps the modern Ferata, south-west of Nablous (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Researches*, p. 65 sq.; Guérin, *Samaria*, ii. 179 f.). But this Pharathon, as well as Thimnath-Serach, belonged to Samaria, according to 1 Macc. xi. 34. It is therefore questionable whether other similarly named towns in Judea may not be meant.—Τεφών or Τεφώ is usually identified with the Hebrew תַּפְנֵה. If this were only more certain than it is, it would still be doubtful which of the different Old Testament towns of the name were meant (see Mühlau in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, p. 1612, art. "Tappuah;" and p. 185, art. "Beth-Tappuah").—On Beth-zur, see above, p. 216; on Gazara, see § 7 on the history of Simon.

⁵ 1 Macc. ix. 54-56. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6 (Josephus places the

office of the high priest does not seem to have been again filled.⁶

death of Alcimus before the death of Judas, see above, p. 230). The leveling of the walls, according to 1 Macc. ix. 54, was only partially carried out.—It is doubtful what we are to understand by the *τείχος τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἀγίων τῆς ἱερωτέρας* of 1 Macc. ix. 54. In the temple of the Herodian age the inner court, that is, the inner court in the strict and proper sense, was surrounded first of all by a strong wall. Then a narrow terrace ran round about this, the so-called *Chél*, from which the ascent was made by steps into the outer court. Under the steps ran a low breastwork, the so-called *Soreg*, סוֹרֵג, which marked the boundary beyond which no Gentile was allowed to penetrate. When the First Book of Maccabees speaks of a *τείχος*, it seems unquestionable that the actual wall of the inner court is intended. On the other hand, we find in the Mishna the tradition, that the *Soreg* had been thrown down in thirteen places (מלכי יון) by the Greek kings, and that these thirteen “breaches” (פְּרָצוֹת) had been subsequently closed up, and that in memory of this thirteen obeisances were ordered to be made before it (*Middoth* ii. 3). It was an easy step in advance to combine this tradition with the fact mentioned above, in which case *τείχος* would be considered an inexact translation of סוֹרֵג (so, for example, Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4 Aufl. p. 10 f.; *Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1876, p. 395 ff.; on the other hand: Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 348, Anm. iii.; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 65, note 3). But it is very questionable whether in the simple arrangements of the pre-Herodian temple, wall and *Soreg* were found already existing alongside of one another. In any case the offence consisted in the attempt made by Alcimus to destroy the lines of demarcation between the “holy” space of the court and the unholy outer space, and thus to admit the Gentiles freely within the court.—The interpretation is certainly wrong which supposes that by the inner court only the so-called court of the priests was to be understood, and so by the *τείχος* the boundary which within the court proper marked off the space for the Israelites (so e.g. Keil). For this boundary was no *τείχος*, but a *δρύφακτος* (*Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5) or *γείσιον* (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 6; compare, *Antiq.* viii. 3. 9), and did not probably exist before the time of Alexander Jannäus (the mode of expression in *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5 is at least indistinct). The *αὐλή ἱερωτέρα* is undoubtedly the same as is called by Josephus: *ἡ ἐνδον αὐλή* (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 6 *fin.*), *ὁ ἐνδότερος περίβολος* (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 2), *ὁ ἐντὸς περίβολος* (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5), *τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερόν* (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 5, v. 3. 1 *fin.*, vi. 1. 8), *τὸ ἐνδον ἱερόν* (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 4), *τὸ εἰσα ἱερόν* (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 7), *τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερόν* (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 1), that is, the court in the strict and proper sense, to which all Israelites but no Gentiles were admitted; compare also Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 299-305.

⁶ Josephus assumes this in *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 5.

Soon after the death of Alcimus, Bacchides returned to Syria, believing that the subjugation of Judea was now complete.⁷ There follows a period of seven years, B.C. 160–153, about which the First Book of Maccabees says almost nothing. But these seven years must have been of very great importance for the reinvigorating of the Maccabean party. For at the close of that period it stands forward as the one party really capable of forming a government and as actually having Judea under its control, so that the Syrian kings in their contentions with one another are found eagerly seeking to secure its devoted adherence. Only by one episode is light shed upon the darkness of this era in the record of the First Book of Maccabees. Two years after the retirement of Bacchides, that is, in B.C. 158, the dominant party of the Jews favourable to the Greek customs made urgent representations to the king's government about the resuscitation of the Maccabean party. The consequence of this was that Bacchides went again with a still larger army in order to utterly destroy Jonathan and his adherents. But his following had already become so strong that Bacchides could not so easily be done with them. A portion of them entrenched themselves under Simon's leadership in the wilderness at Bethbasi, a place not otherwise known, and was there laid siege to by Bacchides in vain. With another portion Jonathan went forth on a plundering expedition into the country. When Bacchides observed how difficult the task assigned to him was, very much against the will of the Graeco-Jewish party which had brought him into such difficulties, he made peace with Jonathan and returned again to Syria.⁸

The Jewish parties appear now to have made an attempt to come to terms with one another. The result of this seems

⁷ 1 Macc. ix. 57. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 5.

⁸ 1 Macc. ix. 57–72. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 5–6.

to have been that Jonathan more and more secured again to himself the leadership. "The sword was now at rest in Israel, and Jonathan dwelt at Michmash; and he began to judge the people, and drove out the ungodly from Israel." With this laconic notice the First Book of Maccabees passes over the following five years.⁹ This can only mean that Jonathan, while the official Sanhedrim of Jerusalem was still filled by those friendly to the Greeks, established at Michmash a sort of rival government, which gradually won the position of main influence in the country, so that it was able even to drive out (*ἀφαιρίζειν*) the ungodly, that is, the Hellenizing party. The Hellenistic or Greek favouring party had no root among the people. The great mass of the Jews had still the distinct consciousness that Hellenism, even if it should tolerate the religion of Israel, was irreconcilable with the ideal of the scribes. So soon, then, as pressure from above was removed, the great majority of the people gave themselves heart and soul to the national Jewish movement. The Maccabees, therefore, had the people soon again at their back. And this is the explanation of the fact that during the struggles for the Syrian throne now beginning, the claimants contended with one another in endeavouring to secure to themselves the goodwill of the Maccabees. The Syrian kings were no longer in a position to force upon the people a Hellenistic government, but were obliged to do all in their power to conciliate and win the favour of the Jews. But this they could have only under the sway of the Maccabees. The concessions they made, however, furthered at the same time those tendencies

⁹ 1 Macc. ix. 73. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 6. — *Μαχμάς* is the Old Testament *מִכְמָשׁ*, according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 280, nine Roman miles north of Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of Rama, the modern *Mukhmas*. See Robinson, *Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, vol. iii. 59-63. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 212. Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 63-65. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 12 and 149. Also the great English Map, Sheet xvii.

which actually brought about the dissolution of the Syrian empire.

In the Seleucid year 160, or B.C. 153—152, and indeed, as the sequel shows, as early as B.C. 153 (1 Macc. x. 1, 21), Alexander Balas, a youth of mean extraction, and merely a tool of the kings leagued against Demetrius, made his appearance as a claimant of the throne.¹⁰ The despotic Demetrius was himself no favourite in the country, and so all the greater was the danger threatening him from the forces of the confederate kings. It was even feared that the Jews might go over to his opponent if he should be inclined to promise to set up among them a national government. Demetrius now sought to meet this danger by himself granting concessions to Jonathan. He gave him full authority to summon together an army in order to support the king, and for this purpose agreed

¹⁰ The details are as follows : In Smyrna there lived a boy (μειρακίσκος Diodorus) of the name of Balas (Justin.), who greatly resembled Antiochus Eupator, and gave himself out as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, but in truth was of mean origin (*sortis extremæ juvenis*, Justin). Attalus II., king of Pergamum, had the youth brought to him, gave him the name Alexander, and set him up in rivalry to Demetrius as a claimant to the Syrian throne (Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. præf. p. 12, n. 14; Justin. xxxv. 1). Under the direction of Heraclides, formerly finance minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, whom Demetrius had dismissed (Appian. *Syr.* 45, 47), Alexander went to Rome, and endeavoured to obtain recognition from the Roman senate. Although the falsity of his pretensions was quite plain, the senate took him up and promised him its support (Polybius, xxxiii. 14, 16). Besides, Alexander was aided not only by Attalus II. of Pergamum, but also by Ptolemy VI. Philometor of Egypt and Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia (Justin. xxxv. 1; Strabo, xiii. 4. 2, p. 624; Appian. *Syr.* 67; Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 255); and the people of Syria themselves, on account of the overbearing and tyrannical character of Demetrius, were decidedly inclined to favour the new claimant (Diodorus and Justin.; compare also Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 1). Thus Alexander began the war against Demetrius, "*totius ferme orientis viribus subcinctus*" (Justin.).—From this statement of the facts, for which see especially Justin., it is evident that it is incorrect, with Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 4. 8: 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας λεγόμενος), to represent "Balas" as the cognomen of Alexander. Rather Balas was his own proper name, and so Strabo correctly names him (xvi. 2. 8, p. 751): τὸν Βάλαν 'Αλέξανδρον.

to the liberation of the Jewish hostages who were still detained in the citadel of Jerusalem. Jonathan then went to Jerusalem invested with full power. The hostages were, in fact, set free, and given back to their parents. But Jonathan now formally seized possession of Jerusalem, and fortified the city and the temple mount. Also the Syrian garrisons of most of the fortresses built by Bacchides were sent away. Only in Beth-zur and in the citadel of Jerusalem did these garrisons remain.¹¹

But Demetrius was not sufficiently liberal in his concessions to Jonathan. He was immediately far outbidden by Alexander Balas. He appointed Jonathan high priest of the Jews, and sent him, as a badge of princely rank, the purple and the diadem. Jonathan was not slow to grasp these new offers. At the Feast of Tabernacles of the Seleucid year 160, in the autumn of B.C. 153, he put on the sacred vestments.¹² He had thus all at once, even formally, become the head of the Jewish people. The Greek party was driven out of the government in Judea, and never again regained power, for Jonathan succeeded in maintaining his position amid all the changes of the following year. Favoured by circumstances, he was able to attain to that which Judas, with all his bravery, had never been able to reach.

When Demetrius heard that Jonathan had gone over to the party of Alexander Balas, he endeavoured by yet more liberal promises to win him back to his side. The gracious offers which he now made the Jewish leader were indeed too good to be credited: the tribute was to be remitted, the citadel of Jerusalem given over to the Jews, the Jewish territory to be enlarged by the addition of three districts of Samaria, the temple to be endowed with rich presents and

¹¹ 1 Macc. x. 1-14. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 1.

¹² 1 Macc. x. 15-21. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 2-3.

privileges, the expense of building the walls of Jerusalem was to be defrayed out of the royal treasury.¹³

Jonathan was prudent enough not to yield to these tempting offers. It was quite foreseen that Demetrius would succumb to the superior strength of his opponent. But even should he go forth conqueror, it was not to be expected that he would fulfil such extravagantly liberal promises. Jonathan therefore remained on the side of Alexander Balas, and never had occasion to regret his doing so. Demetrius was conquered by Alexander and his confederates in B.C. 150, and lost his own life in the battle. Alexander was crowned king.¹⁴

In the same year, however, B.C. 150 (1 Macc. x. 57, Seleucid year 162), an opportunity was afforded Alexander of showing marked respect to Jonathan, and loading him with honours. Alexander had treated with King Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt for the hand of his daughter Cleopatra. Ptolemy had promised her to him, and the two kings now met together in Ptolemais, where Ptolemy himself gave away his daughter to Alexander, and the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. Alexander also invited Jonathan to be present, and received him with marked respect. The deputies of the Hellenistic party in Judea, who made accusations against Jonathan, were indeed also there. But the king gave them no audience, but only showed his favour toward Jonathan the more conspicuously. He had him clothed in the purple and seated beside him, and appointed him *στρατηγός* and *μεριδάρχης*, presumably for the province of Judea, and thus the political privileges already actually exercised were now formally confirmed.¹⁵

¹³ 1 Macc. x. 22-45. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 3.

¹⁴ 1 Macc. x. 45-60. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 4. Polybius, iii. 5. Justin. xxxv. 1; Appian. *Syr.* c. 67.—The account of the death of Demetrius is given in fullest detail by Josephus, whose story is confirmed by Justin: *invicto animo inter confertissimos fortissime dimicans cecidit.*

¹⁵ 1 Macc. x. 46-50. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 1-2.—*Στρατηγός* and

During the next year Jonathan was exposed to no danger from any side in maintaining the position which he had reached. The Greek party had been thoroughly silenced. Alexander Balas was an incapable ruler, who abandoned himself to sensual gratifications, and never thought of restricting the concessions that had been made to the Jewish high priest.¹⁶ The Syrian suzerainty continued indeed to exist. But since Jonathan and his party ruled in Judea, the aims hitherto striven after by the Maccabees were reached. Soon, however, the revolutions about the Syrian throne brought new dangers, but at the same time a new opportunity for the extension of political power. We see Jonathan now as a political partisan, sometimes of one, sometimes of another claimant of the Syrian throne, and using in a clever manner the weakness of the Syrian empire for the purpose of obtaining advantages to the Jewish people. But the aims of the Maccabean movement pointed higher than this. It no longer seemed enough that the party of Jonathan ruled unopposed in internal affairs. The troubles of the Syrian empire were made use of for the purpose of widening the boundaries of the Jewish territory—partly by donation, partly by conquest at their own hand, and finally with a dogged determination to accomplish the complete emancipation of the Jewish nation from the Syrian empire.

In B.C. 147 (1 Macc. x. 67, Seleucid year 165), Demetrius

μεριδάρχης may be taken as equivalent to military and civil governor. For further particulars, see Grimm on 1 Macc. x. 65. It specially deserves notice, that, in spite of Jonathan's appointment as στρατηγός, a Syrian governor still continued to occupy the citadel of Jerusalem.

¹⁶ On Alexander's character, see Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. praef. p. xvi. n. 19 (he speaks of a παντελής ἀδυναμία τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ).—Livy, *Epit.* 50: *In Syria, quæ eo tempore stirpe generis parem regi Macedonum, inertia socordiaque similem Prusiae regem habebat, jacente eo in ganea et lustris, Ammonius regnabat.*—Justin. xxxv. 2: *Alexandrum insperatae opes et alienae felicitatis ornamenta velut captum inter scortorum greges desidem in regia tenebant.*

II., son of Demetrius I., set himself up as rival king in opposition to the contemptible weakling Alexander Balas. Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria, took his side, while Jonathan continued faithful to Alexander. Consequently hostilities were commenced between Apollonius and Jonathan, in which Jonathan was victorious. He drove out a garrison of Apollonius' from Joppa, then defeated an army under the command of Apollonius in the neighbourhood of Ashdod, destroyed Ashdod and the temple of Dagon in that city, and returned to Jerusalem with rich spoils.¹⁷ In acknowledgment of this support, Alexander Balas bestowed upon him the city of Ekron and its territory.¹⁸

But Jonathan was the only one who stood by Alexander in opposition to Demetrius. The inhabitants of Antioch, and Alexander's own soldiers, declared in favour of Demetrius.¹⁹ Even his own father-in-law, Ptolemy, ranged himself on the side of Alexander's opponent, took Cleopatra back from Alexander, and gave her to the new candidate for the throne as his wife.²⁰ Ptolemy also led a strong army against Alexander, with which he attacked him at the river Oenoparas, on the plains of Antioch. Alexander fled to Arabia, where his life

¹⁷ 1 Macc. x. 67-87. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 3-4. Josephus describes the affair so erroneously as to make Apollonius take the side of Alexander Balas.—On Joppa and Ashdod, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 79 ff., 76 ff.

¹⁸ 1 Macc. x. 88-89. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 4. Josephus assigns as motive for the donation, that Alexander Balas wished to make it appear that Apollonius, as his general, had attacked Jonathan against the king's will.—'Αχαράν is the old Philistine Ἰερρα, according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 218, between Ashdod and Jamnia, toward the east, therefore probably identical with the modern Akir, east of Jamnia. See Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. iii. 189, 234. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 185. Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 36-44. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, ii. 408. Also the large English Map, Sheet xvi.

¹⁹ Justin. xxxv. 2.

²⁰ 1 Macc. xi. 1-13. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 5-7. Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. xvi. n. 19. Livy, *Epit.* 52.

was put an end to by the hand of an assassin. Immediately afterward Ptolemy also died of wounds received in the battle.²¹ Thus Demetrius became king in B.C. 145 (1 Macc. xi. 19, Seleucid year 167. Comp. on this subject, above, page 175).

As the confederate of Alexander Balas, Jonathan had occupied a hostile attitude toward Demetrius. It would appear that he now felt himself strong enough to make the attempt to secure by force emancipation from the Syrian empire. In a regular manner he laid siege to the citadel of Jerusalem, in which a Syrian garrison still lay. Here again, as so often happened in similar cases, it was the opposition party in his own nation, the *ἄνδρες παράνομοι* and *ἄνομοι*, as they are called in 1 Macc. xi. 21, 25, who called the attention of the Syrian king to these revolutionary measures. In consequence of these reports, Demetrius summoned Jonathan to Ptolemais to answer for his conduct. But Jonathan was daring enough boldly to claim concessions from Demetrius. He allowed the siege still to proceed, betook himself with rich presents to Ptolemais, and demanded of Demetrius the cession to Judea of three provinces of Samaria, and immunity from tribute for this whole district. These were some of the most essential points in the concessions which Demetrius I. had made to Jonathan. Demetrius did not venture to refuse these demands. He agreed to add to Judea the three Samaritan provinces of Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim, made over this enlarged Judea to Jonathan free from tribute, and confirmed him in all dignities which he had previously enjoyed. Of the citadel of Jerusalem no mention whatever was then made. Evidently these concessions were the price on account of which Jonathan agreed to raise the siege.²²

²¹ 1 Macc. xi. 14–19. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 8. Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. xvi. n. 20. Livy, *Epit.* 52.—The locality of the battle is given by Strabo, xvi. 2. 8, p. 751.

²² 1 Macc. xi. 20–37. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 9.—Confirmation of former dignities, 1 Macc. xi. 27. The three provinces, xi. 34 (compare x

Such a receding on the part of the Syrian king before the Jewish demands ten years previously would not have been thought of for a moment. But now the power of the Seleucidae was broken. None of the kings of Syria was henceforth sure of his throne. And Jonathan knew how to make use of this weakness, and skilfully to turn it to his own advantage. The next years gave him abundant opportunities for carrying out his policy of annexation. Demetrius had scarcely made these concessions, when he found himself obliged to make new promises in order to secure the support of Jonathan in circumstances of serious difficulty. A certain Diodotus, surnamed 30, 38, xi. 28, 57); freedom from tribute, xi. 34, 35.—'Αφαίρεμα is in all probability that Ephraim to which Christ withdrew shortly before the Passover (John xi. 54), according to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 9, in the neighbourhood of Bethel; according to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 254, twenty Roman miles north of Jerusalem (καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη Ἐφραὶμ μεγίστη περὶ τὰ βόρεια Αἰλίας ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων κ'), and five Roman miles east of Bethel (Jerome, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 94, *et est hodie vicus Efrein in quinto miliario Bethelis ad orientem respiciens*; the parallel Greek text of Eusebius, p. 222, is defective). Also פְּרִים of 2 Sam. xiii. 23, and עֲפְרַיִם of 2 Chron. xiii. 19, designate probably the same place. For conjectures about its situation, see Robinson, *Researches in Palestine*, vol. iii. 67–72. Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 45–51. — On Lydda, the modern Ludd, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 159.—Ραμαθὲμ is certainly the well-known city of Samuel, 1 Sam. i. 1, רַמָּתִים צוֹפִים, elsewhere more shortly named רַמָּה; but its position still continues very doubtful. According to 1 Sam. i. 1, it lay on Mount Ephraim. Eusebius places it in the neighbourhood of Diospolis - Lydda (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 225 sq.: Ἀρμαθὲμ Σειφά· πόλις Ἐλκανὰ καὶ Σαμουήλ· κείται δὲ αὕτη πλησίον Διοσπόλεως, ὅθεν ἦν Ἰωσήφ, ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθίας. In Jerome, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 96, the passage runs: *Armathem Sophim civitas Helcanae et Samuhelis in regione Thamnitica juxta Diospolim, unde fuit Joseph, qui in evangeliiis, de Arimathia scribitur*). One passage, 1 Macc. xi. 34, vouches for the correctness of this statement, for it says that down to the time of Jonathan the city belonged to Samaria. It is probably to be identified with the modern Beit Rima, north-east of Lydda, in the neighbourhood of Thamna (see Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, art. "Rama"). Distinct from this one is another Ramah, in the tribe of Benjamin, which lay much nearer Jerusalem (against Graf, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, p. 858 ff., and Mühlau in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Rama," who identify the two places). Compare Gesenius, *Thesaurus*,

Trypho, of Apamea,²³ a former general of Alexander Balas, managed to get hold of the person of the youthful son of Alexander, called Antiochus, who had been brought up by an Arab Imalkue, and set him up as rival king in opposition to Demetrius.²⁴ The situation was fraught with extreme peril to Demetrius, since his own troops deserted, and the inhabitants of Antioch assumed a hostile attitude. In face of these dangers, he promised to surrender to Jonathan the citadel of Jerusalem and the other fortresses of Judea, if Jonathan would place at his disposal auxiliary troops. Jonathan soon sent three thousand men, who just arrived at the right moment in order to afford powerful aid to the king in suppressing the revolt that had now broken out in Antioch. It was admittedly by their assistance that the rising in the city was crushed. With the thanks of the king, and with rich booty, the Jewish troops returned to Jerusalem.²⁵

p. 1275. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, on 1 Sam. ix. 4. Winer, *RWB.* art. "Rama." Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (1881), pp. 224, 225. Ewald, *History of Israel*, ii. 421. Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 111.

²³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 1: 'Απαμεὺς τὸ γένος. More exactly, Strabo, xvi. 2. 10, p. 752: δηλοῖ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην (scil. τῆς 'Απαμείας) ἣ τε τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐπικληθέντος Διοδότου παραύξησης καὶ ἐπίθεσις τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Σύρων, ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμηθέντος. 'Εγεγέννητο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Κασσιανοῖς, Φρουρίῳ τινὶ τῆς 'Απαμείων γῆς, τραφεῖς δ' ἐν τῇ 'Απαμείᾳ καὶ συσταθεῖς τῇ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ νεωτερίζειν ὤρμησεν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ τῶν περιοικίδων, Δαρίσσης τε καὶ τῶν Κασσιανῶν καὶ Μεγάρων καὶ 'Απολλωνίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, αἱ συνετέλουν εἰς τὴν 'Απάμειαν ἅπασαι.—The fortress of Apamea, famous on account of its strength, lay on the Orontes, south of Antioch. Compare Strabo, xvi. 2. 8–10, pp. 751–753. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 2. 1070, 1076–1086.

²⁴ 1 Macc. xi. 39, 40, 54. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 1 and 2. Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* t. ii. p. xvii. n. 21. Livy, *Epit.* 52.—Appian. *Syr.* c. 68, erroneously calls the young king Alexander. The name of the Arab, Βιμαλκουαί or 'Ιμαλκουέ (1 Macc. xi. 39), in Hebrew יַמְלִי, which is met with on Palmyrian inscriptions; see Nöldeke in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften* (1885), p. 74. Josephus, the Syriac, and the Latin text of the *cod. Sagerm.* read here Malchus; Diodorus gives Jamblichus, which also is nothing else than יַמְלִי, Latin Jamblichus, *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 1233.

²⁵ 1 Macc. xi. 33, 41–52. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 2–3.

But Demetrius did not fulfil the promise which he had made. It also soon appeared that he must yield before the new claimant to the throne. With the help of the troops that had deserted from Demetrius, Trypho and Antiochus made themselves masters of the capital Antioch, and in this way secured the sway in the centre of the empire. Without delay they sought also to win over Jonathan to their side. Antiochus confirmed him in possession of all that Demetrius had granted him. At the same time his brother Simon was appointed military commander for the king, from the ladder of Tyre down to the borders of Egypt.²⁶

In view of the faithlessness and weakness of Demetrius, Jonathan regarded it as justifiable as well as useful to pass over to the side of Antiochus. He therefore joined his party, and undertook, in connection with his brother Simon, to reduce the provinces of the empire lying next to Judea under the rule of the new claimant. A beginning was made in those districts over which Simon had been appointed military commander. So Jonathan, at the head of Jewish and Syrian troops, went out against the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. The former readily declared its submission to Antiochus; the latter yielded only after Jonathan had recourse to forcible measures. He compelled the city to give hostages, and took them with him to Jerusalem.²⁷ Then

²⁶ 1 Macc. xi. 53-59. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 3-4.—The κλίμαξ Τύρου or Τυρίων is, according to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 2, a high hill, a hundred stades north of Ptolemais. By the appointment as στρατηγός over the district named, Simon became an officer of the king of the highest rank, and that also outside of Judea. The position must first have been given him in opposition to the στρατηγός of Demetrius. Compare Stark, *Gaza*, p. 491 f.

²⁷ 1 Macc. xi. 60-62. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 5.—On Askalon and Gaza, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 74 ff., 68 ff. It is deserving of notice that Jonathan is here regarded as a partisan of Trypho and Antiochus. It was not therefore intended to unite these cities with the Jewish territory, but only to compel them to attach themselves to the party to which Jonathan belonged.

Jonathan proceeded to northern Galilee, and offered battle in the valley of Hazor to the general of Demetrius, which at first went against him, but at last resulted in a victory.²⁸ At the same time Simon laid siege to the fortress of Beth-zur in the south of Judea, where still a garrison adhering to Demetrius lay. After a long siege he compelled them to surrender the citadel, and placed in it a Jewish garrison.²⁹

While taking those steps toward the establishment of his power, Jonathan did not forget to strengthen his position still further by diplomatic negotiations with foreign nations. He sent two ambassadors, Numenius and Antipater, to Rome, in order to renew the covenant with the Romans that had been concluded in the time of Judas.³⁰ These ambassadors were also bearers of letters from the high priest and Jewish people to Sparta and other places, in order to open up and

²⁸ 1 Macc. xi. 63-74. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 6-7. — 'Ασώρ, 1 Macc. xi. 67, is the ἄσζρ of Josh. xi. 1, 10-13, xii. 19, xix. 36; Judg. iv. 2, 17; 1 Sam. xii. 9; 1 Kings ix. 15; 2 Kings xv. 29. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* v. 5. 1 (compare Josh. xi. 5), it lay in the neighbourhood of the Lake Semechonitis or Merom (ὑπέρεκείται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης), therefore in the extreme north of Palestine. The name is probably still retained in the modern Merj Hadîreh (valley of Hadîreh), and Jebel Hadîreh (Mount Hadîreh), west of the Merom lake, in the great wady running down to the Merom lake. See Sheet iv. of the large English Map. Robinson describes "the ruins" lying in the neighbourhood of el-Khureibeh as marking the position of the city of Hazor. See generally, Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, p. 365. Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 363-368. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 204. Also Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 127 f., and the article Hazor or Hasor in the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm. Ritter is mistaken when in his *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 260-265 (Eng. transl. ii. 221-225), he places Hazor to the north-east of the Merom lake. That it lay on the western side, a little south of Kadish, is proved by 1 Macc. xi. 63, 67, 73.

²⁹ 1 Macc. xi. 65, 66. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 6.

³⁰ 1 Macc. xii. 1-4; the names of the ambassadors, xii. 16. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 8.—Compare, Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta Societatis philologae Lipsiensis*, t. v. 1875, pp. 101-104.

secure friendly relations with them.³¹ From these documents we also learn that such relations between the Jews and foreign peoples were not wholly without example in earlier times. In the letter to the Spartans, Jonathan refers to the fact that King Areus of Sparta had addressed a friendly communication to the high priest Onias.³²

The conflict between Jonathan and Demetrius meantime continued, and was so conducted by him that he not only served the interests of Trypho and Antiochus, but also advanced his own. Soon after the defeat which the troops of Demetrius sustained in the valley of Hazor, Demetrius sent a new army to attack Jonathan. But this time the

³¹ 1 Macc. xii. 2: πρὸς Σπαρτιάτας καὶ τόπους ἱερείους. The letter to the Spartans in particular, 1 Macc. xii. 5-23; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 8. The answer of the Spartans, 1 Macc. xiv. 16-23.

³² 1 Macc. xii. 7, 8, 19-22. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 10, xiii. 5. 8.—The name of the Spartan king seldom occurs in the manuscripts of the First Book of Maccabees. In 1 Macc. xii. 7 it is given as Δαρείος, in xii. 20 as Ὀνιάρης; but the *codex Sinaiticus* has the better reading ονιάαρης, that is, Ὀνιά "Αρης, for the rare name Oniars is produced simply by combination with the previously occurring name of Onias. In both places, as both Josephus and the *Vetus Lat.* agree in showing, the original form was Ἀρείος. The more correct form is Ἀρεύς. It is thus given in Greek authors and inscriptions. See *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, t. ii. 1, n. 352. Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1882, p. 286 f.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscript. graec.* n. 163. There were two Spartan kings of this name: Areus I., who, according to Diodorus, xx. 29, reigned for forty years, from B.C. 309 to B.C. 265; and Areus II., who reigned about B.C. 255, but died while only a child of eight years. See Pausanias, iii. 6. 6. On the Spartan kings, see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ii. 255-271, and article "Areus" in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* While Onias II. could scarcely have been contemporary with Areus II., it has been assumed that Areus I. was the contemporary of Onias I. The combination of Josephus is certainly erroneous in *Antiq.* xii. 4. 10, which brings down the latter to the time of Onias III. The latter therefore belongs to the period of the Diadochae, when the Spartans, in their conflict with Antigonos and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, might very naturally have been supposed to entertain the idea of making the situation difficult for their opponent by exciting agitations in the East.—Compare generally on the relations between the Jews and the Spartans: Wernsdorff, *Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica librorum Maccabaicorum*, 1747, pp. 140-171. H. J

Jewish leader withdrew farther to the north, into the district of Hamath, north of Lebanon. No decisive engagement had taken place, when the Syrian army was recalled.⁸³ Jonathan then turned his forces against the Arabian tribe of the Zabadeans, then against Damascus, and then, again, he directed his course southwards. When he had returned to Jerusalem he saw to the strengthening of the fortifications of the city, and by the erection of a high wall cut off the Syrian garrison from all intercourse with the city.⁸⁴ Even before Jonathan's return Simon had placed a Jewish garrison in Joppa. He now also fortified Adida in the "Sephela," that is, in the lowlands in the west of Judea.⁸⁵

E. Palmer, *De epistolarum, quas Spartani atque Judaei invicem sibi misisse dicuntur, veritate*, Darmst. 1828. Grimm, *Exegetischen Handbuch zum 1 Makkabäerbuch*, pp. 184 ff., 210 f. The articles "Sparta," "Spartaner," in the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm. The curious fancy which led Hitzig to seek the Spartans in Asia Minor, scarcely deserves mention. See *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenland. Gessellschaft*, Bd. ix. 1855, pp. 731–737; *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 345–349.—The fiction of a relationship between the Jews and the Spartans, which constituted the motive for the Spartans to write their letter (1 Macc. xii. 6, 7, 21; compare 2 Macc. v. 9), was not unheard of during the era of Hellenism. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, p. 29, Anm., refers in illustration and for proof to Stephen of Byzantium under the word Ἰουδαία. . . . ὡς Κλαύδιος Ἰούλιος ἀπὸ, Οὐδαίου Σπάρταν ἐνὸς ἐκ Θήβης μετὰ Διονύσου ἐστρατευκότος. In a decree of the Pergamenes (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 18. 22) there is also mention of a relation between the Jews and the Pergamenes. Compare also J. G. Müller, *Die Semiten in ihrem Verhältniss zu Chamiten und Japhetiten* (1872), p. 101.

⁸³ 1 Macc. xii. 24–30. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 10.—On the fact recorded here and in what follows, Derenbourg in his *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 99, 100, would refer to the statement in *Megillath Taanith*, § 33: "On the 17th Adar, when the Gentiles had risen against the little group of the scribes in the districts of Chaleis and Zabdea, there came salvation to the house of Israel." This combination seems to me exceedingly venturous, although even Wellhausen in his *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, p. 58, is inclined to agree to it.—On Hamath, see the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, Riehm, and Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 2. 1031 ff.

⁸⁴ 1 Macc. xii. 31–37. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 10–11.

⁸⁵ 1 Macc. xii. 33, 34, 38. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 10.—Σεφάλα is the

All these operations were avowedly carried on by Jonathan and Simon in the interests of the young king Antiochus and his tutor-regent Trypho. But the latter seems to have regarded with considerable misgivings the increase of the Jewish power. And not without reason. For the more the power of the Jews themselves increased, the greater became the danger of their shaking themselves free of the Syrian dominion altogether. It may therefore be quite easily understood how Trypho, so soon as Demetrius allowed him a free hand, turned against Jonathan. According to the First Book of Maccabees, this came about because Trypho wished himself to assume the crown, while Jonathan would not allow it. This may indeed have been so, only the motives by which

Hebrew שְׁפֵלָה, the lowland west of the mountainous region of Judea.

In the Mishna, *Schebiith* ix. 2, a distinction is made between שְׁפֵלָה לָוִי (lowlands near Lydda) and שְׁפֵלָה הַדְרֹם (lowlands of the south). So, too, Jerome in his commentary on Obadiah ver. 19 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 381): *qui autem habitabant in Sephela id est in campestribus, Liddam et Emmarus, Diospolim scilicet Nicopolimque, significans. . . . Alii vero putant eam Sephelam id est campestre regionem, quae circa Eleutheropolim est, repromitti etc.* Less definite is the statement in Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 296: Σεφηλά. . . . καὶ εἰς ἔτι νῦν Σεφηλά καλεῖται. αὕτη ἐστὶν πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τῆν Ἐλευθερόπολιν πεδινὴ χώρα πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ δυσμᾶς. In our passage the district of Lydda is meant.—Ἀδιθά, 1 Macc. xii. 38, xiii. 13, to the קְרִי of Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34. In the Mishna, *Arachin*

ix. 6, קְרִי is referred to as one of the old cities which were surrounded with walls as early as the days of Joshua. A Rabbi Jakim of Chadid is met with in *Edujoth* vii. 5. The common printed text has been indeed הַר or הָר, but all the better copies have קְרִי. The Greek forms Ἀδιθα or Ἀδιθα are given in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 4, 15. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 1. According to the latter passage, it commanded the main road which led from the west, therefore from Joppa to Jerusalem. The fact that in Ezra ii. 34 and Neh. vii. 37 it is named together with Lydda and Ono, is in agreement with this. The *Aditha juxta Diospolim quasi ad orientalem plagam respiciens*, referred to by Eusebius and Jerome, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 93, is therefore probably to be identified with the modern Haditheh, east of Lydda. See the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm; also Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 168 f. Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 64–67. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, ii. 297, 322. See also large English Map, Sheet xiv.

Jonathan was actuated were not so much moral as political.³⁶

Trypho went therefore with an army to Palestine, in order to reduce within moderate limits the increasing Jewish power. At Beth-sean or Scythopolis he met Jonathan. The interview was at first of a friendly nature, although Jonathan had with him as large an army as that of Trypho. Trypho sought to remove the suspicions of Jonathan by heaping upon him tokens of respect. He represented to him that a great army was superfluous, since they did not occupy toward one another a warlike attitude. If Jonathan should follow him with a small select company to Ptolemais, he should give over to him that city and "the rest of the fortresses and troops," meaning those between the Ladder of Tyre and the borders of Egypt, over which Simon had been appointed military commander.³⁷ Jonathan actually allowed himself to be deceived by those promises. He dismissed his army, and followed Trypho to Ptolemais with only a thousand men. But scarcely had he reached that place when he was put in prison, and his people murderously cut down.³⁸

The news of this faithless proceeding of Trypho caused great excitement throughout Judea. It was natural that Simon, the last survivor of the five brothers of the Maccabees, should place himself at the head of affairs. By the decree of a popular assembly he was formally chosen leader. His first acts were the acceleration of the works on the fortifications of Jerusalem, and taking definite possession of Joppa. The latter place had never hitherto belonged to the Jewish territory. But in the exercise of his own official authority as military commander over the coast districts, Simon had placed there a

³⁶ 1 Macc. xii. 39, 40. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 1.

³⁷ On Beth-sean or Scythopolis, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 110. On Ptolemais, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 90.

³⁸ 1 Macc. xii. 41-53. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 1-3.

Jewish garrison. The Gentile inhabitants were now expelled from Joppa, the city was Judaized and united with the Jewish territory.³⁹

Trypho, now carrying Jonathan as prisoner with him, went against Judea with a great army. At Adida, Simon obstructed his march into the interior by opposing him with his troops. Thereupon Trypho sent ambassadors to Simon and let him know that he kept Jonathan prisoner only for this reason, that he had failed to pay the money due for the offices that had been conferred upon him. If the money should be paid, and as a guarantee of future fidelity, the sons of Jonathan delivered up as hostages, he would then set him free. But although Simon now sent all that was demanded, Jonathan was not liberated. Trypho sought rather by going round about the mountains, to push on to Jerusalem over Adora in Idumaea from the south. When he was prevented from accomplishing this by a heavy snowfall, he marched his troops on to Gilead, that is, through the country east of the Jordan, caused Jonathan to be murdered at Bascama, and returned back to Syria.⁴⁰

Simon now actually entered into his brother's place as high priest of the Jews. He had the remains of Jonathan carried from Bascama, and buried him beside his parents and three brothers, at their native Modein. Over their common sepulchre, Simon, at a later period, erected a magnificent monument, which could be seen from the sea.⁴¹

³⁹ 1 Macc. xiii. 1-11. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 3.—On Joppa, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 79.

⁴⁰ 1 Macc. xiii. 12-24. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 4-5. Adora is an Idumean city, which was afterwards conquered by John Hyrcanus (*Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1; see below, § 8).—Bascama is otherwise unknown. According to the connection of the story, it is to be looked for in the country east of the Jordan.

⁴¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 25-30. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 5.—The sepulchral monument at Modein was still existing in the time of Eusebius.

§ 7. SIMON, B.C. 142-135.¹

SOURCES.

1 Macc. xiii. 31-xvi. 22.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6-7. A summary of it in Zonaras, *Annal.* iv. 24 v. 1.

Some dates from *Megillath Taanith*; see Derenbourg, pp. 67-69.

On the Shekel coins which have been ascribed by many to Simon, see Appendix IV.

LITERATURE.

The works on Syrian history by Clinton, Foy-Vaillant, Frölich, Flathe, Stark, etc.

The treatises and commentaries on the books of Maccabees by Wernsdorff, Michaelis, Grimm, Keil, Bissel, Wace, etc.

EWALD'S *History of Israel*, v. 333-342.

HERZFELD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 320-334.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl., or *Geschichte der Judder von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's*, etc., 1888, pp. 50-63.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 450-459.

Art. "Simon" in Winer's *RWB.*, and Schenkel's *Bibelllexicon*.

STANLEY, *Jewish Church*, vol. iii. (1877) 361-368.

By the heroic deeds and successes of Jonathan, the Maccabean party had passed out far beyond its original aims. It had

¹ The date of Jonathan's death is not given in the First Book of Maccabees, which between xi. 19 and xiii. 41 makes no mention of any particular year. But since, according to xiii. 41 and xiv. 27, the year of Simon's rule is to be connected from Seleucid year 170, or B.C. 143-142, Jonathan's death must be placed at the end of B.C. 143 or the beginning of B.C. 142. It is given in 1 Macc. xiii. 22 as occurring in winter. With this also agrees the statement of Josephus, that Simon reigned for eight years (*Antiq.* xii. 7. 4), from B.C. 142 to B.C. 135; while the statement in *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 5, that Jonathan had been high priest for four years, is erroneous.

not at first intended to strive for anything more than the restoration of the Jewish worship, and the securing of the free exercise of the Jewish religion. But even Judas, when he had attained this end, did not rest satisfied therewith. He and his party then wished also to gain the supremacy in the control of home affairs. In the time of Jonathan this end was completely won. By Jonathan's appointment as high priest the ruling power was placed in the hands of the Maccabean party, and the Hellenistic party was driven out. But even this no longer seemed sufficient. Favourable circumstances—the weakness of the Syrian empire—tempted them to strive after thorough emancipation from the Syrian suzerainty. The last acts of Jonathan were important steps in this direction. The significance of the reign of Simon consists in this, that it completed the work of Jonathan, and made the Jewish people wholly independent of the Syrian empire.

In Syria, Demetrius and Trypho, as tutor-regent for the young king Antiochus, still occupied a position of antagonism to one another. Trypho, who had hitherto appeared only as representative of his youthful *protégé*, about this time or not much later, let fall the mask, secured the assassination of Antiochus VI., and had himself crowned king.²

After the last hostile proceeding on the part of Trypho, it was clear that Simon would unhesitatingly attach himself to

² 1 Macc. xiii. 31, 32. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 1. Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* t. ii. p. xix. n. 25. Livy, *Epit.* 55. Appian, *Syr.* c. 68; Justin, xxxvi. 1.—The murder was committed by surgeons. Compare Livy: *Alexandri filius, rex Syriae, decem annos admodum habens, a Diodoto, qui Tryphon cognominabatur, tutore suo, per fraudem occisus est corruptis medicis, qui illum calculi dolore consumi ad populum mentiti, dum secant, occiderunt.*—Josephus and the non-Jewish sources place the murder of Antiochus VI. somewhat later, after Demetrius II. had been taken prisoner by the Parthians. The First Book of Maccabees records it in the above connection, even before Demetrius had entered upon his Parthian campaign. Compare on this discrepancy, above, page 176.

Demetrius. But he did this only after he had exacted the promise that Demetrius would recognise the freedom of the Jews. While he continued eagerly to proceed with the building of the fortresses of Judea, he sent an embassy to Demetrius "to secure for his country exemption from tribute." Since Demetrius had actually no longer any power in the south of the empire, it was in his interest to act the part of the munificent, and to guarantee to the Jews all that they desired. He therefore not only granted remission of all outstanding taxes, but also perfect exemption from all paying of tribute in the future.³ Thus was the political independence of Judea recognised. "The yoke of the Gentiles," as the First Book of Maccabees expresses it, "was taken away from Israel." In order to give expression to this fact, they now adopted a mode of reckoning of their own, beginning with the Seleucid year 170, or B.C. 143—142. Documents and treatises were dated according to the year of Simon as high priest and prince of the Jews.⁴

With this statement of the First Book of Maccabees we ought to combine a fact derived from a study of numismatics. There are Jewish shekel and half-shekel coins which, in the opinion of most numismatists, were stamped in the time of Simon. They bore on the one side the inscription ירושלם קדשה or ירושלם הקדושה, on the other side, according to their

³ Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl. p. 566, and Derenbourg, p. 69, refer to *Megillath Taanith*, § 6. According to this authority, the 27th Ijjar, or May, was the day when the tribute was remitted.

⁴ 1 Macc. xiii. 33—42; compare xiv. 27. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 6.—In Justin's extract from Trogus Pompeius the freedom of the Jews is made to date from the time of Demetrius I. He says of Antiochus VII. Sidetes (Justin, xxxvi. 1. 10): *Judaeos quoque, qui in Macedonico imperio sub Demetrio patre armis se in libertatem vindicaverant, subegit* (instead of *patre*, Merzbacher proposes, in *Zeitschrift für Num.* v. 310, to read *fratre*, because Demetrius II. is meant). Also Justin, xxxvi. 3. 9: *A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita primi omnium ex orientalibus libertatem acceperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus.*

weight, either שקל ישראל, Israel's shekel, or חצי השקל, half-shekel. On the whole shekel and on the half-shekel the number of the year was impressed, and there are specimens of both coins with the year numbers א, ב, ג, ד (1, 2, 3, 4), and one specimen of a whole shekel with the date ה or 5.⁵ The era here used is held to be the era of Simon referred to in the First Book of Maccabees. Now these coins, if indeed they were stamped in the time of Simon, are not to be considered properly as coins of Simon, but as coins of the civic commune of Jerusalem, for after the fashion of the Hellenistic communes Jerusalem is regarded as in a position of authority over all Judea (compare § 23, I. and II.). Also the number of the year on the coins does not designate the year of Simon's reign, but the year of a civil era of Jerusalem; as also other cities of Phoenicia, such as Tyre, Sidon, Ascalon, had begun toward the end of the second century before Christ, in token of the freedom which they had obtained, to adopt a cycle of their own.⁶ But even were it possible that the era used upon the coins was identical with "the years of Simon" spoken of in the First Book of Maccabees, the first year of Simon is just the same as the first year of Jewish freedom.⁷ But a difficulty is presented by the fact that up to the present time out of the great number of specimens of shekel coins only one piece is found bearing the mark of the year 5; and that no higher numbers are found, whereas the era of Simon, according to 1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42 and xiv. 27, began in the Seleucid year 170, and Simon did not die

⁵ The literature about these shekel coins is given in the Appendix IV.

⁶ Tyre has an era beginning B.C. 126, Sidon one beginning B.C. 111, Ascalon one beginning B.C. 104. See on this subject the works enumerated in Div. ii. vol. i. p. 57, especially those of Noris and Eckhel. On Ascalon, also Div. ii. vol. i. p. 75.

⁷ The striking statement of the First Book of Maccabees runs (1 Macc. xiii. 42): *καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ γράφειν ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς καὶ συναλλάγμασιν ἑτοὺς πρώτου ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων.*

before the Seleucid year 177 (1 Macc. xvi. 14), so that coins of his time might have been expected at least with the years 6 and 7. Merzbacher has therefore assumed that the era of Simon had been made in the First Book of Maccabees to begin two years too early. Its actual starting-point was the third year of Simon, the Seleucid year 172, or B.C. 141-140, in which Simon was pronounced by a popular decree hereditary high priest (1 Macc. xiv. 25-49). Then, too, for the first time did Demetrius confer the privileges that have been mentioned upon the Jews. But the author of the First Book of Maccabees has erroneously used the official "first" year of Simon as interchangeable with his actual first year.⁸ The reasons for this hypothesis are set forth by Merzbacher with acuteness and skill of combination, but on closer examination they do not prove convincing.⁹

⁸ Merzbacher in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, pp. 292-319. He is followed by Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 65-67.

⁹ Merzbacher refers specially to the following : 1. In the popular decree of the Seleucid year 172 it was determined among other things that all State documents should be written in Simon's name (1 Macc. xiv. 43: ὅπως γράφονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι συγγραφαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ). If this was then resolved upon for the first time, they could not have begun two years earlier to date documents and treaties according to the years of Simon, as is affirmed in 1 Macc. xiii. 42 : γράφειν ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς καὶ συναλλάγμασιν. "Ετους πρώτου ἐπὶ Σίμανος, etc. But even if we should grant that γράφειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι precisely means : to date according to the years of Simon, the contents of that popular decree are by this argumentation adjudged to be false. When this has been done nothing new is introduced, but only that which we already had is firmly established and confirmed. 2. Merzbacher lays special stress upon the fact that as motive for the popular decree of the Seleucid year 172, among other things, it can be shown that King Demetrius confirmed Simon in his position as high priest, and assigned to him distinguished honours, because he had heard that the Romans had respectfully received the ambassadors of Simon (1 Macc. xiv. 38-40). The charter of Demetrius thus belongs to a period later than that of Simon's embassy to Rome, which was sent in the Seleucid year 172 (1 Macc. xiv. 24 compared with xiv. 1). Hence that charter, for the issuing of which a beginning was made in the dating of the years of Simon, would not have been sent out in the Seleucid year 170, but in 172, immediately before the popular decree. But this argu-

The plain and distinct statement of the First Book of Maccabees, that a beginning was made in the Seleucid year 170 to number the years of Simon (xiii. 41, 42 ; compare xiv. 27), cannot be thus set aside. Also Merzbacher's theory is set up simply in order to overcome the difficulty above referred to which the year numbers on the shekel occasion. But besides this difficulty there are still other considerations which tell against the supposition that the shekel was issued under Simon.¹⁰ It cannot therefore be regarded as by any means certain, though indeed most numismatists are in favour of the idea.¹¹

mentation proves too much. At the time of the popular assembly Simon's embassy was still on its way to Rome ; perhaps it had not yet even started, for it did not return before the Seleucid year 174 (1 Macc. xv. 15 compared with xv. 10). If, then, it had been in consequence of its success that Demetrius granted the charter, then it must have been issued after the popular gathering that gave forth the decree, which naturally Merzbacher does not assume. The statement that the charter of Demetrius was occasioned by the success of Simon's Roman embassy must therefore be pronounced untenable. It is an inexact expression of the fact that Demetrius's treatment of the Jews was determined by their friendly relations with the Romans, which had already existed for a long time (compare Keil, *Commentar*, p. 233, Anm.). But with this admission the whole argument falls to pieces.

¹⁰ According to 1 Macc. xv. 6, it was Antiochus VII. Sidetes, in the Seleucid year 174, or B.C. 139-138, who first gave Simon the right of issuing coins. On this point, however, no special weight should be laid, since it may quite fairly be regarded as simply the confirmation of a privilege that had been previously usurped. Of more importance is the fact that the coins of Simon's immediate successor, John Hyrcanus, are of quite a different style. Hence a very thorough change in the art of minting must have taken place.

¹¹ See details about the minting of the shekel and its date in Appendix IV.—Besides the shekel, copper coins with the inscription on the obverse לְנִאֲלָה צִיּוֹן, and on the reverse שְׁנַת אֶרְבַּע : the deliverance of Zion, year 4, are assigned by many numismatists to the age of Simon. The support for this supposition is even less certain than that for the shekel coining. Decidedly false, and now generally abandoned, is the conjecture of the earlier numismatists, that the coins which bore the name of Simon belong to Simon the Maccabee. See on these two classes of coins the details in Appendix IV.

The charter of Demetrius conferred privileges which, indeed, Demetrius had it not in his power to give away. It was Simon's policy rather to emphasize and give effect to these in face of the power of Trypho, which was more perilous to him. In order to confirm his position, Simon sought above all to get possession of two of the fortresses that would be of chief value to him—the city of Gazara and the citadel of Jerusalem; and in both cases he had the good fortune to be successful. Gazara, the old Geshur, not far from Emmaus-Nicopolis in a westerly direction, at the base of the mountains, had been up to that time a Gentile city. Possession of it was of importance to the Jews, because it was one of the places which commanded the passes of the mountains, and the holding of it was thus absolutely necessary in order to maintain connection between Jerusalem and the port of Joppa, which had been already annexed by the Jews. Simon opened against the city a skilfully directed siege, conquered it, expelled all Gentile inhabitants from it, and settled it with "men who observed the law."¹² Simon's son Jonathan was appointed governor of Gazara.¹³

■ 1 Macc. xiii. 43–48; compare xiv. 34. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 6. Strabo, p. 759: ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ ἡ Γαδαρίς ἐστίν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξειδίχασαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. The Gadaris here referred to by Strabo is identical with our Gazara. — The manuscripts of the First Book of Maccabees have in our passage (1 Macc. xiii. 43) Γάζαν. That instead of this Γάζαρα should be read, is proved, not only by the parallel text of Josephus, but also by the text of the First Book of Maccabees, in another passage referring to our incident (1 Macc. xiii. 53, xiv. 7, 34, xv. 28, 35, xvi. 1, xix. 21). It is the Old Testament גֶּזֶר, an important Canaanitish town.

On its situation Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 244, remarks: καὶ νῦν καλεῖται Γάζαρα κώμη Νικοπόλεως ἀπέχουσα σημείοις δ' ἐν βορείοις. This statement of Eusebius has been confirmed by recent researches. The Tell-Jezer discovered by Clermont-Ganneau in A.D. 1873, in the immediate neighbourhood of Abu Shusheh, lies in fact four Roman miles from Emmaus-Nicopolis, though rather in a westerly than a northerly direction. Clermont-Ganneau found in several places in the neighbourhood, at equal distances from Tell-Jezer, the similarly expressed inscription גֶּזֶר תְּחָמַי, "the borders of Gezer," by which it is highly probable the limits of a

Soon after the conquest of Gazara, Simon compelled the Syrian garrison of the citadel of Jerusalem to capitulate through famine. The national struggles of the Maccabees had long been directed to the attainment of this object, for so long as the citadel was in the hands of the Syrian kings the Jews were really their subjects. Now at last Simon succeeded in making himself master of this stronghold. On the 23rd day of the second month of the Seleucid year 171, that is, in May B.C. 142, he entered with great pomp and ceremony into the citadel.¹⁴

Sabbath day's journey from the town were indicated. The statements of the Old Testament and the First Book of Maccabees agree with the assigning of this locality to the town, 1 Macc. iv. 15 and also vii. 45, which makes it a day's journey from Adasa, and 1 Macc. xiv. 34, τὴν Γάζαρα τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων Ἀζώτου; for that the district of Gazara should border upon that of Ashdod is, in consequence of the wide extension of the district belonging to that city, extremely probable. It may therefore be taken as certain that the situation of the ancient Gezer or Gazara is to be fixed in accordance with these statements. Compare Clermont-Ganneau, *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, sér. vi. t. 5, Paris 1873, p. 123 sqq., which was not accessible to me. Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'année*, 1874, pp. 201, 213 sq. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1873, p. 78 sq.; 1874, pp. 56, 276 sqq.; 1875, pp. 5, 74 sqq. Mühlau in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Geser." *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, ii. 417, 428-440, and the large English Map, Sheet xvi. (right above at Abu Shusheh). Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue critique*, 1881, No. 50, p. 476; and in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, troisième série, t. xi. 1885, p. 243 sq. Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, ii. 192 ff., 455. The inscriptions are given in Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebraicarum* (1882), col. 58-60, 225, tab. I. n. 2 and 2a.—Older literature on Gezer: Winer's *RWB.* and Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*. Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch* on 1 Macc. iv. 15. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 191. Guérin, *Judée*, i. 26-29. Henderson, *Palestine*, 79.

¹³ 1 Macc. xiii. 53, xvi. 1, 19, 21.

¹⁴ 1 Macc. xiii. 49-52; compare xiv. 7, 36, 37. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 6. The date 23rd Ijjar, that is, the second month, is given not only in 1 Macc. xiii. 51, but also in *Megillath Taanith*, § 5. Compare Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl. p. 565. Derenbourg, p. 67. If the conjecture is correct that the Seleucid era of the First Book of Maccabees begins in spring, in Nisan, then Ijjar of the Seleucid year 171 corresponds to May B.C. 142.—With the story of the conquest of the citadel Josephus

Since the Syrian kings were not in a position to be able to give any attention to proceedings in Judea, several years passed of undisturbed prosperity and peace for the Jews. As such a period the reign of Simon is generally characterized in the First Book of Maccabees. The securing of Joppa as a harbour, and the conquest of Gazara, Beth-zur, and the citadel of Jerusalem, are there represented as the chief services rendered by him.¹⁵ Also express mention is made of his care for the spiritual and material wellbeing of the country, for strict administration of justice and the re-establishment of the Jewish law. "Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, commun-

connects, in *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 6 and *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 1, the remarkable statement that not only was the citadel destroyed, but also the whole hill on which it was built was levelled by the uninterrupted labour of the people during three years, so that the site of the temple should be higher than that of the citadel. Since the First Book of Maccabees says nothing about this, but, on the contrary, says that Simon strengthened the citadel and placed in it a Jewish garrison (1 Macc. xiv. 36, 37, compare also xv. 28), the historical reliability of the statement is very questionable. It seems to me that the thing is not in itself improbable, since the place where the citadel stood is now in fact almost level, whereas it must previously have had another form more suitable as a position for a citadel. The Jews had, indeed, a strong inducement to level it in the fact that from that point, so soon as it fell into the hands of a hostile power, the temple mount would immediately be placed in extremest peril. This only in the narrative is unhistorical, that Josephus makes the levelling to have taken place in the time of Simon. This, according to 1 Macc. xiv. 36, 37 and xv. 28, is quite impossible. Compare on the whole question the above cited literature; also Crome, art. "Jerusalem" in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgem. Encyklop.* section ii. Bd. 15 (whereas pp. 291-295, the history of the fortress, is given in detail, and the reasons against the story of Josephus are wrought out fully, but in part on the basis of false premises); Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch* on 1 Maccabees, pp. 22 f., 205.

¹⁵ 1 Macc. xiv. 4-7. Compare also the motive for the popular decree in 1 Macc. xiv. 33-37. In these two passages are gathered together what had already previously been told in connection with the story of the First Book of Maccabees. Compare on Beth-zur, 1 Macc. xi. 65 ff.; on Joppa, xii. 33 f., xiii. 11; on Gazara and the citadel, xiii. 43-52.

ing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them: neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days. Moreover he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away. He beautified the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple.”¹⁶

In these words of the First Book of Maccabees expression is given to the feeling of satisfaction which the majority of the people had in Simon's reign. The ultimate aims of the Maccabean struggles had been secured. The government was in the hands of the national party; the country was emancipated from the suzerainty of the Syrians. Thus Simon now reaped the full fruit of the common labours of the Maccabees: the formal legitimizing on the part of the people of their family as the ruling sacerdotal family. It had, indeed, been an act of usurpation by which the son of Mattathias attained unto the supremacy. Up to the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt the office of high priest had been hereditary in another family. In the course of events that family had been driven out of its place. The Maccabean brothers had undertaken the leadership of the national party, and the Syrian king had transferred to them the high-priestly rank. For the maintenance of Simon's government it was of supreme importance that the legitimacy of his rule should be expressly

¹⁶ 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15.—On the severe proceedings of Simon against the apostates, Grätz, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl. p. 565, and Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 68 sq., refer to the statement in *Megillath Taanith*, § 15.

recognised by a popular decree as affecting his own person and that of his descendants. Such an act was successfully carried out in the third year of Simon's reign. On the 18th Elul of the Seleucid year 172, that is, in September B.C. 141, it was resolved in a great assembly "of the priests, and the people, and the princes of the people, and the elders of the land," that Simon should be high priest and military commander and civil governor of the Jews (ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός and ἐθνάρχης), and that "for ever until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. xiv. 41).¹⁷ By the last phrase it was meant that this popular decree should remain in force until an authentic communication from God should make some other enactment. Henceforth therefore Simon's official rank was regarded as "for ever," that is, hereditary. The significance of this popular resolution lies not so much in the fact that it conveyed to him any new dignity, but rather in this, that it legitimized and pronounced hereditary those dignities which he already had. In this way a new high-

¹⁷ See generally, 1 Macc. xiv. 25-49. The content of the decree, 1 Macc. xiv. 41-46, is made dependent by a ὅτι, xiv. 41, on the preceding ἡκούσθη, xiv. 40. That this ὅτι must be erased, has long been admitted by expositors.—The official title of Simon was a threefold one, as is shown by the three following passages which in all essential points agree: 1 Macc. xiii. 42: ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγούμενου Ἰουδαίων; 1 Macc. xiv. 41, 42: τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῶν Σίμονα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα . . . καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῶν στρατηγόν; 1 Macc. xiv. 47: ἀρχιερατεύειν καὶ εἶναι στρατηγός καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἱερέων. Less complete is 1 Macc. xv. 1: ἱερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, and xv. 2: ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ. Also in the passage 1 Macc. xiv. 27: ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ἐνσαραμέλ, the enigmatical word ἐνσαραμέλ or ἐνσαραμέλ belongs certainly to his title. It has been conjectured that σαραμέλ is שָׂרָא עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל, and so equivalent to ἐθνάρχης. The ἐν remains unaccounted for. I venture to guess that originally *segen* for the Hebrew סֵגַן stood here; for that corresponds to the Greek στρατηγός. Compare Div. ii. vol. i. p. 258, note 131. Other attempts at explanation are given in Winer's *RWB.* art. "Saramel," and Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, v. 179; and by Michaelis, Grimm, and Keil in their commentaries on 1 Macc. xiv. 27, and in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, pp. 67, 450 sq.

priestly and princely dignity was founded, that of the Asmoneans.¹⁸ The terms of the popular decree were engraved on brazen tablets, and these were set up in the court of the temple.¹⁹

The legitimizing on the part of the people was soon followed by recognition on the part of the Romans. Just about the time when that popular decree was issued, Simon sent an embassy, under the leadership of Numenius, to Rome, which carried as a present a golden shield weighing a thousand minas, and treated about the renewal of the covenant. The embassy was courteously received by the senate, and obtained a decree of senate, which guaranteed to the Jews unrestricted possession of their own territory. Information regarding the contents of the decree of senate was sent to the kings of Egypt, Syria, Pergamum, Cappadocia, and Parthia, and to many of the smaller independent states and communes of Greece and Asia Minor; while, at the same time, they were charged to deliver up to the Jewish high priest any evil-doers who might have fled to them from Palestine.²⁰ The terms of the decree of senate is given us probably in the *Senatus*

¹⁸ Compare on the significance of the popular decree, Lucius, *Essenismus* (1881), pp. 86-88.—The family name of the dynasty is οἱ Ἀσασμωναῖον παῖδες (Josephus, *Life*, i. ; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11, xx. 10), τὸ Ἀσασμωναίων γένος (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 4), οἱ Ἀσασμωναῖοι (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 3, v. 4. 1), after the ancestor of the race Ἀσασμωναῖος (*Antiq.* xii. 6. 1, xiv. 16. 4, xvi. 7. 1), not mentioned in the First Book of Maccabees. In the Mishna, *Middoth* i. 6, they are called בני השמונאי or בני השמוני, the latter form in the Cambridge manuscript edited by Lowe. In the Targum of Jonathan on 1 Sam. ii. 4 they are בית השמונאי. For other rabbinical passages, see Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch und Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, under the word השמונאי.—Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, p. 94, Anm., had ventured the guess that Hasmon may have been the grandfather of Mattathias, and that in 1 Macc. ii. 1 *ben chashmon* may have stood in place of τοῦ Συμεών.

¹⁹ 1 Macc. xiv. 27, 48, 49.

²⁰ Compare generally, 1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 15-24.—The First Book of Maccabees speaks as if the Romans had even previously, of their own accord, addressed a letter to the Jews about the renewal of the covenant (1 Macc. xiv. 16 ff.). This is scarcely historical.—According to 1 Macc.

consultus communicated by Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5, which Josephus, however, assigns to the time of Hyrcanus II. The relations presupposed in this document are precisely the same as those of 1 Macc. xiv. 24 and xv. 15-24: Jewish ambassadors, of whom one is named Numenius, carried as a present a golden shield, with a request for the renewal of the covenant; and the senate concluded in consequence of this to insist upon the autonomous cities and kings respecting the integrity of the Jewish territory. The session of senate referred to took place, according to Josephus, εἰδοῖς Δεκεμβρίαις, that is, on the 13th December, under the presidency of the praetor Lucius Valerius. This president may possibly be the same as "Consul Lucius," who, according to 1 Macc. xv. 16, sent out the circular letter to the kings and cities.²¹ It is, however, also possible that by this term is intended L. Calpurnius Piso, one of the consuls for B.C. 139, who, according to the correct reading of Valerius Max. i. 3. 2, has the praenomen, not of Cneius, but of Lucius.²² In any case, the arrival of the

xiv. 24 compared with xiv. 25 ff., it must be assumed that the embassy had already gone away before the popular decree of 18th Elul of the Seleucid year 172, or September B.C. 141. This is hardly conceivable, since it did not return before the Seleucid year 174, or B.C. 139-138 (1 Macc. xv. 10. 15). Perhaps the author had by anticipation inserted the account of the starting of the embassy before that of the popular decree, because in consequence of the incorrect version of the popular decree (1 Macc. xiv. 40) he was led to regard it as the result of that embassy.—It is also to be observed that the list of states to which the Roman circular letter was addressed (1 Macc. xv. 16, 22, 23) corresponds exactly to the state of matters at that time. For all the little separate states and communes which are named alongside of the kings of Egypt, Syria, Pergamum, Cappadocia, and Parthia, were at that time, in fact, subject neither to the Romans nor to any of these kings. See the proof of this in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i., 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 333 ff., and elsewhere; also Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1 (1887), p. 670.

²¹ So Mendelssohn (in the work referred to in the next note), although he assumes that in consequence of translation into Hebrew, and from Hebrew again into Greek, the word "praetor" was erroneously changed into "consul."

²² So Ritschl and others.—The identity of the *Senatus consultus* in

Jewish ambassadors at Rome must be assigned to B.C. 139, for they returned to Palestine in the Seleucid year 174, that is, B.C. 139-138 (1 Macc. xv. 10, 15). Without doubt, therefore, the statement of Valerius Maximus about the establishment of a Jewish propaganda at Rome in B.C. 139 has reference to the proceedings of these ambassadors.²³

Meanwhile the government of Simon seems not to have been going on so smoothly as it had hitherto. He became once more involved in Syrian affairs. Just about this time Demetrius II. had been temporarily withdrawn from the scene of Syrian politics. He had allowed himself to be entangled in a tedious war with the Parthian king Mithridates I., which ended by Demetrius being taken prisoner by

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5, with that occasioned by Simon's embassy, was admitted by Ewald, *History of Israel*, iv. 336, and Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch on 1 Macc.* p. 226 f., and independently of them also by Mendelssohn; and in this opinion most moderns, with the exception of Mommsen, agree. In consequence of Mendelssohn's researches on this question, and on matters related thereto, a whole literature has sprung up in the years 1873-1877. See Mendelssohn, *De senati consulti Romanorum ab Josepho Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5 *relati temporibus*, Lips. 1873, incorporated in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philologae Lipsiensis*, t. v. Lips. 1875.—Ritschl, *Eine Berichtigung der republicanischen Consularfasten*, a contribution to the history of the Roman-Jewish international relations, in the *Rhein. Museum*, Bd. xxviii. of 1883, pp. 586-614.—Ritschl, Nachtrag (appendix to preceding) in *Rhein. Museum*, Bd. xxix. of 1874, p. 337 ff.—Grimm on 1 Macc. viii. and xv. 16-21, according to the researches of Mommsen and Ritschl in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1874, pp. 231-238.—Lange in Bursian's *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classic. Alterthumswissenschaft*, Bd. i. for 1873, pp. 872-876.—Mommsen, Der Senatsbeschluss bei Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5, in *Hermes*, Bd. ix. 1875, pp. 281-291.—Mendelssohn and Ritschl, Nochmals der römische Senatsbeschluss bei Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5, in *Rhein. Museum*, Bd. xxx. of 1875, pp. 419-435.—Keil, *Comm. über die Bücher der Makkabäer*, 1875, p. 239 ff.—Wieseler, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1875, p. 524 ff.—Grimm, Die neuesten Verhandlungen über den "Consul Lucius," 1 Macc. xv. 16, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1876, pp. 121-132.—Wieseler, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1877, pp. 281-290.

²³ Valerius Maximus, i. 3. 2: "Idem (viz. the praetor Hispalus) Judaeos, qui Sabazi Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit." Compare in addition, *Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 233 f.*

the Parthians in B.C. 138.²⁴ In place of Demetrius, his father Antiochus VII. Sidetes now took up the struggle against Trypho. Like all Syrian pretenders, who had first of all to win their throne by conquest, Antiochus hastened to secure the aid of the Jews by flattering promises. He had heard in Rhodes of the imprisonment of Demetrius. Even before his landing on the Syro-Phoenician coasts, "from the islands of the sea" he wrote a letter to Simon, in which he confirmed to him all the privileges granted by former kings, and expressly gave him the right of coining money.²⁵ Soon thereafter, in the Seleucid year 174, or B.C. 139–138 (1 Macc. xv. 10), Antiochus landed in Syria, and quickly gained the victory over Trypho. The latter was obliged to fly to Dora, the strong fortress on the Phoenician coast, and was there besieged by Antiochus.²⁶ Trypho, indeed, succeeded in effecting his escape from that place. He fled by Ptolemais²⁷ and Orthosias²⁸ to Apamea. But there he was again besieged, and in the siege lost his life.²⁹

²⁴ 1 Macc. xiv. 1–3. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 11. Appian, *Syr.* c. 67. Justin, xxxvi. 1, xxxviii. 9. Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 255 sq. Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 554. On the chronology, see above, page 176.—Almost all the sources give the name of the Parthian king as Arsaces, which, according to Strabo, xv. 1. 36, p. 702, and Justin, xli. 5, was a name common to all the Parthian kings. But according to Justin, xxxviii. 9, Demetrius was taken prisoner by the predecessor of that Phraates who afterwards set him free again. But the predecessor of Phraates was, according to Justin, xli. 6, xlii. 1, Mithridates I.

²⁵ 1 Macc. xv. 1–9.—An explanation of the ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῆς θαλάσσης of 1 Macc. xv. 1 is supplied by Appian, *Syr.* c. 68: πυθόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας.

²⁶ 1 Macc. xv. 10–14. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 1–2.—On Dora, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 87.

²⁷ *Charax*, in Stephen of Byzantium under the word Δῶρος. On this see Müller, *Fragmenta hist. graec.* iii. 644, n. 40.

²⁸ 1 Macc. xv. 37.—Orthosias lies north of Tripoli, on the Phoenician coast. See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1. 805 ff.; Winer, *RWB.* under word "Orthosias"; Kneucker in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iv. 370 f.

²⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 2.—Compare also Appian, *Syr.* 68, and

No sooner had Antiochus gained some advantage over Trypho than he assumed another attitude toward the Jews. Even during the siege of Dora, Simon sent him two thousand auxiliary troops, and besides, silver and gold and weapons for their equipment. But Antiochus declined to accept what was offered, repudiated all his former promises, and sent one of his confidants, Athenobius, to Jerusalem in order to obtain from Simon the surrender of the conquered cities of Joppa and Gazara and the citadel of Jerusalem, as well as of all places outside of Judea that had been taken possession of by the Jews. If Simon should be unwilling to restore them, then he was to pay for them altogether the sum of a thousand talents, to be, as it was made to appear, once for all the sum of acquittance. The demands were justified by the plea that for their conquests the Jews had not been able to show any legal title. But Simon refused to yield to these terms, and declared that he would pay only one hundred talents. With this answer Athenobius returned to the king.³⁰

Antiochus had resolved to enforce his claims by violent measures. While he himself was still engaged in conflict with Trypho, he appointed his general Kendebäus to conduct the campaign against Simon. Kendebäus made Jamnia his headquarters, fortified Kedron,—a place not otherwise known, probably in the neighbourhood of Jamnia,—and made raids upon Judea.³¹ Simon was prevented by his age from personally taking the field. He sent, therefore, his sons Judas and John with an army against Kendebäus. Both justified

Strabo, xiv. 5. 2, p. 668. The latter says of Trypho: τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Δημητρίου κατακλείσας εἰς τι χωρίον ἠνάγκασε διεργάσασθαι τὸ σῶμα.

³⁰ 1 Macc. xv. 25–36. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 2–3.

³¹ 1 Macc. xv. 38–41. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 3.—Κενδεβαῖος as well as Κανδυβεύς is from the town Κάνδυβα in Lycia; Stephen of Byzantium on the word; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* v. 101. Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, 1884, p. 133.

the confidence placed in them by their father. In a decisive engagement Kendebäus was utterly defeated. When Judas was wounded, John undertook the pursuit, and chased the enemy to Kedron and down into the territory of Ashdod. He returned as conqueror to Jerusalem.³²

So long as Simon lived, the attack was not repeated on the part of Antiochus.

It thus seemed as if Simon were to be allowed to end his days in peace. But it was not so to be. Like all his brothers, he too died a violent death. His own son-in-law Ptolemy, who was military commander over the plain of Jericho, entertained bold and ambitious schemes. He wished to secure to himself the supreme power, and so plotted by what stratagem he could put Simon and his sons out of the way. When, therefore, in the month Shebat of the Seleucid year 177, that is, in February B.C. 135 (1 Macc. xvi. 14), Simon, on a tour of inspection through the cities of the land, visited Ptolemy in the fortress of Dok near Jericho, Ptolemy made a great feast, during which he had Simon and his two sons who were with him, Mattathias and Judas, treacherously murdered.³³

Thus was the last of the sons of Mattathias gathered unto his fathers.

³² 1 Macc. xvi. 1-10. Josephus, *l.c.*

³³ 1 Macc. xvi. 11-17; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 4.—*Δών*, 1 Macc. xvi. 15, is in any case identical with the *Δαγών* of Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 3. The name is still retained in that of the fountain *Ain ed-Duk*, north of Jericho, on the border of the mountain land, in a position very suitable as the site of a fortress. See Robinson, *Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii. 309. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 460; English translation, vol. iii. 18, 35. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 184. Mühlau in Riehm's *Wörterbuch*, art. "Doch." Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 218-222. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 173, 190, 209, and the large English Map, Sheet xviii.

§ 8. JOHN HYRCANUS I., B.C. 135-105.¹

SOURCES.

The *History of John Hyrcanus*, referred to in 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24, is not extant.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8-10; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. Zonaras, *Annal.* v. 1-2 (a summary from Josephus).

Mishna, *Maaser scheni* v. 15; *Sota* ix. 10. Other rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 70-82.

The most complete account of the coins is given by Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 74-81.

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HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. pp. 421-426.

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¹ On the chronology of the Asmoneans the following statement may be made once for all. Josephus gives as the period of the reigns of the princes from John Hyrcanus I. to Alexandra inclusive the following dates:—

John Hyrcanus,	.	.	.	31 years	(<i>Antiq.</i> xiii. 10. 7).
Aristobulus,	.	.	.	1 „	(<i>Antiq.</i> xiii. 11. 3).
Alexander Jannäus,	.	.	.	27 „	(<i>Antiq.</i> xiii. 15. 5).
Alexandra,	.	.	.	9 „	(<i>Antiq.</i> xiii. 16. 6).

These dates are also given by Josephus in two other places: *Antiq.* xx. 10, and *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2-5. Only in regard to Hyrcanus do these accounts vary. In *Antiq.* xx. 10 he is assigned thirty years, and in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 8, it is given as thirty-three. The latter is probably erroneous, and like much else in the *Wars of the Jews* is corrected in the later production of the *Antiquities*. The discrepancy in the *Antiquities*

Seeing that the high-priestly and princely offices had been declared hereditary in the family of Simon, his third son still surviving, John Hyrcanus, who had held the post of governor of Gazara, was nominated his successor.² Against him, therefore, were first directed the attacks of the pretender Ptolemy, who had murdered his father and his two brothers. Immediately after the bloody deed the assassin Ptolemy sent to Gazara in order to do away also with John. That prince, however, had meanwhile been warned by friendly messengers, and so he had the murderers apprehended immediately upon their arrival. Then he hasted to Jerusalem, itself, however, is only apparent, for Hyrcanus reigned between thirty and thirty-one years.

The following points are well established: 1. The death of Simon in the month Shebat of the Seleucid year 177, or in February B.C. 135 (1 Macc. xvi. 14); and 2. The beginning of the war between the brothers Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II., immediately after the death of Alexandra, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 2, in the third year of the 177th Olympiad, that is, in the summer B.C. 70-69, and during the consulate of Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus Creticus. These were consuls in B.C. 69. The beginning of that war of the brothers, and consequently also the death of Alexandra, occurred therefore in the first half of B.C. 69. This is confirmed by *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 4, *Wars of the Jews* i. 5. 3, according to which Alexandra survived the attack of Lucullus on the Armenian empire, which took place in B.C. 69.—From the death of Simon to the death of Alexandra, B.C. 135-B.C. 69, is thus a period of sixty-six years, while by adding the numbers given by Josephus we obtain sixty-eight. Josephus has therefore also reckoned the current year as if it were complete. If we take this into consideration, the two statements will be found thoroughly to agree, and we obtain the following dates:—

John Hyrcanus,	B.C. 135-105.
Aristobulus,	■ 105-104.
Alexander Jannäus,	■ 104-78.
Alexandra,	■ 78-69.

It is an error on the part of Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 2, to fix the first year of John Hyrcanus in the 162nd Olympiad, that is, in a summer during the period B.C. 132-128.

² Eusebius and others explain the surname Hyrcanus by saying that John had conquered the Hyrcanians (Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 130 sq.; in Greek, in Syncellus, i. 548: Ὑρκανοῦς νικήσας Ὑρκανοῦς ἀνομάσθη; in Latin, in Jerome: *adversum Hyrcanos bellum gerens Hyrcani nomen*

which he was fortunate enough to reach before Ptolemy. When the latter arrived, he found that the city was already in the power of Hyrcanus.³

Ptolemy then retired to the fortress of Dagon, identical probably with that of Dok, near Jericho. There he was besieged by Hyrcanus; and undoubtedly the city would soon have been conquered, and the murderer given over to his well-deserved doom, had not Hyrcanus been restrained by affection for his mother. She had fallen into the power of Ptolemy. And so often as Hyrcanus threatened to storm the fortress, Ptolemy had her led out upon the walls, and threatened to hurl her down unless Hyrcanus would abandon his project. This caused him to hesitate in his proceedings. And so the siege was protracted, until at length the return of the Sabbatical year necessitated its abandonment. Ptolemy was thus set free; but nevertheless he had the mother of Hyrcanus murdered, and then fled.⁴

Thus through Ptolemy had Hyrcanus lost both his parents and his two brothers, without having been able to take vengeance upon him.

An evil fate, however, overtook the murderer. Antiochus

accepit; and also Sulpicius Severus, ii. 26: *qui cum adversum Hyrcanos, gentem validissimam, egregie pugnasset, Hyrcani cognomen accepit*). In favour of his explanation the fact may be adduced that John actually did take part in the campaign of Antiochus VII. Sidetes against the Parthians. But it falls to pieces over the fact that the name Hyrcanus had been in use in Jewish circles long before the time of John Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 6-11; 2 Macc. iii. 11). It may conceivably be explained according to the analogy of יְרֵעֵ הַבְּבִלִי, *Baba mezia* vii. 7; נְחֻם הַמְּדִי, *Schabbath* ii. 1; *Nasir* v. 4; *Baba bathra* v. 2. The Jews were transported by Artaxerxes Ochus to Hyrcania (see Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 223). A Jew belonging to a family settled there, who had gone back again to Palestine, would at first be distinguished by the personal designation ὁ Ὑρκανός. And thus the name would come to be a distinctive designation of the family.

³ 1 Macc. xvi. 19-22. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7. 4.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 3-4.—In regard to the Sabbatical year, see above, pp. 41-43.

VII. Sidetes had hitherto made no further attempt upon Judea. We know not the reason of this, but it was perhaps because the home affairs of Syria were occupying all his attention. He was, however, by no means disposed to forget the demands which he previously made of Simon. In the first year of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135—134, he invaded Judea, devastated the whole country, and finally laid siege to Hyrcanus in his capital, Jerusalem.⁵ He surrounded the whole city with a rampart and a trench, and cut off the besieged from all egress from the city. Hyrcanus on his part sought to harass the besiegers by sallies. In order to make the victuals last longer, he sent the non-combatants out of the city. But Antiochus would not let them pass, and drove them back again, so that they were obliged to roam about between the circle of the besiegers and the city, and many of them perished of hunger. It was not till the Feast of

⁵ In regard to the date, the statements of the various sources do not agree. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 2, the invasion of Antiochus occurred τετάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, πρῶτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἰρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ δευτέρᾳ. The fourth year of Antiochus and the first year of Hyrcanus are both B.C. 135—134, whereas the 162nd Olympiad corresponds to B.C. 132—128. In the latter period, in Olympiad 162, 3, or B.C. 130—129, Porphyry puts the attack upon Jerusalem by Antiochus (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 255 : *Judaeosque hic subegit, per obsidionem muros urbis evertibat, atque electissimos ipsorum trucidabat anno tertio CLXII. olympiadis*). A reconciliation of these statements is possible only on the assumption that the war had lasted for four years. At least more than one year must have been occupied with it, since the siege of Jerusalem alone seems to have lasted over a year. Josephus speaks of the setting of the Pleiades as occurring at its beginning (*Antiq.* xiii. 8. 2), which took place in November (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 47. 125 : *post id aequinoctium diebus fere quattuor et quadraginta vergiliarum occasus hiemem inchoat, quod tempus in III. iduus Novembres in incidere consuevit*). And the siege had not been raised when the next Feast of Tabernacles came round in October (compare Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 333).—Owing to the discrepancy of the sources, it would be exceedingly risky to fix a particular year for the siege (Clinton, *l.c.*, gives B.C. 134—133).—Sieges lasting for a year were by no means uncommon in the history of that time, as in the case of Samaria (*Antiq.* xiii. 10. 3), and of Gaza (*Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3), and of Gadara, lasting ten months (*Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3).

Tabernacles that Hyrcanus received them again into the city. For the celebration of this feast he had begged of Antiochus an armistice for seven days. Antiochus granted not only this, but sent also gifts for sacrifice into the city, which they were to present in the temple. This generous act raised the spirits of Hyrcanus, and he now hoped, by timely capitulation, to obtain favourable terms. He sent therefore an embassy to Antiochus to treat for conditions of peace. After protracted negotiations an understanding was at last come to. The terms of the arrangement were that the Jews should deliver up their arms, pay tribute for Joppa and the other towns lying outside of Judea which they had conquered, give hostages, and besides pay 500 talents. The conditions were indeed by no means satisfactory. Yet in the circumstances Hyrcanus was indeed very glad even at this price to obtain the raising of the siege and the withdrawal of the Syrian army. The walls of the city too were thrown down.⁶

The remarkable moderation of Antiochus had perhaps other reasons than those assigned for it by the historians.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 2-3. Diodorus, xxxiv. 1, ed. Müller. Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 255. Justin, xxxvi. 1: *Judaeos quoque, qui in Macedonico imperio sub Demetrio patre armis se in libertatem vindicaverant, subegit.*—The words of Josephus, καθήλθε ■ και την στεφάνην της πόλεως, are understood by many (e.g. Winer, *RWB.* i. 65, *Anm.*; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4 Aufl. p. 76 f.), not of the destruction of the whole wall, but only that of the coping, in which case the description of Josephus is divergent from that of Diodorus and Porphyry. But such an interpretation is not necessary. At least, according to Diodorus and Porphyry, the wall itself was thrown down. Among the later services performed by John Hyrcanus, 1 Macc. xvi. 23 gives prominence to his rebuilding of the walls.—Hyrcanus is said to have obtained the sum demanded by Antiochus by extracting three thousand talents from the sepulchre of David. So says Josephus, *Antiq.* vii. 15. 3, whereas in *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4 he merely says that Hyrcanus applied the money thus taken to the payment of his soldiers. Compare on the sepulchre of David, Neh. iii. 16; Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 1; Acts ii. 29. According to Neh. iii. 15, 16, it lay in the south of the city, not far from Siloah.

In a decree of the Roman senate, which Josephus communicates in *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 2, it is assumed that a King Antiochus had taken from the Jews in war, Joppa, Gazara, and other towns (πολεμῶν ἔλαβεν Ἀντίοχος), on account of which a Jewish embassy had gone to Rome with the prayer that the senate should order Antiochus to restore these towns. This Antiochus can have been no other than Antiochus VII. Sidetes, for under no earlier Antiochus were the Jews in possession of the towns of Joppa and Gazara, and of the later kings there was none able to usurp any authority worth mentioning over the Jews. Evidently Antiochus, as is indeed in itself most probable, had in that war, before advancing to the siege of the capital, seized upon and taken from the Jews Joppa, Gazara, and the other towns that had been conquered by them. But then it is hardly credible that of his own accord, by a peaceful treaty, he would have left the Jews in possession of these cities, and only have imposed on them a tribute for the holding of them. The mild conditions are to be accounted for rather by the interference of the Romans. The senate certainly did not at first, in the decree referred to, formally accede to the prayer of the Jews, but rather put off any final decision. It appears, however, that very soon afterwards a second Jewish embassy went to Rome, which did secure the result desired. In a subsequent passage, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 22, a decree of the Roman senate is given by Josephus, erroneously inserted in a decree of the Pergamenes, which evidently refers to the matters now under discussion. In consequence of an embassy sent by Hyrcanus, a command is issued to King Antiochus that he must restore all the cities taken by him from the Jews, and in particular that he must withdraw the garrison from Joppa (τὴν ἐν Ἰόπῃ δὲ φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν). The king is there indeed called "Antiochus, son of Antiochus," instead of "son of Demetrius," but he can scarcely be any other than Antiochus

Sidetes. For if the Jews, since the conclusion of peace with him, obtained possession again of Joppa by the payment of tribute, it can scarcely be supposed that any of the weak successors of Sidetes could have again placed a garrison there. In any case, the Jews would have had no occasion to call in the help of the Romans against such an adversary. It may therefore be conjectured that the decree of senate in question preceded the conclusion of peace with Antiochus Sidetes, and was pre-eminently the means of securing for the Jews such mild and favourable conditions.⁷—If these combinations are correct, we must assume that the war continued for more than a year.

The conflicts which took place during those first years of Hyrcanus, gave new proofs that the small Jewish state could maintain its freedom from Syrian suzerainty only so long as the Syrian empire was internally weak. Before the first vigorous onslaught of Antiochus, the freedom that had previously been

⁷ In the above the results are related which Mendelssohn has reached in his investigations (Ritschl's *Acta societatis philologae Lipsiensis*, t. v. 1875, pp. 123–158. It was previously published separately: Mendelssohn, *De senati consultis Romanorum ab Josepho Antiq.* xiii. 9. 2, xiv. 10. 22, *relatis commentatio*, Leipzig 1874). Compare in addition the recension by Gutschmid in the *Literatur Centralblatt*, 1874, No. 38, and the criticism in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, 392 f.—Gutschmid understands by “Antiochus, son of Antiochus,” Antiochus IX. Cyzicenos, son of Antiochus VII., although in other respects he agrees with Mendelssohn, that the conquest of Joppa and Gazara was accomplished by Antiochus VII. But this combination falls through for this, besides other reasons, that in the second *Senatsconsult* it is distinctly presupposed that the conqueror and he who was to restore to them what he had taken (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 22: καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο αὐτῶν), was one and the same person. Owing to the carelessness with which these documents, and especially the names in them, have been drawn up, the appearance of a clerical error, such as Ἀντιόχου for Δημητρίου, would present very little difficulty, indeed much less than others that have actually been found. Compare against Gutschmid, Mendelssohn in *Rhein. Museum*, 1875, p. 118 f.—For proposed emendation of the names in *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 2, compare also Mommsen's *Bemerkungen zum Senatsconsult von Adramyttium*, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. 217.

won by Simon was again lost. Hyrcanus' dependence on Antiochus VII. also obliged him to take the field with the Syrian monarch against the Parthians in B.C. 129. But he was not involved in the disaster that overtook Antiochus.⁸

The death of Antiochus in the Parthian campaign, in B.C. 128, was for Hyrcanus a favourable occurrence.⁹ His place upon the Syrian throne was taken by the weak Demetrius II., who had previously been released from imprisonment by the Parthians.¹⁰ He was immediately involved in a civil war, which obliged him to seek to win the favour of the Jews.

Hyrcanus as soon as possible turned to account the altered circumstances. Without troubling himself about Demetrius, he began to seize upon considerable districts in the neighbourhood of Judea, to the east, to the north, and to the south. First of all he marched into the land east of the Jordan, and conquered Medaba after a six months' siege.¹¹ Then he turned to the north, took Shechem and Mount Gerizim, sub-

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4, with reference to Nicolaus Damascenus.

⁹ On the campaign and death of Antiochus, compare Justin, xxxviii. 10, xxxix. 1; Diodorus, xxxiv. 15–17, ed. Müller; Livy, *Epit.* 59; Appian, *Syr.* 68; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4; Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 255. In regard to the chronology, see above, pp. 177–178.

¹⁰ On Demetrius II. compare Justin, xxxvi. 1: *Demetrius, et ipse rerum successu corruptus, vitiis adulescentiae in segnitiam labitur tantumque contemptum apud omnes inertiae, quantum odium ex superbia pater habuerat, contraxit.*—On the other hand, Justin, xxxix. 1, speaks also of a *superbia regis, quae conversatione Parthicae crudelitatis intolerabilis facta erat.*—On the doings and fortunes of Demetrius during his imprisonment, as well as his final liberation, see Justin, xxxvi. 1, xxxviii. 9–10; Appian, *Syr.* 67, 68; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4; Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 255.

¹¹ Medaba is a well-known town on the east side of the Jordan, south of Heshbon, and its name and ruins are preserved to this day. It is the Old Testament מִדְבָּא, Num. xxi. 30; Josh. xiii. 9, 16; Isa. xv. 2; 1 Chron. xix. 7. Compare 1 Macc. ix. 36; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 2, xiii. 15. 4, xiv. 1. 4; Ptolemy, v. 17. 6, viii. 20. 20; Stephen of Byzantium on the name; Mishna, *Mikwaoth* vii. 1; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 279.—Reland, *Palestina*, p. 893. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*,

dued the Samaritans, and destroyed their temple. Finally, he went south, took the Idumean cities Adora and Marissa, and compelled the Idumeans to submit to circumcision, and to receive the Jewish law.¹² The policy of conquest, which had been already inaugurated by Jonathan and Simon, was carried out vigorously by Hyrcanus. The purely worldly character of his policy, however, is shown conspicuously in this, that first among the Jewish princes he no longer conducted the war by means of Jewish soldiers, but called in the aid of foreign mercenaries.¹³

This independent procedure on the part of Hyrcanus was possible only on account of the internal weakness of the Syrian empire. Demetrius II., after his restoration to the throne, was again guilty of the folly of waging war with Ptolemy VII. Physcon, king of Egypt. The Egyptian monarch therefore set up over against Demetrius a pretender to the throne, in the person of a young Egyptian, whom he gave out to be an adopted son of Antiochus Sidetes, who was, however, according to others, a son of Alexander Balas.¹⁴ This pretender was named Alexander, and was surnamed by the Syrians Zabinas, i.e. "the purchased."¹⁵ Conquered by this

i. 407 f., iv. 223. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 2. 1181–1185 (Engl. transl. iii. 73). Winer, *RWB. sub voce*. Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, p. 318.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 6; compare *Antiq.* xv. 7. 9.—Adora is the modern Dura, west of Hebron, see Robinson, *Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, vol. iii. 2–5; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 353 sqq. On Marissa, see above, page 221 (on 1 Macc. v. 66).—In consequence of the Judaizing by John Hyrcanus, the Idumeans came by and by to regard themselves as Jews (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 4. 4). The Jewish aristocracy would only have them treated as ἡμιουδαῖοι, and so considered even the Idumean Herod as not equal to them in birth (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 2: Ἡρώδης . . . ἰδιώτη τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ τούτῳστιν ἡμιουδαίῳ).

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4.

¹⁴ The former according to Justin, xxxix. 1; the latter according to Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 257 sq.

¹⁵ Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 258, correctly explains the surname Zabinas (זַבִּינָא in Ezra x. 48) by ἀγοραστός.—The

Alexander at Damascus, Demetrius was obliged to retire to Ptolemais, and to take ship from thence to Tyre, where as soon as he landed he was murdered, in B.C. 125 or 124.¹⁶

Alexander Zabinas, however, had on his part to contest the sovereignty with the son of Demetrius, Antiochus VIII. Grypos. So he was not forced by necessity to live in peace and friendship with Hyrcanus.¹⁷

After some years, somewhere about B.C. 122, Alexander Zabinas was subdued by his opponent. Antiochus VIII. Grypos conquered him, and had him executed; while, according to others, he brought his own life to an end by poison.—There now followed a long period of quiet. For eight years Antiochus VIII. Grypos held undisputed sway in Syria.¹⁸ Nevertheless even he made no attempt against Hyrcanus. He had no longer the ambition to restore to Syria its ancient dimensions. In B.C. 113 he was driven out by his cousin and step-brother, Antiochus IX. Cyzicenos, who ruled Syria for two years, and then, when Antiochus Grypos again secured possession of the greater part of Syria in B.C. 111, he took up his residence in Coele-Syria, the part adjoining Palestine, and made it his headquarters.¹⁹

orthography vacillates between Ζαβινᾶς (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 3), Ζαβινᾶς (Diodorus, ed. Müller, xxxiv. 22; Porphyry in Eusebius, *l.c.*; inscription in Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Egypte*, ii. 61); Zabbinaeus in Justin, *Prolog.* xxxix.

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 3; Justin, xxxix. 1; Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 257 sq.—On his death especially, Justin: *Cum Tyrum religione se templi defensurus petisset, navi egrediens praefecti jussu interficitur.*—According to Appian, *Syr.* 68, his wife Cleopatra was the instigator of the murder. Compare Livy, *Epit.* 60: *Motus quoque Syriae referuntur, in quibus Cleopatra Demetrium virum suum—interemit.*

¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xxxiii. 9. 3: Φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς Ἰρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερα.

¹⁸ Justin, xxxix. 2. 9: *Parta igitur regni securitate Grypus octo annis quietem et ipse habuit et regno praestitit.*—In accordance with this, the description in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 1, is to be corrected.

¹⁹ Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 260; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 1; Justin, xxxix. 2-3; Appian, *Syr.* 69.

Of Antiochus IX. Cyzicenos, who ruled in Coele-Syria from B.C. 113 to B.C. 95, Diodorus gives the following description :²⁰ "So soon as he attained the throne, Antiochus Cyzicenos gave way to drunkenness and shameful sensuality, and to habits most unbecoming in a king. He took great delight in theatrical displays and the performance of comedies, and generally in all sorts of showmen, and tried to learn their art. He also zealously promoted the exhibition of marionettes, and sought to fabricate in silver and gold animals five ells long that would move of themselves, and other such arts. On the other hand, battering-rams and engines of war, which would have brought him great advantage and renown, he did not make. He also was passionately fond of adventurous expeditions; and often through the night, without the knowledge of his friends, accompanied only by two or three servants, he would go out into the country to hunt lions, panthers, and boars. In such escapades he often engaged to the extreme peril of his life in foolhardy encounters with wild beasts."

We see here traditions of an earlier Antiochus IV. imitated again after a baser fashion. From such a ruler, who was taken up with such pursuits, Hyrcanus had nought to fear. And so it came about that from the death of Antiochus Sidetes, in B.C. 128, Judea had been able to keep itself

²⁰ Diodorus, xxxiv. 34, ed. Müller: 'Ο Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀρτίως παρειληφώς τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐξέπεσεν εἰς μέθας καὶ τρυφὴν ἀγεννῆ καὶ ζηλώματα βασιλείας ἀλλοτριώτατα. "Ἐχαιρε γὰρ μίμοις καὶ προδείκταις καὶ καθόλου πᾶσι τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐπιτηδεύματα μανθάνειν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. Ἐπετήδευσε δὲ καὶ νευροσπαστεῖν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κινεῖν ζῶα πενταπῆχη κατάργυρα καὶ κατὰ χρυσά καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα. Οὐκ εἶχε δὲ ἐλεπόλεων οὐδὲ ὀργάνων πολιορκητικῶν κατασκευάς, ἀ καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην καὶ χρείας ἀξιολόγους ἂν παρέσχετο. Ἐνεθουσία δὲ καὶ πρὸς κυνηγεσίας ἀκαίρους, καὶ πολλάκις νύκτωρ λάθρα τῶν φίλων μετὰ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν οἰκετῶν ἐξιών ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἐκυνήγει λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ ὕς ἀγρίους. Παραβόλως δὲ συμπλεκόμενος ἀλόγοις θηρίοις, πολλάκις ἤλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους.

absolutely independent of Syria. The taxes laid upon Judea by Antiochus Sidetes were not paid to any of the following kings. "Neither as their subject nor as their friend did he longer pay them any regard."²¹

In the last years of his reign Hyrcanus undertook an expedition for the conquest of the neighbouring districts. After having previously subdued the borders of Shechem and Mount Gerizim, he now directed his attack against the city of Samaria, whose inhabitants had given him occasion to complain. He had them enclosed by a wall and a trench, and then transferred the conduct of the siege to his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus. The Samaritans in their straits called in the aid of Antiochus Cyzicenos, who went indeed very willingly, but was driven back by the Jews. So then a second time Antiochus sought to bring them help by means of Egyptian auxiliary troops, which Ptolemy Lathurus supplied, and by their help devastated the Jewish territory, without, however, securing any decided advantage. After sustaining great loss, Antiochus withdrew from the scene of conflict, leaving his generals, Callimander and Epicrates, to carry on the campaign to its close. Of these the one was defeated by the Jews and lost his life, while the other, Epicrates, also achieved nothing, but treacherously gave over Scythopolis to the Jews. Thus Samaria, after a year's siege, fell into the hands of the Jews, and was utterly razed to the ground.²²—The Jewish legends relate that on the day of the decisive victory of Antigonus and Aristobulus over Antiochus

²¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 1 : οὔτε ὡς ὑπήκοος οὔτε ὡς φίλος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι παρείχεν.

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 2-3 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 2. 7. According to the statement of the *Wars of the Jews*, Scythopolis was not surrendered to the Jews by treachery, but was conquered by them. Compare on this important city, Div. ii. vol. i. p. 110.—The day of the conquest of Samaria was, according to *Megillath Taanith*, the 25th Marcheschwan, or November. See Grätz, iii., 4 Aufl. p. 566 ; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 72 sq. The year

Cyzicenos, the occurrence was made known to Hyrcanus by a voice from heaven, while he was presenting a burnt-offering in the temple.²³

What has now been told is all that is known to us as to the external events of what seems to have been the truly brilliant reign of Hyrcanus. The record is scanty enough. But even still more fragmentary is the reports which have come down to us regarding the internal affairs of that government. Something may first of all be gained from the inscriptions on the coins.²⁴ These, in common with the coins of the immediate successors of Hyrcanus, bear the inscription—

יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים

or: יהוחנן הכהן הגדל ראש חבר היהודים

The reading of this last word is doubtful. Probably it is to be read: *cheber hajjehudim*; and by *cheber*, which literally means fellowship, association, is to be understood, not the *γερουσία*, but rather the assembly of the whole body of

may be approximately fixed from this, that, on the one hand, Antiochus Cyzicenos was already in undisturbed possession of Coele-Syria, which began with B.C. 111; and, on the other hand, Ptolemy Lathurus was still co-regent with his mother Cleopatra, which lasted till B.C. 107. The conquest of Samaria therefore falls between B.C. 111 and B.C. 107, probably not long before B.C. 107, for Cleopatra was so enraged at Ptolemy for affording assistance to Antiochus, that she had "almost already" driven him out of the government. So Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 2: ὅσον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκυίας.

²³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 3. The rabbinical passages in Derenbourg, p. 74.

²⁴ On the coins: De Saulcy, *Recherches*, 1854, pp. 95–102. Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 13–18. Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, pp. 46–53. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864, pp. 51–61. Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismat. Monatsheften*, Bd. iii. 1867, pp. 103–108. De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 236 sq. De Saulcy, *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, xxiii. 1872, pp. 8–13. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii. 1876, pp. 190–195. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 74–81 (there the material is most fully given).

the people.²⁵ The inscription would therefore run thus: "Jochanan the high priest and the congregation of the Jews," or "Jochanan the high priest, head of the congregation of the Jews." This official title shows us that John Hyrcanus regarded himself as in the full sense still high priest. As in the pre-Maccabean age, so also still the Jewish commonwealth was a government of priests, and the chief priest standing at its head was not an autocrat, but simply the chief of the congregation. The coins, at least those of the first order, were not only stamped in his name, but also in that of the congregation. On the other hand, it is a proof of the increasing prominence given to the possession of princely prerogatives, that John has had his name engraven on the coins. He is the first of the Jewish princes who did so. Then from the coins of the second order the name of "the congregation" disappears altogether, and instead thereof he is himself

²⁵ The conjectures which have been made as to the meaning of חֲבֵר are in some cases of the most remarkable kind. Madden in *Coins of the Jews*, p. 77, gives a summary of them. One renders חֲבֵר, "doctor, scholar" (Reichardt), another makes it "friend" (de Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 84; *Revue Num.* 1864, p. 382, subsequently abandoned by him); others, חֲבֵר, "general" (Ewald, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1855, p. 643). Arnold in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* 1 Aufl. iv. 766, speaks of the word as having its signification first discovered by Ewald. On the coins with רֹאשׁ חֲבֵר, Ewald reads רֹאשׁ וְחֲבֵר, and translates "commander-in-chief" (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 844).—The inscription רֹאשׁ חֲבֵר הַיְּהוּדִים shows that חֲבֵר is necessarily a corporation, as Hyrcanus is described as its head. It is therefore to be read (as Hos. vi. 9; Prov. xxi. 9) חֲבֵר, and it is extremely questionable whether an assembly in the more exact sense, therefore the Jewish senate, is meant (so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 121 f.; Levy, *Jüdische Münzen*, p. 50; Madden, *History*, pp. 54-56; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 78; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 83; Wellhausen, *Pharisäer*, p. 28 f.; De Saulcy, *Mélanges des Numismatique*, ii. 1877, p. 86), or the Jewish people as a whole (so Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 14; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, p. 473; Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schr. A. T.'s*, § 503; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii. 1876, pp. 190, 196 f.). The expression "congregation of the Jews," and their usage of the language, are decidedly in favour of the latter meaning. See Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 55.

designated under his twofold title of rank as "High Priest," and as "Chief of the Congregation of the Jews."

In reference to the internal policy of Hyrcanus, during his thirty years' reign, one fact at least is well established, and that one of the greatest importance: his breaking away from the Pharisees, and attaching himself to the Sadducees. These two parties now appear for the first time under those names upon the arena of history. Their beginnings lay far back; their consolidation under those names seems to have been a consequence of the Maccabean movement.²⁶ The Pharisees are nothing else but the party of strict zealots for the law: essentially the same circles as we meet with in the beginning of the Maccabean movement under the name of the Pious or Chasidim. Diametrically opposed to them were those who in the most extreme fashion favoured everything Greek, who even went beyond the Hellenizing movement of Antiochus Epiphanes by opening the door to Hellenism, not only in the domain of social life, but also in that of religious worship. These extreme Grecianizers, who were found specially in the ranks of the higher priesthood, had been swept away before the blast of the Maccabean revolution. Ideas of this sort could no longer be allowed to find expression in the league of the Jewish commonwealth. But the foundations on which that type of thought had grown up had still continued to exist there. It was the essentially worldly spirit of the higher priesthood, opposed to any kind of religious enthusiasm. They wished to maintain their position on the basis of the Mosaic law. But whatever therein transcended the mere letter, they rejected with a lofty assumption of superiority. They had far heartier interest in the affairs of this life than in those of the time to come. The spirit which among the higher priests was represented pre-eminently by "the

²⁶ Josephus tells the story first of all in connection with the times of Jonathan, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9.

sons of Zadoc," was now called that of the Zadocites or Sadducees.²⁷

The Maccabees belonged properly neither to the Pharasaic nor to the Sadducean party. The zeal for the law, which had led them to take the sword in their hand, associated them indeed with the Chasidim, who also at the outset took part in the war of independence. But soon the two went their several ways, and as time advanced they parted farther and farther from one another. The Chasidim had no interest in political supremacy and political freedom. With the Maccabees this was the point of most vital importance. They did not indeed at a later period abandon their original aim, the preservation of the religion of their fathers. But as time wore on they became more and more deeply involved in other political schemes. In this way they were brought into closer relations with the Sadducees. As political upstarts, the Maccabees could not venture to ignore the influential Sadducean nobility. And it may be taken for granted that in the *γεγονυσία* of the Maccabean age, the Sadducean party was represented.—But in spite of all this, in religious sympathies the Maccabees originally stood far nearer to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees. They were the conservers of their fathers' faith and their fathers' law. It may be unhesitatingly stated, even in regard to Hyrcanus, that in the earlier years of his reign, in regard to the observance of the law, he held the doctrines of the Pharisees. For it was his abandonment of the traditions of the Pharisees which formed the chief accusation brought against him by the stricter Jews.²⁸

The interests and activities of the Maccabees were thus going forth in two different directions, the religious and the

²⁷ See further details of the nature and origin of the Pharisees and Sadducees in § 26, Div. ii. vol. ii. pp. 1-46.

²⁸ Josephus says in regard thereto, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5: *καθηγῆς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐγγεγόνει καὶ σφόδρα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγαπᾶτο.*

political, and this explains to us the change of front which took place during the course of Hyrcanus' reign. The more the political interests were brought into the foreground by him, the more were the religious interests put in abeyance. And just in proportion as this policy was carried out, Hyrcanus was obliged to withdraw from the Pharisees and associate himself with the Sadducees. Any close and hearty relationship with the Pharisees could not possibly continue while he wrought out the devices of his purely worldly policy. Hence it was just what might have been expected, that he should openly break with the Pharisees and cast in his lot with the Sadducean party.

The ostensible occasion of the breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees is described by Josephus and the Talmud in a similar manner as follows. Hyrcanus once made the request, when many Pharisees were with him at dinner, that if they observed him doing anything not according to the law, they should call attention to it, and point out to him the right way. But all present were full of his praise. Only one, Eleasar, rose up and said: "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high-priesthood and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when Hyrcanus wished to know for what cause he should do so, Eleasar answered: "We have heard it from old men that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." But this statement was incorrect. On account of it Hyrcanus was incensed against him in the highest degree. When then Hyrcanus laid before the Pharisees the question as to the punishment which Eleasar deserved, they made answer, "stripes and bonds." Hyrcanus, who believed for such an offence nothing less than death was due, became now still more angry, and thought that Eleasar had given expression to a sentiment that was approved of by his party. Forthwith he separated himself entirely from the

Pharisees, forbade under penalties the observance of the laws ordained by them, and attached himself to the Sadducees.²⁹

The story indeed, in its anecdotal form, bears on it the imprint of a thoroughly legendary character, and is even by Josephus given only as a tale derived from oral tradition. Nevertheless it may be accepted as a fact that Hyrcanus did turn away decidedly from the party of the Pharisees and abolished the Pharisaic ordinances. For it was a conscious reaction against the policy pursued from the time of Hyrcanus, when Alexandra returned again to the observance of the Pharisaic institutions.³⁰ Two of the particular ordinances set aside by Hyrcanus are mentioned in the Mishna. But in view of the thoroughgoing opposition of Hyrcanus to every sort of Pharisaic ordinance, the cases referred to in the Mishna are spoken of as being only unimportant matters of detail.³¹

²⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5–6. The rabbinical tradition is given in Grätz, iii., 4 Aufl. 684 ff. (note 11); Derenbourg, pp. 79, 80; Montet, *Le premier conflit entre Pharisiens et Saducéens d'après trois documents orientaux* [Josephus, Talmud, and Samaritan Chronicler Abulfath], in the *Journal asiatique*, VIII^{me} série, t. ix. 1887, pp. 415–423.—On the fact itself, see Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer* (1874), pp. 89–95.

³⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 2.

³¹ *Maaser scheni* v. 15 = *Sota* ix. 10: “Jochanan the high priest abolished the confession for the time of tithing. He also abolished the singing of the verse ‘Awake’ (Ps. xlv. 23), and the inflicting a wound on the sacrificial victim. Also down to his time on the days between the festival seasons was the hammer in use in Jerusalem. Finally, in his days men were not wont to ask about Demai, *i.e.* not to ask whether tithes had been paid on bought corn.”—On the meaning of this passage, which in part is very obscure, see the commentaries in Surenhusius’ *Mishna*, i. 287 f., iii. 295 ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, iii. 249 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 71. The translation here given follows that of Jost in his edition of the Mishna, and agrees with the explanations given in the Talmud; but its correctness is very questionable. See especially Herzfeld. —For the confession at the tithing, see Deut. xxvi. 12–15; Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 22; *Mishna*, *Maaser scheni* v. 6–15; Hottinger, *De decimis Judaeorum* (1713), pp. 204–227. It may also be mentioned that in *Para* iii. 5, Jochanan is named as one of those high priests in whose time a red heifer was burnt, according to the law of Num. xix.

On a review of Hyrcanus' government Josephus passes a favourable verdict upon him, saying that "he was esteemed of God worthy of the three privileges—the government of his nation, the dignity of the high-priesthood, and prophecy." Upon the whole, the reign of Hyrcanus seems to the Jewish historian a pre-eminently happy one.³² He is quite right, if political power is regarded as the measure of prosperity and success. After Hyrcanus' predecessors had already enlarged the Jewish territory to the sea-coast by the addition of Joppa and Gazara and other conquests in the west, Hyrcanus, by new conquests in the east, south, and north, and by making still more secure his independence of Syria, built up a Jewish state such as had not been from the time of the overthrow of the ten tribes, perhaps not even since the partition of the kingdom after the death of Solomon.

Among the great sepulchral monuments in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, that of "the high priest John" is frequently referred to by Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews*.³³

³² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 7.

³³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 6. 2, 7. 3, 9. 2, 11. 4; vi. 2. 10.

§ 9. ARISTOBULUS I., B.C. 105–104.

SOURCES.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3. A summary from Josephus in Zonaras, *Annal.* v. 3.

The coins are most completely given by Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 81–83.

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 385, 386.

STANLEY, *Jewish Church*, vol. iii. 370.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 118–123.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 473–475.

JOHN HYRCANUS left five sons.¹ But according to his will, the government was to pass to his wife,² while only the high-priesthood was to go to his eldest son Aristobulus. The young prince, however, was not satisfied with this arrangement. He put his mother in prison, where he allowed her to die of hunger, and assumed the government himself.³ Also all his brothers, with the exception of Antigonus, he cast into prison. Only in the latter had he such confidence that he assigned to him a share in the management of the kingdom. But this very pre-eminence proved the occasion of disaster to Antigonus. It aroused the jealousy of many whose intrigues were at last successful in making Aristobulus the murderer of his favourite brother. It was represented to him that Antigonus was endeavouring to secure the supreme power to

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 7.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 1: ἐκείνην γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς τῶν ὅλων κυρίαν καταλελοίπει. So, too, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3. 1.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3. 1. On the chronology, see above, page 272.

himself. Aristobulus in consequence became suspicious, and gave orders to his bodyguard, that if Antigonus should come to him armed, they should cut him down. At the same time he commanded his brother to come to him unarmed. But the enemies of Antigonus bribed the messengers, so that they should announce to him that Aristobulus desired him to obtain new weapons and new armour, and commanded him that he should come clad in armour in order that he might see his new equipment. Antigonus acted accordingly, and was cut down by the bodyguard when he, suspecting nothing, entered the citadel. After the deed was done, Aristobulus is said to have bitterly repented, and his sorrow seemed to have accelerated his death.⁴

The whole domestic tragedy, if it can be taken as historical, presents the character of Aristobulus in a very dark light. His whole concern was with the civil government. All considerations of piety were sacrificed to that one end. In other directions also Aristobulus was estranged still more completely than his father from the traditions of the Maccabees. The monarchical selfish spirit led him to assume the title of king, which his successors maintained down to the time of Pompey.⁵ The Greek culture, against the introduction of which the Maccabees had first taken a stand, was directly favoured by him. Whether he assumed the title of *Φιλέλλην* is not with absolute certainty to be concluded from the words of Josephus.⁶

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 1-3 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3. 1-6.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 1 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3. 1.—Strabo, xvi. 2. 40, p. 762, tells this of Alexander Jannäus, because he overlooked the short reign of Aristobulus.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3 : χρηματίσας μὲν φιλέλλην. From the connection this ought probably not to be rendered "he called himself *Φιλέλλην*," but "he conducted himself as a friend of the Greek." The title *Φιλέλλην* is borne, for example, by Arsaces VII. and other Parthian kings (Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques*, v. 650 sqq.), by one Antiochus of Commagene (see above, page 184), a Nabatean king Aretas, see Appendix II.

As already his father Hyrcanus had given his sons purely Greek names (Aristobulus, Antigonus, Alexander), it may be taken for granted that he was inclined to those tendencies afterwards openly avowed by Aristobulus.

On the coins Aristobulus has made use neither of his royal title nor of his Greek name. He calls himself on them, "Judas, high priest." For the coins with the inscription—

יהודה כהן גדול וחבר היהודים

belong, as Cavedoni was the first to point out, to one Aristobulus, whose Hebrew name was Judas.⁷—How thoroughly Aristobulus, notwithstanding his Greek leanings, still occupied the Jewish standpoint, is shown us by the most important occurrence which is recorded of his short reign: the conquest and Judaizing of the northern districts of Palestine. He undertook a military expedition against the Itureans, conquered a large portion of their land, united that to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants to allow themselves to be circumcised and to live according to the Jewish law.⁸ The Itureans had their residence in Lebanon.⁹ As Josephus does not say that Aristobulus subdued "the Itureans," but only that he

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 10: 'Ιουδᾶ τῷ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ κληθέντι. On the coins which de Saulcy originally ascribed to Judas Maccabaeus, see de Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 84. Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 18 f. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, pp. 53–55. Madden, *History*, pp. 61–63. Reichardt, *Wiener Numismat. Monatshefte*, iii. 1867, p. 108 f. De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 238. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii. 1876, p. 196. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 81–83.—The Greek coins ascribed by de Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 102–104, to Aristobulus, belong to Julia or Livia, widow of Augustus; see Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 19, 50 f.; also in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 19 f.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3: πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίων καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσηκυσάμενος κ.τ.λ. — Strabo, in the name of Timagenes, as reported by Josephus, *l.c.*, says: χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσεκτίσαστο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἔθνους ἀκείρωσαστο κ.τ.λ.

⁹ Strabo, pp. 753, 755, 756. Inscription of the time of Quirinius, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, iv. 538 (*Ituraeos in Libano monte*). Compare also Appendix I. at the end of the second volume.

conquered a large portion of their country and judaized it; and as Galilee had not hitherto belonged to the territory of the Jewish high priest, the conquests even of John Hyrcanus extending northwards only as far as Samaria and Scythopolis; and as, yet again, the population of Galilee had been up to that time more Gentile than Jewish,—the conjecture has good grounds that the portion conquered by Aristobulus was mainly Galilee, and that the actual judaizing of Galilee was first carried out by him.¹⁰ In any case, he extended the Jewish power farther northward, as Hyrcanus had toward the south.

Aristobulus died of a painful disease after a reign of one year.¹¹ Seeing that the judgment passed upon him by Gentile historians is a favourable one,¹² we cannot avoid entertaining the suspicion that the cruelties which he, the Sadducee and friend of the Greeks, is said to have inflicted upon his relatives, are calumnious inventions of the Pharisees.

¹⁰ The fact that the districts north and east of Galilee were predominantly Gentile down to the time of the Herodians is in favour of this view. They could not therefore have been previously judaized by Aristobulus. But then the portion judaized by Aristobulus could scarcely have been any other than Galilee itself. That Josephus does not give it the usual territorial designation of Galilee, is explained by his making use of non-Jewish documents.—A more serious difficulty is presented by the fact that John Hyrcanus had his son, Alexander Jannäus, brought up in Galilee (*Antiq.* xiii. 12. 1). But perhaps it should be said in this case that Hyrcanus had his son, whom he wished to prevent from succeeding to the throne, brought up outside of the country. It is also possible that Hyrcanus had already taken possession of the southern parts of Galilee. Then what is told above would refer only to the northern division. The statement about Alexander's education in Galilee is, owing to the connection in which it occurs, open to considerable suspicion.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 3. 6.

¹² Strabo in the name of Timagenes, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3: ἐπεικὴς τε ἐγένετο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος.

§ 10. ALEXANDER JANNÄUS, B.C. 104-78.

SOURCES.

- Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12-15 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. Summary in Zonaras, *Annal.* v. 4.
 Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 558 sq., goes back to a source independent of Josephus.
 Rabbinical Traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 95-102.
 The coins are most completely collected in Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 83-90.

LITERATURE.

- EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 386-392.
 STANLEY, *Jewish Church*, iii. (1877) 370, 386-388.
 GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 123-135.
 HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. pp. 475-488.
 HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. pp. 430-434, art. "Janai, Alexander."
 MENKE'S *Bibelatlas*, Bl. iv., special map of *Judea and Phönicia in the Times of Alexander Jannäus*.

WHEN Aristobulus was dead, his widow Salome Alexandra released from prison the three brothers of Aristobulus, whom he had placed in confinement, and raised the eldest of them to the throne and the high-priesthood,¹ while at the same time she gave him her hand in marriage.²

Alexander Jannäus, B.C. 104-78,³ was, during his reign of

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 1 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 1.

² This last statement is nowhere expressly made. But when Josephus names Salome Alexandra as the wife of Aristobulus (*Antiq.* xiii. 12. 1), both which names are borne by the wife of Alexander Jannäus, the identity is placed almost beyond doubt. Compare Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 386. Hitzig, ii. 476.

³ On the chronology, see above, pp. 272, 273.

twenty-six or twenty-seven years, almost constantly involved in foreign or in civil wars, which for the most part were provoked by his own wilfulness, and resulted by no means invariably in his favour.

First of all he took the field against the citizens of Ptolemais,⁴ besieged them, and surrounded the city. The inhabitants applied for help to the Egyptian prince Ptolemy Lathurus, who, driven from the throne by his mother Cleopatra, was then exercising rule in Cyprus. Ptolemy arrived with an army, and Alexander through fear of him raised the siege.⁵—He sought, however, by guile to get rid of Ptolemy, for he openly concluded peace and a friendly treaty with him, but secretly called his mother to his help against him. Ptolemy was at first disposed to enter into a mutual agreement. But when he heard that Alexander had secretly summoned his mother to his aid, he broke the truce and went forth with his army against Alexander. He conquered and plundered the city of Asochis in Galilee,⁶ and thus put himself in position against Alexander at Asophon on the Jordan.⁷ Alexander had a standing army, fairly well equipped. That of Ptolemy was not nearly so well armed, but his soldiers were experienced, and had thorough confidence in the tactical skill of their general Philostephanus. The two armies now lay on either side of the river. The Egyptian troops began to

⁴ On Ptolemais, the ancient Acco, one of the most important of the Phœnician coast towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Galilee, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 90–96.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 2–4.

⁶ Asochis is often referred to by Josephus in his *Life*, 41, 45, 68. It lay near Sepphoris (*Antiq.* xiii. 12. 5 : μικρὸν ἀπὸθεν; *Life*, 45 : παρὰ δὲ Σεπφοριτῶν εἰς Ἀσωχὶν καταβάντες), and on the plain (*Life*, 41, 45), and so undoubtedly in the modern valley *el-Battôf*. For conjectures about its situation, see Robinson, *Later Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, p. 111; also *Biblical Researches*, iii. 201–204. Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 494–497. Compare also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 760; Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 121.

⁷ Ἀσωφών, not otherwise known. Perhaps the same as פֶּסֶף of Josh. xiii. 27. Compare Grätz, iii. 124; Hitzig, ii. 478.

cross. Alexander allowed them peacefully to accomplish this, because he hoped more completely to destroy them when once they had all come over. On both sides they fought bravely, and at first the army of Alexander gained some advantage. But then the Egyptian general managed by a clever manœuvre to cause a part of the Jewish army to retreat, and when once a part fled, the rest could no longer hold their ground. The whole Jewish army took to flight; the Egyptians pursued them, continuing the massacre without intermission, "and slew them so long that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter."⁸

The whole country now lay open before Ptolemy. But now Cleopatra sent an army to Palestine, in order to check in time the increasing power of her son. While this army operated in Palestine, Ptolemy succeeded in pressing forward into Egypt. But he was driven out of it again and obliged to return to Gaza, and Cleopatra took possession of the whole of Palestine. When she had the power in her hands, some of her counsellors advised her to unite the land of the Jews again with Egypt. But the representations of her Jewish general Ananias prevailed in getting their scheme set aside, and in inducing her rather to conclude a treaty with Alexander. Ptolemy could no longer maintain his position in the Jewish territory, and so he returned to Cyprus. Cleopatra also withdrew her army from Palestine, and Alexander was again ruler of the country.⁹

He was now in a position to make preparations for other conquests. He began these on the east of the Jordan, for he took Gadara¹⁰ and the strong fortress of Amathus on the

⁸ "Ἔως οὗ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος αὐτοῖς ἡμβλύθη κτείνουσι καὶ αἱ χεῖρες παρείθουσιν; compare generally, Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 4-5.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 1-3.

¹⁰ Gadara, which is well known from the Gospel history, lies south-east of the lake of Gennesareth, then an important Hellenistic city. See details in Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 100-104.

Jordan.¹¹ The former he succeeded in taking only after a two months' siege. Then he turned his attention to the land of the Philistines, conquered Raphia, Anthedon, and finally the city of Gaza, so celebrated in days of old.¹² For a whole year Alexander lay before that city, and at last he obtained the mastery only through treachery, whereupon he plundered it and set it on fire.¹³

The conquest of Gaza must have taken place in B.C. 96, for it was about the same time that Antiochus VIII. Grypos died.¹⁴

No sooner was peace secured with those outside of the nation than conflicts arose within. The incurable dissension of parties which had already cast its shadows over the reign of Hyrcanus, became productive of strife and turmoil during Alexander's reign, especially in matters of internal government. The rabbinical legends tell of disputes between the king and the chiefs of the schools of the Pharisees which were of a very harmless kind, childish wranglings rather than serious contendings. But their tales are so utterly worthless from a historical point of view, that they can find a place here only as evidence of the peculiar lusts and equally peculiar morals of Talmudic Judaism. The hero of these tales is Simon ben Shetach, the celebrated Pharisee, reputed to be a brother of Alexander's wife Salome. Of his doings

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3: μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατακνημένων, afterwards the site of one of the five "conventions" established by Gabinius (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5). According to Eusebius, it lay twenty-one Roman miles south of Pella (Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 219: λέγεται δὲ καὶ νῦν Ἀμαθοῦς κάμη ἐν τῇ Περαιᾷ τῇ κατωτέρᾳ, Πελλῶν διεστώσα σημείοις κα' εἰς νότον). This description corresponds to the situation of the present ruins of Amatha in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, north of Jabbok. See generally: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 2. 1031 f. Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 242. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerl. Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. 364 f.

¹² On Raphia, Anthedon, and Gaza, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 66-74.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 2.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 4.

at court the following are told.¹⁵ There came once 300 Nazarites to Jerusalem in order to present there the prescribed sacrifices. Simon found ways and means to relieve them of the one-half of their burden. But with the other half he could not do so, and therefore he petitioned the king that he should bear the cost, pretending that he himself would bear the expense of the other half. The king agreed to this. But when he discovered that Simon had deceived him he was exceedingly angry, and Simon was obliged to go into hiding in order to escape his wrath. Some time thereafter Parthian ambassadors arrived at the king's court and wished to see the distinguished rabbis. The king turned to the queen, who knew Simon's place of concealment, and urged her to induce her brothers to bring him forth. The queen obtained from him a promise that no injury would be done the high priest, and then urged him to come. No sooner was the agreement come to than Simon entered in and seated himself between the king and the queen, whereupon the following conversation took place between him and the king. The king: "Wherefore didst thou flee?" Simon: "Because I heard that my lord and king was angry with me." The king: "And why didst thou deceive me?" Simon: "I did not deceive thee. Thou didst give thy gold, and I my wisdom." The king: "But why didst thou not tell this to me?" Simon: "If I had told thee, thou wouldest not have given it me." The king: "Wherefore hast thou taken thy place between the king and the queen?" Simon: "Because it is written in the book of Sirach, Exalt wisdom, and it will exalt thee among princes" (Sirach xi. 1).—Thereupon the king ordered to set wine before him, and called upon him to invoke the blessing at table. Simon began: "Thanks be unto God for the nourishment which Jannai and his companions have enjoyed." "Thou

¹⁵ See Derenbourg, pp. 96-98, especially upon *Bereschith rabba*, c. 91. Compare also Grätz, iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 127, 703 f. (note 13).

dost ever continue stiff-necked," said the king; "I have never before in any grace at table heard the name of Jannai." "Could I say," retorted Simon, "we thank Thee for that which we have eaten, when I as yet have received nothing?" The king then gave orders that they should set food before Simon; and when he had partaken of it, he said: "Thanks be unto God for that which we have eaten."

The real conflicts between Alexander on the one hand, and the Pharisees and those of the people who sympathized with them on the other, were of an entirely different and wholly tragic character. The deeper foundations of this strife lay in the general course of development taken by the internal affairs of the nation since the establishment of the Asmonean dynasty. Among the people the Pharisees gained power and influence more and more. The policy of the Asmoneans separated them always farther and farther from the popular movements, and brought them at last into direct antagonism with the nationalist party. It could only be with deep-seated resentment that pious Jews could look on and see a wild warrior like Alexander Jannäus discharging the duties of high priest in the holy place, certainly not with the conscientious and painstaking observance of the ordinances regarded by the Pharisees as divine. Even while he was discharging his priestly office it is said that for the first time they broke out in open rebellion. During the Feast of Tabernacles, when every one taking part in it was required to carry a palm branch (לֵלֶב פֶּלֶאֱלִי) and a citron fruit (אֶתְרוֹג קִיטְרִיֹן) as a festal emblem, Alexander was once, as he stood beside the altar about to offer sacrifice, pelted by the assembled people with the citrons. At the same time they insulted him by calling out that he was the son of a prisoner of war, and was unworthy of the office of sacrificing priest. Alexander was not the man to bear this quietly. He called in the aid of his mercenaries, and 600 Jews were

massacred.¹⁶ The bitterness of feeling created thereby among the people was so great, that only a favourable opportunity was waited for in order to break off the hated yoke.

By his love of war Alexander was soon again involved in further complications. He went forth against the Arab tribes which dwelt east of the Jordan, and of these he made the Moabites and Gileadites tributary. But Amathus, which had once previously been conquered but never very securely held, was now utterly destroyed. He then began hostilities against the Arabian king Obedas; but during the conflict with him in the neighbourhood of Gadara,¹⁷ Alexander fell into an ambuscade, in which he was so sore pressed that he narrowly escaped with his bare life. He went as a fugitive to Jerusalem. But there a poor reception awaited him. The Pharisees took advantage of the moment of Alexander's political weakness to break down his power and influence at home. There was a general rebellion against him, and Alexander had for six full years to fight against his own people with mercenary troops. No less than 50,000 Jews are said to have perished during this period in these civil conflicts. When Alexander's power had been established he held out the hand of peace. But the Pharisees wished to turn the state of affairs to account so as to secure a victory to their party. When therefore Alexander inquired what they wanted from him, and under what conditions they would

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 3.—In the Talmud (*Sukka* 48b) it is related that once a Sadducee poured out the usual libation of water, not on the altar, but on the earth, on account of which the people pelted him with citrons. Alexander's name is not mentioned. Possibly he is intended. But "the narrative of Josephus is not improved by inserting its Talmudic re-echo as giving the motive for the action of the people" (Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, p. 96). So Grätz, iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 128 f., 704 f. (note 13). Derenbourg, p. 98 sq. note.

¹⁷ So Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5. According to the *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 4, it was at Gaulana, the ancient גולנא, east of the lake of Gennesareth

agree to maintain the peace and yield obedience, they said that they wanted only his death. At the same time they called to their aid Demetrius III. Eucärus, a son of Antiochus Grypos, and at that time governor of a portion of Syria,¹⁸—somewhere about B.C. 88.¹⁹

Demetrius arrived with an army. The Jewish national party united themselves with him at Shechem. Alexander was completely beaten, lost all his mercenary troops, and was obliged to flee to the mountains.²⁰ But now it seemed as if among many of the Jews who now attached themselves to Demetrius, the national feeling had again awakened up. They would rather, in a free Jewish state, be subject to an Asmonean prince than be incorporated into the empire of a Seleucid ruler. Six thousand Jews went over to Alexander, and Demetrius was in consequence under the necessity of withdrawing again into his own land. The rest of the Jews who still continued in revolt had no other object than to get rid of Alexander. But they were by him defeated in many battles, and many of them were slain. The leaders of the rebellion at last fled to Bethome or Besemelis, where²¹ they were besieged by Alexander. After the overthrow of the city, Alexander carried them as prisoners to Jerusalem, and there within the city, at least according to the account of Josephus, while he along with his mistresses gave himself

¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 3-4.

¹⁹ More than six years after the conquest of Gaza, B.C. 96, *i.e.* after B.C. 90, but before B.C. 86, for there is a coin of Antiochus XII., who first became ruler after the overthrow of Demetrius III. Eucärus, with the date Seleucid year 227, or B.C. 86-85 (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 1883, p. 437); compare generally on the chronology, above, p. 183.

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 14. 1-2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 4-5.

²¹ The former according to *Antiq.* xiii. 14. 2 ; the latter according to *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 6. Neither of the two is capable of demonstration. For all manner of conjectures, see Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 390 ; Grätz, iii. 131 ; Hitzig, ii. 482.

up to debauchery, he had somewhere about 800 of the prisoners crucified in his own presence, and while they were yet alive caused their wives and children to be slain before their eyes. His opponents in Jerusalem were by these atrocities so paralysed with terror, that they fled during the night to the number of 8000, and during his lifetime kept away from the land of Judea.²²

From this time forward Alexander, throughout his whole reign, enjoyed peace at home. It was not so in the matter of his relations with those outside.

The empire of the Seleucidae then, indeed, lay in its death-throes. Its last convulsions, however, were the occasion of again putting Judea into commotion. Antiochus XII., the youngest of the five sons of Antiochus Grypos, was at this time at war with his brother Philip and the king of the Arabians. When once he resolved to take his way to Arabia through Judea, Alexander Jannäus endeavoured to prevent that by constructing a great wall and trench from Joppa to Capharsaba, and fortifying Joppa with a wooden tower. But Antiochus laid everything low with fire, and made his way through it all.²³

When Antiochus met his death in battle against the king of the Arabians, and that monarch, whose name was Aretas, extended his rule to Damascus, he became from this time forth the most powerful and the most dangerous neighbour of the Jews. On the south and the east Palestine was bounded by districts which lay under the dominion of the Arabs. Very soon Alexander Jannäus also began to have experience of their power. He was obliged by an attack of Aretas to retreat to Adida, within the boundaries of Judea, where he

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 14. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 5-6.

²³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 7.—Capharsaba (כפר סבא), now called *Kefr Saba*, north-east of Joppa, was afterward called Antipatris. See Div. ii. vol. i. p. 130.

suffered a rather serious defeat, and could only by making concessions purchase the withdrawal of the Arabian king.²⁴

More fortunate were the results of the campaigns which Alexander Jannæus during the next three years, B.C. 84–81, carried on in the country east of the Jordan, in order to extend his power in that direction. He conquered Pella, Dium, Gerasa, then advanced again northward and took Gaulana, Seleucia, and at last the strong fortress of Gamala. When, after these exploits, he returned to Jerusalem, he was then received by the people in peace.²⁵

Not long after this, as the result of a drunken debauch, he became sick, and this sickness continued throughout the last three years of his life, B.C. 81–78. He did not, however, abandon his military expeditions until at last, amid the tumult of war, during the siege of the fortress Ragaba he succumbed to his sickness and exertions in B.C. 78.²⁶ His

²⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8.—On Adida, see above, p. 252, and 1 Macc. xii. 38. It lay east of Lydda, and commanded the road from Joppa to Jerusalem. On Aretas and the Arabian kings generally, see Appendix II. at close of the second volume.

²⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8.—The places named all lie east of the Jordan. On Pella, Dium, and Gerasa, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 113–119; Josephus in the *Wars of the Jews* names only Pella and Gerasa, in the *Antiquities* only Dium and Essa, the latter certainly a corruption of the text for Gerasa, since the facts given in reference to both places are clearly identical.—Gaulana is the ancient גולנא, east of the Lake of Gennesareth, from which the province of Gaulanitis takes its name (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 27; 1 Chron. vi. 56). It was even in the days of Eusebius a large village (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 242: καὶ νῦν Γαυλῶν καλεῖται κώμη μεγίστη ἐν τῇ Βαταναίᾳ). But its situation is no longer discoverable.—Seleucia is also often referred to by Josephus in the history of the Jewish war (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6, iv. i. 1; *Life*, 37). According to the *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1, it lay on the Lake Semechonitis, or Lake Merom, therefore in the extreme north of Palestine.—On Gamala, the conquest of which by Vespasian is related in detail by Josephus in *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1, see § 20.

²⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8.—Ragaba lay, according to Josephus, in the district of Gerasa, ἐν τοῖς Γερασσηνῶν ὄροις, therefore east of the Jordan. It can be identified with رَغَب in Perea,

body was brought to Jerusalem, where he was buried with great pomp.²⁷

Of the coins issued by him, those are of special interest which bear the inscription in two languages—

יהונתן המלך || ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

They were known even to the earlier numismatists; but first de Saulcy stated the correct and now generally accepted view regarding them, that the Hebrew inscription supplies us with the Hebrew name of Alexander.²⁸ Jannai is therefore a contraction for Jonathan, not, as was formerly supposed, for Jochanan.²⁹ But if undoubtedly Alexander's name was Jonathan, then the coins of the high priest are to be ascribed to him which bear the inscription

(or ינתן) יהונתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהדים

These high-priestly coins are of the same type as the coins

mentioned in the Mishna, *Menachoth* viii. 3, which produced valuable oil; but can scarcely be the same as 'Εργά, fifteen Roman miles west of Gerasa (Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 216), as Raumer thinks (*Paläst.* p. 255), for the latter must have been long in the power of Alexander Jannäus. Compare generally, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 2. 1041 f.

²⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 1. The monument to Alexander is referred to by Josephus in *Wars of the Jews*, v. 7. 3.

²⁸ See on the coins of Alexander Jannäus generally, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iii. 477-480. Mionnet, *Description des médailles antiques*, v. 562 sq.; *Suppl.* viii. 378. De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque*, pp. 85-93, 105 sq. (he ascribes the coins of the high priest Jonathan to Jonathan the Maccabee). Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 20 f. Reichardt, *Wiener Numismat. Monatshefte*, iii. 1867, pp. 109-111. De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 238 sq. Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, 306-308. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii. 1876, pp. 197-201 and 201-206 (see below, note 30). Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 83-90. Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Paläst. Ver.* vii. 1884, p. 212.

²⁹ Compare Ewald, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1855, p. 650; *History of Israel*, v. 386. Levy, p. 115. Derenbourg, p. 95, note. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 85, note.

of John Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The bilingual royal coins are a novelty introduced by Alexander.³⁰

By the conquests of Alexander the boundaries of the Jewish state had now been extended far beyond the limits reached by John Hyrcanus. In the south, the Idumeans had been subdued and judaized. In the north, Alexander's dominion reached as far as Seleucia on the Lake Merom. The sea-coast, on which Joppa had been the first conquest of the Maccabees, was all now completely under Jewish rule. With the single exception of Ascalon, which had been able to maintain its independence, all the coast towns were conquered by Alexander, from the borders of Egypt as far as Carmel.³¹ But also the country east of the Jordan, from the Lake Merom to the Dead Sea, was wholly under his sway; among them a number of the more important towns, which had previously been centres of Greek culture, such as Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Dium, and others.³²

³⁰ Of the high-priest coins with the name in its contracted form, ינתן, many are copied in the royal coins of Alexander. Merzbacher therefore ascribes all with the designation ינתן to Alexander's successor Hyrcanus II. But much as this hypothesis was favoured by an examination of the coins, it must still be left undecided, since it cannot be proved that Hyrcanus II. had the name of Jonathan.

³¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4, expressly mentions as then in the possession of the Jews: Rhinocorura, south of Raphia on the Egyptian coast, Raphia, Gaza, Anthedon, Azotus, Jamnia, Joppa, Apollonia, Straton's Tower; see *Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 66-87*. But Dora also must have belonged to the domain of Alexander; for Straton's Tower and Dora had previously belonged to a tyrant Zoilus, who had been subdued by Alexander (*Antiq.* xiii. 12. 2 and 4). On the other hand, it is not by accident that Ascalon is wanting. It was from B.C. 104 an independent city, as the era used by it and the acknowledgment of its freedom by the Romans prove; see *Div. ii. vol. i. p. 74*.

³² Josephus, in *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4, gives a summary sketch of the extent of the Jewish territory at the death of Alexander. Compare in addition, Tuch, *Quaestiones de Flavii Josephi libris historicis*, Lips. 1859, pp. 12-19. See also for further particulars the list of places taken by the Arabs in *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 4, *fin.*—A similar sketch, according to a document independent of Josephus, is given by the Byzantine chronicler Syncellus, ed.

This work of conquest, however, proved at the same time a work of destruction. It did not lead, as once the conquests of Alexander the Great had done, to the furtherance, but to the extinction of Greek culture. For in this respect Alexander Jannäus was still always a Jew, who subjected the conquered territories, as far as they went, to Jewish modes of thought and manners. If the cities in question would not consent to this, they were laid waste.³³ Such was the fate that befell the great and hitherto prosperous coast towns, and the Hellenistic cities on the east of the Jordan. The Romans, Pompey and Gabinius, were the first to rebuild again those ruins, and reawaken in them a new prosperity.

Dindorf, i. 558 sq. On the value of this report, see Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, Bd. i. (1880) pp. 256-258. Syncellus refers first of all to Julius Africanus, but he again to an older Jewish document, probably the work of Justus of Tiberias (see above, p. 68). He names several cities which are omitted by Josephus, e.g. Abila, Hippos, Philoteria. The mention of Philoteria is specially important, because the place bearing that name is quite unknown in later times. According to Polybius, v. 70, it was in the time of Antiochus the Great one of the most important cities on the lake of Gennesareth (ἡ δὲ Φιλοτερία κεῖται παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην, εἰς ἣν ὁ καλούμενος Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς εἰσβάλλων κ.τ.λ.). Only once again do we meet with the name in Stephen of Byzantium (ἔστι καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας Φιλατέρα, ὡς Χάραξ ἐν ὀγδόῳ χρονικῶν; on Charax, see Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 636 sqq.). Compare also above, p. 196.—An outline map of the Jewish territory of the time of Alexander Jannäus is given in Menke's *Bibelatlas*, Sheet iv.

³³ This is expressly stated in regard at least to Pella, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4: ταύτην δὲ κατέσκαψαν, οὐχ ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη μεταβαλέσθαι.—The fact that such destruction was executed is told in regard to many other cities, or it may be deduced from this, that Pompey and Gabinius had them built again (*Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4, v. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 7, 8. 4. See especially, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 3: τὰς πόλεις πολλὸν χρόνον ἐρήμους γενομένας).

§ 11. ALEXANDRA, B.C. 78-69.

SOURCES.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. Summary in Zonaras, *Annal.* v. 5.

Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 102-112.

The coins in Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 91 sq.

LITERATURE.

JOH. MÜLLER (praeside G. G. Zeltner), *De Alexandra Judaeorum regina tanquam specimine sapientis ex hac gente foeminae.* Altdorffi 1711.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 392-394.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 136-150.

HITZIG, *Geschichte der Volkes Israel*, ii. 488-490.

WELLHAUSEN, *Die Phariseer und Sadducäer* (1874), pp. 97-99.

ACCORDING to the latest expression of Alexander's will, the succession of the throne went to his widow Alexandra, who again nominated her eldest son Hyrcanus high priest.¹ Alexandra, or, as her Hebrew name runs, Salome, B.C. 78-69, was in all respects the direct antithesis of her husband.²

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 1-2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 1.—Only a couple of coins of Alexandra's are known, bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. See de Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 106. Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 23. Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, p. 61. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 70-72. Reichardt, *Wiener Numismat. Monatshefte*, iii. 1867, p. 111 f. Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, 308-310. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii. 1876, 201. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 91 sq.

² On the chronology, see above, p. 272.—On the Hebrew name, see especially Derenbourg, p. 102, for the rabbinical tradition. In Eusebius, *Chronicon ad annum Abr.* 1941, she is called *Alexandra quae et Salina*. In accordance with this see the Armenian translation and Jerome ; see Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 134, 135. So, too, the imitators and continuators of Eusebius, *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 351 (Αλεξ.

While he hated the Pharisees, and was hated by them, she befriended them, and committed to them the helm of government. While he was a despot of the real Oriental type, she was a God-fearing ruler, according to the very ideal of the Pharisees. Her rule, measured by the Pharisaic standard, was faultless.

Alexander, upon his deathbed, is said to have advised his wife to make peace with the Pharisees.³ This may be true, or it may not; this at least is a fact, that Alexandra, from the beginning of her reign, took her stand unhesitatingly on the side of the Pharisees, lent an ear to their demands and wishes, and in particular gave legal sanction again to all the Pharisaic ordinances abolished since the time of John Hyrcanus. During these years the Pharisees were the real rulers in the land. "She had indeed the name of regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as were banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords."⁴ To this period of Pharisaic reaction we may also assign a series

ἀνδρας τῆς Σαλίνας). Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 559 (Σαλίνα ἢ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρα). Accordingly, in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 130, instead of the Σααλίνα of the common text, we should read, not Σαλλίνα, with Gutschmid, but Σαλίνα. Compare also Jerome, comment. on Daniel ix. 24 sqq. (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 687): *Alexandra quae et Salina vocabatur*. Jerome there translates Eusebius, *Demonstr. evangel.* viii. 2; but just where these words occur our Greek text is defective.—Josephus calls her only Alexandra. See further, above, p. 295.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 5.—According to the Talmud, *Sota* 22b, in Derenbourg, p. 101, he is said to have given this advice: "Fear neither the Pharisees nor their opponents, but fear the hypocrites who pretend to be Pharisees, whose deeds are those of Zimri, and who claim a reward like that of Phinehas."

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 2: Πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσε πιθαρχεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων Ἑρκανὸς ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτῆς κατέλυσεν ὃν εἰσήμεναι οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρίαν μαράδοσιν, τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποκατέστησε. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γὰρ φυγάδας οὗτοι κατήγον καὶ δεσμώτας ἔλουν, καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν δεσποτῶν διέφερον. Compare also *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 2.

of triumphs of the Pharisees, of which a report is given in the rabbinical traditions. But the authentic accounts which are given of these in the Festival-Calendar (*Megillath Taanith*, i.e. the list of the joyous days of thanksgiving on which fasting was not to be practised) are so brief and enigmatical, that they afford no satisfactory historical basis. And the quite modern Hebrew commentary thereon gives purely worthless fancies.⁵ Also the statement of the Mishna, that Simon ben Shetach had once caused eighty women to be hanged in Ascalon, cannot be used for this reason, that that celebrated rabbi had no connection with Ascalon.⁶ Historical information is therefore wholly to be derived from Josephus. And the picture of this queen with which he presents us, in respect of vividness leaves nothing to be desired. The Pharisees, conscious of their power, went so far as to cause the execution of the former counsellors of King Alexander who had advised him to massacre the 800 rebels. This despotic proceeding did not involve in ruin the aristocracy of Jerusalem. An embassy representing them, including Alexandra's own son Aristobulus, approached the queen, and besought her to put a stop to the scheme of the Pharisees; and the queen was obliged, whether she wished it or not, to consent thereto.⁷

In her foreign policy Alexandra showed circumspection and energy.⁸ There are, however, no very important political

⁵ On *Megillath Taanith*, see above, p. 163.—The passages in *Megillath Taanith* that here claim attention are § 1, 2, 10, 19, 24. In addition, see Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 567–572 (note 1). Derenbourg, p. 102 sq. For criticism, consult Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, pp. 56–63.

⁶ *M. Sanhedrin* vi. 4.—Derenbourg, at p. 69, refers this to Simon the Maccabee; but there is opposition thereto. On p. 106 he attributes it to Simon ben Shetach. Compare also Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 242. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 146 f.—Ascalon did not indeed belong to the Jewish territory. See above, p. 306.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 2–3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 2 and 6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 2.

events to be recorded during her reign. The most important was a military expedition of her son Aristobulus against Damascus, which, however, ended without result.⁹ The Syrian empire was then in the hands of the Armenian king Tigranes. He assumed a threatening attitude toward the end of the reign of Alexandra. The danger, however, that thus hung over Judea was arrested, partly by Alexandra purchasing peace by bestowing rich presents, partly and mainly by the Romans having just then made a descent under Lucullus upon the empire of Tigranes, which obliged him to abandon his plans in regard to Judea.¹⁰

Upon the whole, Alexandra's reign was looked upon by the people as one of prosperity. There was peace abroad as well as at home. The Pharisees were satisfied; and since they had the people at their bidding, all expressed themselves in favour of the God-fearing queen. In the Pharisaic tradition the days of Alexandra are naturally represented as a golden age, in which even the soil of the land, as if blessed on account of the piety of the queen, enjoyed a truly miraculous fruitfulness. "Under Simon ben Shetach and Queen Salome rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were as large as kidneys, the barley corns as large as olives, and the lentils like golden denarii; the scribes gathered such corns, and preserved specimens of them in order to show future generations what sin entails."¹¹

But the Pharisees were not yet so exclusively in possession of power that the queen, without risk, could depend upon their support alone. The influence of the Sadducean nobles was not altogether broken. And the discontent of this circle was all the more considerable, from the fact that at its head stood Alexandra's own son Aristobulus. The queen must

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3.

¹¹ *Taanith* 23a, in Derenbourg, p. 111.

herself have felt, toward the close of her life, on what a shifting foundation she had built. When, in her seventy-third year, she fell sick of a serious complaint, and intended to bestow the succession to the throne upon her elder son Hyrcanus, Aristobulus thought that the time had now arrived for unfurling the standard of revolt. He succeeded in getting the strongest fortresses into his possession. As the number of his adherents rapidly grew, the elders of the people¹² and Hyrcanus became sorely distressed, and made representations to the queen that it was necessary to adopt measures against him. The queen granted the necessary authority for this, but died even before the war broke out, in B.C. 69.¹³

¹² τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 5-6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 4.—The death of Alexandra occurred in the first half of the year B.C. 69.—Compare above, p. 272.

§ 12. ARISTOBULUS II., B.C. 69-63.

SOURCES.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 7. Zonaras, *Annal.* v. 5-6, a summary from Josephus.
Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 112-118.

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 394-399.
GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4 Aufl. pp. 151-165.
HITZIG, *Geschichte der Volkes Israel*, ii. 490-500.
MENKE'S *Bibelatlas*, Sheet iv., special map of "Judea and Phoenicia according to the Arrangements of Pompey and Gabinius."

THE star of the Asmoneans was now hasting to its setting. After Alexandra's death a war immediately broke out between the brothers Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II., which, after a few years, ended in the Romans taking from the Jews that freedom which they had wrested from the Syrians. Alexandra had died just at the critical moment when the idea had taken possession of her son Aristobulus to grasp for himself the government by force. Her legitimate successor was her eldest¹ son Hyrcanus, who had been already, during the reign of his mother, invested with the office of high priest. He also began to exercise civil government. But his brother Aristobulus was by no means disposed to acquiesce in his plans. He advanced against Hyrcanus with an army. Near Jericho they engaged in a battle, in which many of the soldiers of Hyrcanus went over to Aristobulus, and thus secured for him the victory. Hyrcanus fled to the citadel of Jerusalem, but

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 2, xiv. 1. 3, 3. 2.

was obliged there to surrender to Aristobulus. A truce was now concluded between the two brothers, according to the terms of which Hyrcanus, who undoubtedly was a weak and indolent character, was to renounce the royal and high-priestly rank, and to resign both to his brother Aristobulus. In return, he was to be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of his revenues.²

By all this the state of affairs had been by no means improved. For now the Idumean Antipater or Antipas, the father of him who was afterwards King Herod, joined in the game.³ His father, who was also called Antipater, had by

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 1.—According to *Antiq.* xv. 6. 4, the reign of Hyrcanus lasted for three months.—Grätz, iii. 154 ; Holtzmann, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 212 ; and Derenbourg, p. 113, are wrong in assuming that Hyrcanus retained the rank of high priest. That this was not the case follows from *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 2 (αὐτὸν δὲ ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως), and is expressly stated in *Antiq.* xv. 3. 1 and xx. 10.

³ In regard to the descent of the family, the most contradictory reports have come down to us. According to Nicolas of Damascus in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3, Antipater is said to be a descendant of the first Jews who returned from Babylon. Since this statement is in contradiction to all other early documents, Josephus is certainly right in treating it as a piece of flattery to Herod on the part of Nicolas of Damascus (*l.c.* : ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζόμενος Ἡρώδῃ). According to Josephus, Antipater was an Idumean of an honourable family (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2 : γένος δ' ἦν Ἰδουμαῖος, προγόνων τε ἕνεκα καὶ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἰσχύος πρωτεύων τοῦ ἔθνους). Justin Martyr gives it as a report current among the Jews that he was an Ascalonite (*Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 52 : Ἡρώδην Ἀσκαλωνίτην γεγόνέναι). And that statement also occurs in Julius Africanus in the more definite shape, that Antipater's father, Herod, had been a temple attendant of Apollo at Ascalon, and that Antipater, as a boy, had been carried off by the Idumeans when they robbed the temple of Apollo, and thus grew up among the Idumean robbers as one of themselves (Julius Africanus, *Epist. ad Aristidem*, in Eusebius' *Hist. Eccles.* i. 7. 11 ; compare i. 6. 2-3 ; also in the *Chronicle* of Julius Africanus, cited by Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 561). The following copy these stories from Julius Africanus : Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 130, ii. 134, 138 ; *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 351, 358 ; Sulpicius Severus, ii. 26 ; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xx. 1, and other Christian writers. Josephus and Julius Africanus are fundamentally agreed as to his Idumean extraction ; only that it was according to Josephus a distinguished one, according to Julius Africanus a

Alexander Jannäus been appointed governor, *στρατηγός*, of Idumea, and his son had now, as it seems, stepped into his place. But the younger Antipater saw clearly that he could assert his position much better under the government of the weak and unmanly Hyrcanus, than under the warlike and active Aristobulus. He therefore set all plans in motion for overturning Aristobulus and restoring again Hyrcanus to the head of affairs. First of all, he managed to win to himself adherents from the most distinguished of the Jews, representing to them that Aristobulus, against all right and fairplay, had seized upon the throne, while Hyrcanus was the legitimate ruler. Then he turned to Hyrcanus, made it appear to him that his life was in danger so long as Aristobulus held the reins of government, and that at once, for his own sake, he must seek his overthrow. The indolent and easy-minded Hyrcanus at first gave him no hearing. But at last Antipater's endeavours were successful. He had also secured the confederacy of the Arabian prince Aretas, who promised that if Hyrcanus fled to him, he should receive him as a friend. Now at length Hyrcanus was induced to listen to the representations of

mean one,—he distinctly emphasizes his poverty. Josephus calls Antipater's father also Antipater; Julius Africanus calls him Herod. In favour of his Ascalon descent are certain allusions of Herod to that city; see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 76. It is further well deserving remark that the names of Antipater and Herod were once to be met with in Ascalon. An Antipatros of Ascalon figures on a tombstone at Athens, *Corpus Inscript. Semit.* t. i. n. 115; a Herod of Ascalon on a tombstone at Puteoli, *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. x. n. 1746. But for the rest, the story told by Julius Africanus reveals such bitter hatred, that we can scarcely get rid of the suspicion of Jewish or Christian prejudice. As Julius Africanus refers in support of the story to the *συγγενεῖς* of Jesus Christ (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 7. 11: τοῦ γοῦν σωτῆρος οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς . . . παρέδωκαν καὶ ταῦτα; compare i. 7. 14: οἱ προειρημένοι δεσπόσυνοι καλούμενοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάφειαν), it would seem to be derived from a Christian source. Stark in his *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, p. 535 f., and Gelzer in his *Julius Africanus*, i. 258—261, strongly support its credibility. Compare also generally, Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 397; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iii. 27.

Antipater. In company with him, he fled by night from Jerusalem, and betook himself to Petra, the capital of Aretas.⁴ To him he gave the promise that, after he had won again the sovereignty, he would restore to him the twelve cities which Alexander Jannäus had taken from the Arabians; while Aretas, on the other hand, undertook to lend him his support in recovering the throne.⁵

In fulfilment of this promise Aretas went forth against Aristobulus with an army, and conquered him in a battle. In consequence of this victory a great part of the army of Aristobulus went over to Hyrcanus, and indeed the people as a whole attached themselves to their old king. Only a few remained faithful to Aristobulus, so that he was obliged to withdraw to the temple mount, where he was besieged by Aretas and Hyrcanus. Of the period of this siege Josephus relates certain episodes which are highly characteristic of the Jewish piety of that time. On the side of Hyrcanus there was a certain Onias, who had attained unto a great reputation by having prayed to God for rain during a great drought, and having had his prayer immediately answered. They wished to make use of this man, or rather of the irresistible power of his prayers, to secure the destruction of the besieged. They conducted him into the camp, and insisted that he should solemnly invoke God's curse upon Aristobulus and his adherents. But instead of doing so, Onias went forth into the middle of the camp and said: "O God, the King of the whole world, since those that stand now with me are Thy people, and those that are besieged are also Thy priests, I beseech Thee that Thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." But the people were so little in sympathy with this

⁴ On Petra as the capital of the Nabatean empire, see Appendix II. at the close of the second volume.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2.

spirit of brotherly love in Onias that they immediately stoned him to death.⁶ In connection therewith Josephus relates also another incident which places the besiegers in a by no means favourable light. The Passover festival came round,⁷ at which the priests who were among the followers of Aristobulus wished at any cost to offer the appointed sacrifices. But they had no animals for sacrifice, and they knew of no other way of procuring such but by obtaining them for payment from the people of Hyrcanus. A thousand drachmas were demanded for the supply. The price was indeed preposterously extravagant. Yet, notwithstanding, the besieged consented to the terms, and passed out the money through an opening in the wall. The besiegers, however, after accepting of the money, still kept the animals to themselves. For this wickedness, as Josephus thinks, retribution soon came upon them. A violent storm burst forth which destroyed all the fruits of the field, so that the *modius* of wheat cost eleven drachmas.⁸

While this was going on, Pompey had meanwhile begun his victorious campaign in Asia.⁹ He had conquered Mithridates in B.C. 66, and had in the same year received the voluntary submission of Tigranes. While he himself now pressed on farther into Asia, he sent Scaurus to Syria in B.C.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 1. The story of the hearing of the prayer of Onias when he once prayed for rain is very vividly depicted in the Mishna, *Taanith* iii. 8. He is there called חוּנִי הַמְּעִיָּל (חֲמִילָה) meaning properly the "circle diviner," because he prayed standing in a circle. Compare also Derenbourg, p. 112 sq.

⁷ It must have been the Passover of the year B.C. 65, for immediately afterwards Scaurus arrived in Judea.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 2. — Compare the rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, p. 113 sq.

⁹ On the war of Pompey in Asia, B.C. 66-62, compare Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 174-180 (*ad ann.* 66-62). E. W. Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 212-220, 226 f. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5 Aufl. iii. 113-154. Peter, *Geschichte Rom's* (2 Aufl.), ii. 161-168.

65.¹⁰ When that general arrived at Damascus he heard of the war between the brothers in Judea, and pushed forward without delay to see how he might turn to account this strife between the rival princes. He had scarcely reached Judea when ambassadors presented themselves before him, both from Aristobulus and from Hyrcanus. They both sought his favour and support. Aristobulus offered him in return four hundred talents; and Hyrcanus could not be behind, and so promised the same sum. But Scaurus trusted Aristobulus rather because he was in a better position to fulfil his engagement, and so decided to take his side. He ordered Aretas to withdraw if he did not wish to be declared an enemy of the Romans. Aretas did not venture to show opposition. He therefore raised the siege, and thereupon Scaurus returned to Damascus. But Aristobulus pursued Aretas on his way homeward, and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat.¹¹

But the Roman favour which Aristobulus had so exerted himself to secure, under the protection of which he believed himself to be safe, soon proved fatal to his wellbeing and that of his country. He himself left no stone unturned in order to win the goodwill of Pompey as well as of Scaurus. He sent Pompey a costly present, a skilfully wrought golden vine worth five hundred talents, which Strabo found still on view at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.¹² But all this could not save Aristobulus, whenever Pompey found it to

¹⁰ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 345, note.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2-3.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 1. The words: τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ δῶρον ἱστορήκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν Πάμῃ κ.τ.λ., are not the words of Josephus, but belong to the quotation from Strabo, as the rest of the context shows. The value of the vine is once again given which Josephus had himself stated before. Josephus might indeed himself have seen it on his first visit to Rome in A.D. 64 or 65. But in that case he would not have failed to mention that this was before the great fire. For in A.D. 69 the Capitol was burnt down (Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 71-72; Suetonius, *Vitell.* 15; Dio Cassius, lxx. 17).

be for his advantage to withdraw his favour and take the side of Hyrcanus. In the spring of B.C. 63, Pompey proceeded from his winter quarters into Syria,¹³ subdued the greater and smaller princes in the Lebanon,^{13a} and advanced by way of Heliopolis and Chalcis upon Damascus.¹⁴ There he was met at one and the same time by representatives of three Jewish parties. Not only did Aristobulus and Hyrcanus appear, but the Jewish people also sent an embassy. Hyrcanus complained that Aristobulus, in defiance of all law, had violently assumed the government; Aristobulus justified his conduct by pointing out the incapacity of Hyrcanus. But the people wished to have nothing to do with either, asked for the abolition of the monarchy and the restoration of the old theocratic constitution of the priests.¹⁵ Pompey heard them, but cautiously deferred any decision, and declared that he would put all things in order when he had accomplished his

¹³ According to Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 7, Pompey passed the winter in the town of Aspis, the situation of which is not known.

^{13a} Among the subdued princes, Josephus mentions in *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2, a Jew, Silas, as tyrant of Lysias. Bacchius Judaeus is probably another petty prince of similar kind, whose overthrow is commemorated on a medal of A. Plautius, edile in B.C. 54. See Reinach, *Actes et conférences de la société des études juives*, 1887, p. cxcvi. sq.; *Les Monnaies juives*, p. 28 sq. For the coins, see also Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, t. ii. 1886, p. 324 sq. The theory of the Duc de Luynes, that Bacchius is the Hebrew name of Aristobulus II. (*Revue numismatique*, 1858, p. 384), is absolutely impossible. Reinach thinks he might rather be identified with that Dionysius of Tripoli mentioned by Josephus in *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2. The order of march here given is an absurdity. Pella is either an interpolation, as Hitzig, p. 496, thinks, or a textual error for Abila. Still it is to be noted that the golden vine of Aristobulus was first brought to Pompey in Damascus (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 1). Josephus indeed tells about it before he relates the previous march of Pompey by Heliopolis and Chalcis to Damascus, which would naturally make it seem as if Pompey had gone twice to Damascus, in B.C. 64 and B.C. 63. But evidently the affair is to be explained thus: that Josephus derived the story of the golden vine from another source, and did not place it in quite the right setting in relation to the main narrative. Compare Niese, *Hermes*, Bd. xi. 1876, p. 471.

¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2. Diodorus, xl. 2nd ed., Müller.

contemplated expedition against the Nabateans. Till then all parties were to maintain the peace.¹⁶

Aristobulus, however, was by no means satisfied with this arrangement, and betrayed his discontent by suddenly quitting Dium, whither he had accompanied Pompey on his expedition against the Nabateans.¹⁷ Pompey grew suspicious, postponed his campaign against the Nabateans, and marched immediately against Aristobulus. He passed by Pella and crossed the Jordan near Scythopolis, and at Corea entered the territory of Judea proper.¹⁸ Thence he sent messengers to Alexandrium, to which Aristobulus had fled, and ordered him to surrender the fortress. After long delay and manifold negotiations, Aristobulus did this, but at the same time went to Jerusalem in order that he might there prepare for resistance.¹⁹ Pompey pursued him through Jericho, and soon appeared in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. But now Aristobulus lost heart. He betook himself to the camp of Pompey, gave him further presents, and promised to surrender to him the city if Pompey would suspend hostilities. Pompey was satisfied with this, and sent his general Gabinius to take possession of the city, while he retained Aristobulus in the camp. But Gabinius returned without having obtained his object, for the people in the city had shut the gates against

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 3.

¹⁷ On the situation of Dium, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 115. On the route of the march of Pompey generally, Menke's *Bibelatlas*, Sheet iv.

¹⁸ On the situation of Corea, see Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iv. 1881, p. 245 f. Also Grätz's criticism of this in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1882, pp. 14–17. Gildemeister rightly identifies it with the Karawa of to-day in Wadi Faria in the valley of the Jordan, scarcely two hours' journey north from Mount Sartaba. The neighbouring fortress of Alexandrium must therefore just have been Mount Sartaba. Pompey thus marched from Scythopolis, in the Jordan valley, directly south to Jericho. In this way the marking of the route of march in Menke's *Bibelatlas*, resting on the older hypothesis, is to be vindicated as quite correct.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 3–4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 4–5.

him. Pompey was so enraged at this that he put Aristobulus in prison, and immediately advanced against the city.²⁰ In Jerusalem opinions were now divided. The adherents of Aristobulus had no wish for peace, and resolved to defend themselves to the utmost. The adherents of Hyrcanus, on the other hand, regarded Pompey as their confederate, and wished to open the gates to him. The latter were in the majority, and succeeded in carrying out their purpose. The city was surrendered to Pompey, who sent in his legate Piso, and without drawing sword took possession of it. But the war faction gathered together on the temple mount and there prepared themselves for resistance.²¹

The temple mount was then, as afterwards, the strongest point in Jerusalem. It presented to the east and the south a sheer precipice. Also on the west it was separated from the city by a deep ravine. Only on the north was there a gradual slope; but even there approach was made almost impossible by the construction of strong fortifications. In this fortress, well-nigh impregnable, the adherents of Aristobulus had now taken refuge, and Pompey, whether he would or not, had to engage upon a regular siege. It was quite evident from the nature of the ground that the north side must be the point of attack. A rampart was thrown up, and on it were placed the great battering-rams and engines of war which they had brought with them from Tyre. For a long time the powerful walls withstood the shock of their blows. At length, after a three months' siege, a breach was made in the wall. A son of the dictator Sulla was the first to make way through it with his troops. Others quickly followed. Then began a frightful massacre. The priests, who were then engaged offering sacrifice, would not desist from the execution

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 6-7. 1. Pompey's camp is also referred to in *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 2.

²¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 2.

of their office, and were hewn down at the altar. No less than 12,000 Jews are said to have lost their lives in this general butchery. It was towards the close of autumn of the year B.C. 63, under Cicero's consulship, according to Josephus on the very day of atonement, according to Dio Cassius on a Sabbath, that this holy city bowed its head before the Roman commander.²²

Pompey himself forced his way into the Most Holy Place, into which only the feet of the high priest had ever before entered. But he left the treasures and precious things of the temple untouched, and also took care that the service of God should be continued without interruption. On the besieged he passed a severe sentence. Those who had promoted the war were beheaded; the city and the country

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 2-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 3-5. Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16. In general matters, also Strabo, xvi. 2. 40, p. 762 sq. Livy, *Epitome*, 102. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9. Appian, *Syr.* 50; *Mithridates*, 106. The day of atonement: τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 3. The Sabbath: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16. Compare Strabo, *l.c.* The day of atonement falls upon the 10th Tishri, or October. That Josephus means this by the term "Fast day," is rendered quite certain when we consider the use of the word among the Jews. See Acts of Apostles, xxvii. 9. Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 4. Philo, *Vita Mosis*, lib. ii. § 4; *de victimis*, § 3; *de septenario*, § 23 [the principal passage]; *legat. ad Cajum*, § 39 (ed. Mangey, ii. 138, 239, 296, 591). Mishna, *Menachoth* xi. *fin.*—The third month, περὶ τρίτου μηνῶς, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 3, is not the third month of the year, either Jewish or Greek, but the third month of the siege, as Josephus expressly says, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 4: τρίτῃ γὰρ μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας; *Wars of the Jews*, v. 9. 4: τρισὶ γούν μηνσὶ πολιορκηθέντες. Herzfeld in Frankel's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 109-115, conjectures that the statement about the day of atonement rests on an error of Josephus, who found in his Gentile documents that the conquest took place on a fast day, which, however, according to the intention of the original writer, did not mean the day of atonement, but the Sabbath, according to a mistaken idea widely spread in the Graeco-Roman world that the Jews fasted on the Sabbath. See, for example, Suetonius, *Augustus*, 76. This is at least possible; and it has also a certain air of probability, from the fact that Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 3, cites among his authorities Strabo, who, in his description of the world, xvi. 2. 40, p. 763, says in regard to

were made tributary (τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιτάττει φόρον).²³ The boundaries of the Jewish territories were greatly curtailed. All the coast towns from Raphia to Dora were taken from the Jews; and also all non-Jewish towns on the east of the Jordan, such as Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Dium, and others; also Scythopolis and Samaria, with the regions around them. All these towns were immediately put under the rule of the governor of the newly-formed Roman province of Syria.²⁴ The contracted Jewish territory was given over to Hyrcanus II., who was recognised as high priest, without the title of king.²⁵

the conquest of Jerusalem: καταλάβετο (scil. Πομπήιος) δ' ὥς φασι, τηρήσας τὴν τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν, ἥνικα ἀπείχοντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παντὸς ἔργου. Here we have, in fact, the Sabbath fast day. The statement of Josephus may thus be quite satisfactorily explained. But in any case it must be maintained that the conquest occurred late in autumn. For the long series of events which took place between the advance of Pompey in the spring of B.C. 63 (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2) and the conquest of the city in the middle of spring, could not possibly have been accomplished within so short a space of time. It is therefore plainly impossible that the conquest should have occurred in June, as Grätz, iii. 162, and Hitzig, ii. 498 f., suppose, and they have been led into this mistake in consequence of their erroneous interpretation of the phrase "the third month."

²³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 6.—Compare Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 67: *Cn. Pompeius captis Hierosolymis victor ex illo fano nihil attigit.*

²⁴ Compare on these cities and their condition under the Romans, § 23, I. Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 57–149. The list in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 7, is not complete. He mentions only the most important. Undoubtedly not only did all the coast towns lose their freedom, but also all those towns on the east of the Jordan which afterwards formed the so-called Decapolis. For in almost all the towns of Decapolis coins have been found upon which the Pompeian era is used. Compare the works of Noris, Belley, Eckhel, Mionnet, de Saulcy, referred to in Div. ii. vol. i. p. 57. Pompey was therefore the founder of Decapolis. All the towns belonging to it, as well as Samaria and all the coast towns, owed to Pompey the restoration of their freedom as communes, of which they had previously been deprived by the Jews.

²⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 6–7. Compare *Antiq.* xx. 10: τῷ δὲ Ἰρκανῷ πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερασύνην ἀποδοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψε, διάδημα δὲ φορεῖν ἐκώλυσεν.

After Pompey had made these arrangements for the government of Palestine, he sent Scaurus back as governor of Syria, while he himself hasted away again to Asia Minor, and first of all to Cilicia. He took Aristobulus along with him as a prisoner of war. He had with him also his two daughters and his sons Alexander and Antigonus, the former of whom contrived almost immediately to make his escape.²⁶—When, in B.C. 61, Pompey celebrated his triumph in Rome with great magnificence and display, the Jewish priest-king, the descendant of the Maccabees, was made to march in front of the conqueror's chariot.²⁷ Besides Aristobulus and his family, Pompey also had with him a great number of Jewish prisoners, who, at a later period being set at liberty, formed the original stock of the Jewish community at Rome, which quickly rose to a position of importance.²⁸

With the institutions of Pompey the freedom of the Jewish people, after having existed for scarcely eighty years, if we reckon it as beginning in B.C. 142, was completely overthrown. Pompey, indeed, was acute enough to insist upon no essential change in the internal government of the country. He suffered the hierarchical constitution to remain intact, and gave the people as their high priest Hyrcanus II., who was favoured by the Pharisees. But the independence of the nation was at an end, and the Jewish high priest was a vassal of the Romans. This result, indeed, was inevitable from the moment the Romans set foot in Syria. For their power was altogether of a different sort from that of the Seleucidae. And even the most powerful of the princes, and one most loved by the people, would have been utterly unable to with-

²⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 5 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 7.

²⁷ Compare the description of the triumph in Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 45 ; Appian, *Mithridates*, 117. Appian conjectures wrongly that Aristobulus had been put to death after the triumph, for this did not take place until B.C. 49. See the following section.

²⁸ Compare Philo, *De legatione ad Cajum*, § 23 (ed. Mangey, ii 568).

stand the continued pressure of the superior forces of the Romans. But the work of conquest was made light to their Western assailants by the fact that the country was torn with internal strifes, and that the contending parties were so blind to their own interests as to seek protection and help from the strangers. There was no longer any trace left of that spirit which had led the people on to victory a hundred years before.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM BY POMPEY TO THE WAR OF HADRIAN.

THE ROMAN-HERODIAN AGE, B.C. 63—A.D. 135.

PALESTINE, if not immediately incorporated with the province of Syria, was at least placed under the supervision of the Roman governor of Syria. Throughout this period, therefore, even more than throughout the previous period, its history became mixed up with that of Syria, and therefore here again we shall require to prefix a summary sketch or brief survey of the history of that country.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF SYRIA, B.C. 65—A.D. 70.

SOURCES.

For the period of the Republic and the Civil Wars, B.C. 65–30, the chief original sources are JOSEPHUS, DIO CASSIUS, APPIAN, CICERO, and PLUTARCH.

For the period of the Empire, B.C. 30—A.D. 70: JOSEPHUS, DIO CASSIUS, TACITUS, and SUETONIUS.

LITERATURE.

NORIS, *Cenotaphia Pisana Caii et Lucii Caesarum dissertationibus illustrata*.¹ Venetiis 1681.—A list of the governors of Syria from A.U. 707–822, or B.C. 47 to A.D. 69, is given in *Dissertation* ii. c. 16, pp. 267–335.

¹ The two Caesars are the sons of Agrippa and Julia, therefore grandsons of Augustus. The elder, Caius, died in A.D. 4; the younger, Lucius, in A.D. 2.

SCHÖPFLIN, *Chronologia Romanorum Syriae praefectorum*, etc., in *Commentationes historicae et criticae*, Basileae 1741, pp. 465–497.—It treats of the whole period of Pompey down to the Jewish war of Vespasian and Titus.

SANCLEMENTE, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione libri quatuor*. Romae 1793, fol.—Sanclemente gives in lib. iii. 3–4, pp. 330–349, a list of the governors of Syria from M. Titius under Augustus to Cn. Piso under Tiberius. Consult especially lib. iv. 3–6, pp. 413–448, on Quirinius and his taxing.

BORGHESI, *Sul preside della Siria al tempo della morte di N. S. Gesù Cristo*, 1847; reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes de Bartolomeo Borghesi*, vol. v. 1869, pp. 79–94.

ZUMPT, *De Syria Romanorum provincia ab Caesare Augusto ad T. Vespasianum*, in *Commentationes epigraphicae*, Part ii. 1854, pp. 71–150. Compare also, Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1869, pp. 20–89.

GERLACH, *Die römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa von 69 vor Christo bis 69 nach Christo*. Berlin 1865.

MOMMSEN, *De P. Sulpicii Quirinii titulo Tiburtino*, in *Res gestae divi Augusti*, 2 Aufl. 1883, pp. 161–182.

MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i., 2 Aufl. 1881, pp. 415–422, gives a short list of governors.

KELLNER, *Die römischen Statthalter von Syrien und Judäa zur Zeit Christi und der Apostel* (*Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, 1888, pp. 460–486).—Treats of the governors of Syria from B.C. 44 to the destruction of Jerusalem.

On the organization and history of the province of Syria generally, see KUHN, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, Bd. ii. 1865, pp. 161–201.—Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., 2 Aufl. pp. 392–430.—MommSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. v. 1885, pp. 446–552. Compare also, Bormann, *De Syriae provinciae Romanae partibus capita nonnulla*. Berol. 1865.

On the constitution of the Roman provinces generally, see Rein, art. *Provincia* in Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* vi. 142–155.—Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs bis auf die Zeiten Justinians*, 2 Bde. 1864–1865.—Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., 2 Aufl. 1881, pp. 497–567.—Compare also MommSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1 (1887), pp. 590–832.

In connection with the Roman, Jewish, and New Testament history, the history of the province of Syria is treated of in the comprehensive

work of Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, London 1865. It embraces the period from B.C. 70 to A.D. 70.—In the Index also under *Syria* there is given a list of the governors.

The Roman history generally is treated of in the form of chronological tables in : CLINTON, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. ; *Fasti Romani*, vol. i.—E. W. Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln von Roms Gründung bis auf Augustus' Tod*, Altona 1846.—Compare also the well-known works of Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. iii. (5 Aufl. 1869), from Sulla's death to the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 78–46.—Peter, *Geschichte Roms*, Bd. ii., 2 Aufl. 1866, Bd. iii. 1867, Bd. iii. 2, 1869, to the death of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 180.—For the period of the Republic : Drumann, *Geschichte Roms in seinem Uebergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung, oder Pompeius, Cäsar, Cicero und ihre Zeitgenossen*, 6 Bde. 1834–1844. Ludwig Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, Bd. iii., 2 Aufl. 1876, treats of the transition from the republic to the monarchy.—For the period of the Empire : Höck, *Römische Geschichte vom Verfall der Republik bis zur Vollendung der Monarchie unter Constantin*, Bd. i. in 3 Abtheil. 1841–1850 ; reaches only to the death of Nero. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bd. i. in 2 Abtheil. 1883, down to Diocletian ; Bd. ii. 1887, down to Theodosius the Great.

The Syrian history during this period falls naturally into two divisions, the one embracing the Period of the Republic, the other the Period of the Empire.

I. THE PERIOD OF THE DECAY OF THE REPUBLIC,

B.C. 65–30.

1. *Syria under the predominating Influence of Pompey*,

B.C. 65–48.

M. Aemilius Scaurus, B.C. 65, 62.

Sent by Pompey, he arrived at Damascus in B.C. 65, where previously Lollius and Metellus had been stationed (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2 ; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 346). From B.C. 64 to B.C. 63 Pompey him-

self was in Syria. He arrived there in B.C. 64, during the consulship of L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus (Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 6). He passed the winter in Aspis (Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 7). He took the city of Jerusalem in B.C. 63, and went in B.C. 62 to Italy (Clinton and Fischer, under the year B.C. 62). On his departure, Pompey left Scaurus in Syria (Appian, *Syr.* 51; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 5). This governor carried on to its close the campaign against the Arabian prince Aretas, contemplated by Pompey (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 1). Reference is made to this on the coins bearing the inscription *Rex Aretas, M. Scaurus, Aed. cur., ex S. C.* (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* v. 131; Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, t. i. 1885, p. 120 sq.).—A decree of the Tyrians in honour of Scaurus is communicated by Renan in *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 533 sq. From Joppa Scaurus took with him the skeleton of the sea monster to which Andromeda had been fastened (Pliny *Historia Naturalis*, ix. 5. 11).—Compare, in reference to Scaurus generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, i. 28–32; Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* i. 1, 2 Aufl. pp. 372–374; Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, ii. 185 ff.; Gaumitz, *Leipziger Studien zur class. Philologie*, Bd. ii. 1879, pp. 249–289, especially p. 259.

Marcius Philippus, B.C. 61–60.

According to Appian, *Syr.* 51, between Scaurus and Gabinius, Marcius Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus were, for two years each, governors of Syria (τῶνδε μὲν ἑκατέρῳ διετὴς ἐτρίφθη χρόνος), both with praetorian power. Seeing that Gabinius arrived in Syria in the beginning of B.C. 57, we must assign to Marcius Philippus the years B.C. 61–60, and to Lentulus Marcellinus the years B.C. 59–58. Compare Clinton, iii. 346, against Noris, p. 223, and Schöpflin, p. 466, who give to both only the two years B.C. 59–58. The correct statement is also given in: Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, n. 101,

103 ; Godt, *Quomodo provinciae Romanae per decennium bello civili Caesariano antecedens administratae sint* (Kiel 1876), pp. 7, 8.

Lentulus Marcellinus, B.C. 59–58.

Compare what is said above. He too, like his predecessor, had still to carry on the war against the Arabians (Appian, *Syr.* 51).

A. Gabinius, B.C. 57–55.

On account of the constant disturbances caused in Syria by the Arabs, it was resolved in B.C. 58 to send thither immediately a proconsul (Appian, *Syr.* 51), and indeed first of all they sent A. Gabinius, one of the consuls of the year B.C. 58 (Plutarch, *Cicero*, c. 30), who therefore arrived in Syria in the beginning of B.C. 57.²—He used his power in an exceedingly oppressive and tyrannical manner (Dio Cassius, xxxix. 55, 56). Cicero also speaks frequently of his boundless rapacity. For example, it is declared in *Pro Sestio*, c. 43 : “*Gabinium haurire cotidie ex paratissimis atque opulentissimis Syriae gazis innumerabile pondus auri, bellum inferre quiescentibus, ut eorum veteres illibatasque divitias in profundissimum libidinum suarum gurgitem profundat.*” In *De provinciis consularibus*, c. 4 : “*In Syria imperatore illo nihil aliud [neque gestum] neque actum est nisi pactiones pecuniarum cum tyrannis, decisiones, direptiones, latrocinia, caedes.*”—Gabinius was a favourite and an unswerving adherent of Pompey, and therefore when Pompey came into conflict with the senate he took the side of his patron, as he showed, for example, in his

² For the consuls and praetors went then to the province immediately after the expiry of their terms of office. This was first changed in B.C. 52, when it was determined that five years must always elapse. Compare Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. (2 Aufl. 1881) p. 522.

Egyptian campaign. He had engaged, as early as B.C. 56,³ in an expedition against the Parthians, well fitted to serve the interests of the republic, when he received instructions from Pompey to reinstate King Ptolemy Auletes, who had been driven out of Alexandria by a popular revolt. Ptolemy himself gave to this command the necessary stimulus by a present of 10,000 talents. These two reasons moved Gabinius more powerfully than the contrary wishes of the senate, and the existing law which forbade the proconsul to overstep the limits of his province. He suspended his operations against the Parthians, pushed forward to Egypt, and conquered the Egyptian army. In this campaign young Marc Antony, the future triumvir, distinguished himself. King Ptolemy was restored to his throne in the beginning of the year B.C. 55 (Dio Cassius, xxxix. 56–58 ; Cicero, *in Pison.* c. 21 ; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 6. 2 ; Plutarch, *Anton.* c. 3 ; Appian, *Syr.* 51 ; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 244, 247). He was therefore at Rome on this account, mainly at Cicero's instigation, in B.C. 55, accused *de majestate*. The trial was already going on when he, in September B.C. 54, after the province had been meanwhile transferred to Crassus, arrived in Rome (Cicero, *ad Quint.* iii. 1. 5–7). His wealth and the influence of Pompey prevailed in securing for him a favourable judgment in this matter ; but on account of his boundless oppressions he was sentenced to exile, although now Cicero himself, induced to do so by Pompey, pled on his behalf (Dio Cassius, xxxix. 59–63, cf. 55 ; Appian, *Syr.* 51 ; *Civ.* ii. 24 ; Cicero, *ad Quint.* fr. iii. 1–4 ; *pro Rabirio Postumo*, cc. 8 and 12). — Compare on Gabinius generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, iii. 40–62 ; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* iii. pp. 565–571.

³ From this indication of the time we reach the conclusion that the reinstatement of Ptolemy took place in the beginning of B.C. 55, probably in March. Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 247.

M. Licinius Crassus, B.C. 54–53.

In the year B.C. 60, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus had formed what is called the first Triumvirate. In B.C. 56 this arrangement was renewed upon their meeting together at Luca. The result of this was that in B.C. 55 two of the triumvirs, Pompey and Crassus, obtained the rank of consuls. While they held the consulship, Pompey undertook the administration of Spain, Crassus that of Syria, to be entered upon by each in B.C. 55 (Dio Cassius, xxxix. 33–36 ; Livy, *Epitome*, 105 ; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 52 ; *Crassus*, 15 ; Appian, *Civ.* ii. 18). Crassus started from Rome and went to Syria in November B.C. 55, even before the expiry of his consulship (see Clinton, *ad ann.* B.C. 54 ; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 250).⁴—In B.C. 54 he fitted out an expedition against the Parthians, and pressed forward till he had crossed the Euphrates, but he then turned back and spent the winter in Syria. In the spring of B.C. 53 he renewed his campaign, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, but suffered a serious defeat, and was obliged to withdraw to Carrae. When he could not even here maintain his ground, he continued his retreat, and had reached as far as the Armenian mountain land when the Parthian general Surena offered him terms of peace on the condition that the Romans should confine themselves to the districts on the other side of the Euphrates. Crassus was obliged to agree to these terms ; but when going to a conference with Surena, accompanied by a small retinue, he was treacherously set upon by the Parthian troops and murdered in B.C. 53 (according to Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 465 : *V. Idus Junias*, or 9th June ; see Clinton and Fischer, *ad ann.* B.C. 53). Many

⁴ He cannot, however, have entered Syria in the beginning of the year, since he sent forward a subordinate to take over the province from Gabinius, who was sent away unrecognised by Gabinius (Dio Cassius, xxxix. 60).

of his people were taken prisoners by the Parthians: part succeeded in making their escape; another part had even before this returned to Syria under the leadership of the quaestor Cassius Longinus (Dio Cassius, xl. 12–27; Plutarch, *Crassus*, 17–31; Livy, *Epitome*, 106; Justin, xlii. 4).—Compare on Crassus generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, iv. 71–115, Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* iv. 1064–1068. On the Parthian campaign, Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und Seiner Nachbarländer* (1888), pp. 87–93; and the literature referred to by Gutschmid, p. 171 f.

C. Cassius Longinus, B.C. 53–51.

After the death of Crassus the supreme command in Syria fell to Cassius Longinus. The Parthians now made inroads upon the Roman territory, pressed on in B.C. 51 as far as Antioch, but were fortunately again driven back by Cassius in autumn of B.C. 51 (Dio Cassius, xl. 28–29; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3; Livy, *Epitome*, 108; Justin, xlii. 4; Cicero, *ad Atticum*, v. 20; *ad Familiares*, ii. 10; *Philipp.* xi. 14; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 117 f.; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* ii. 194 ff. On the chronology, see especially, Fischer, *Zeittafeln*, p. 260 f.).⁵

M. Calpurnius Bibulus, B.C. 51–50.

Cassius Longinus was succeeded by Bibulus (according to Cicero, *ad Familiares*, ii. 10; *ad Atticum*, v. 20; Dio Cassius, xl. 30). He is called *Λεύκιος Βύβλος* in Appian, *Syr.* 51. But from the testimony of Cicero, *ad Familiares*, xii. 19, xv. 1 and 3, and Livy, *Epitome*, 108, and Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 31, it is put beyond dispute that he was M. Bibulus, the

⁵ Cicero was then (August B.C. 51–July B.C. 50; compare Fischer, *Zeittafeln*, pp. 262, 299) proconsul of Cilicia, and boasted of having had something to do with the expulsion of the Parthians (compare especially, *ad Familiares*, xv. 1–4).

colleague of Caesar in the consulship in B.C. 59.—He arrived in Syria in autumn of the year B.C. 51 (Cicero, *ad Atticum*, v. 18 and 20).—He also had still trouble with the Parthians (compare Cicero, *ad Familiares*, xii. 19), but was able to rid himself of it in great measure by stirring up internal feuds among them. According to Dio Cassius, xl. 30, these civil conflicts took place as early as B.C. 51, during the consulship of M. Marcellus and Sulp. Rufus. Compare Cicero, *ad Atticum*, vii. 2, *sub fin.*: *Parthi repente Bibulum semivivum reliquerunt.*—Cicero, who at this same time administered the neighbouring province of Cilicia, in *ad Atticum*, vi. 1. 13, mentions Bibulus among those who in the administration of their province “*valde honeste se gerunt.*”—Compare also Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 264 f. On Bibulus generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 97–105; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* ii. 101 f.

Vejento, B.C. 50–49.

“*Bibulus de provincia decessit, Vejentonem praecepit.*” So writes Cicero in the beginning of December B.C. 50 (*ad Atticum*, vii. 3. 5).

Q. Metellus Scipio, B.C. 49–48.

When, during the first days of the year B.C. 49, the civil war between Caesar and Pompey broke out, the provinces had just been partitioned among the Pompeian party, and the province of Syria had been conferred on the father-in-law of Pompey, Q. Metellus Scipio, who had held the consulship in the year B.C. 52 (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* i. 6; compare Cicero, *ad Atticum*, ix. 1).—Toward the end of B.C. 49 he withdrew from Syria two legions for the support of Pompey, and wintered with them in the territory of Pergamum (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 4 and 31). In the following year he proceeded to Macedonia, and joined Pompey shortly before the battle of Pharsalia (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 33, 78–82). In the battle

of Pharsalia he commanded the centre of Pompey's army (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 86).—Compare on Metellus Scipio generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 44–49; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* ii. 32–34.

2. Syria during the Time of Caesar, B.C. 47–44.

Sextus Caesar, B.C. 47–46.

After the battle of Pharsalia, 9th August B.C. 48, Caesar followed Pompey by sea to Egypt, which he reached in the beginning of October, shortly after the assassination of Pompey, which had taken place on the 28th September. Contrary to expectation, he became involved in Egypt in a war with King Ptolemy, which detained him there for nine months (Appian, *Civ.* ii. 90). Not till the end of June B.C. 47 could he get away from Egypt, and then he went as speedily as possible (Dio Cassius, xlii. 47: *τάχει πολλῶ χρησάμενος*) through Syria to Asia Minor in order to make war upon Pharnaces, king of Pontus (*Auct. de Bell. Alexandr.* c. 33, 65 ff.; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49, 50; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 35; Appian, *Civ.* ii. 91).⁶ Hitherto Syria, as it would seem, had been left very much to itself. Now for the first time, during his short visit to the province (according to Cicero, *ad Atticum*, xi. 20, Caesar was at Antioch in the middle of July B.C. 47), Caesar organized the administration of Syria by setting up a relative of his own, Sextus Caesar, as governor (*Bell. Alexandr.* c. 66; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 26; compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 2).—Many cities of Syria then obtained from Caesar important privileges, and, in

⁶ Caesar journeyed by sea from Egypt to Syria, and from Syria to Cilicia; compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 3, 9. 1. *Auct. de Bell. Alexandr.* 66: *eadem classe, qua venerat, proficiscitur in Ciliciam*. In an earlier passage, *Bell. Alexandr.* 33: *sic rebus omnibus confectis et collocatis ipse itinere terrestri profectus est in Syriam*, the words *itinere terrestri* ought to be struck out.

consequence, began reckoning from a new era, the *aera Caesariana*; so, *e.g.*, Antioch, Gabala, Laodicea, Ptolemais (see Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, ed. Lips. pp. 162 sqq., 270 sqq., 293 sqq., 424 sqq.; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iii. 279 sqq., 313 sqq., 315 sqq., 423 sqq.). Compare *Bell. Alexandr.* 65: *commoratus fere in omnibus civitatibus, quae majore sunt dignitate, praemia bene meritis et viritim et publice tribuit.* Marquardt. *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 397.

Caecilius Bassus, B.C. 46.

While Caesar in the spring of B.C. 46 had still to fight in Africa with the party of Pompey, a Pompeian, Caecilius Bassus, sought to secure to himself the governorship of Syria. He was indeed beaten by Sextus, but he succeeded in getting the governor put out of the way by assassination, won over the soldiers to his side, and made himself master of Syria (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 26-27; Livy, *Epitome*, 114; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 1. Diverging in points of detail, Appian, *Civ.* iii. 77, iv. 58, with whom Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 125-127, and Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* ii. 36 f., agree).

C. Antistius Vetus, B.C. 45.

In opposition to Caecilius Bassus the party of Caesar was headed by Antistius Vetus. In autumn of the year B.C. 45 he besieged Bassus in Apamea, but could gain no decided advantage over him, because the Parthians brought assistance to Bassus (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 27. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 1. The date is given by Cicero, *ad Atticum*, xiv. 9. 3, and Dio Cassius, xlvii. 27, as διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα).

L. Statius Murcus, B.C. 44.

In order to put down Caecilius Bassus, Caesar sent probably in the beginning of B.C. 44 L. Statius Marcus to

Syria with three legions.⁷ He was supported by the governor of Bithynia, Q. Marcius Crispus, who also had three legions under his command. By both Bassus was again besieged in Apamea (Appian, *Civ.* iii. 77, iv. 58; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 27; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 1. Compare Strabo, xvi. p. 752).

3. *Syria under the Administration of Cassius, B.C. 44–42.*

C. Cassius Longinus, B.C. 44–42.

Affairs took a new turn in consequence of the murder of Caesar on 15th March B.C. 44. Among the conspirators who accomplished that deed was, besides Brutus, the celebrated C. Cassius Longinus, the same man who, in the years B.C. 53–51, had successfully defended Syria against the attack of the Parthians. He had been already nominated by Caesar as governor of Syria for the year B.C. 43 (Appian, *Civ.* iii. 2, iv. 57). But after Caesar's death Marc Antony contrived it so that Syria was given to Dolabella, and another province, possibly Cyrene, to Cassius (Appian, *Civ.* iii. 7–8, iv. 57). Cassius, however, did not agree to these arrangements, but went to Syria as the province assigned to him by Caesar. He arrived there in the end of the year B.C. 44, before Dolabella had made his appearance (Appian, *Civ.* iii. 24, iv. 58; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 21, 26).^{7a}—At the time of his arrival Caecilius Bassus was still under siege by Statius Murcus and Marcius Crispus in Apamea. He succeeded

⁷ From Cicero, *ad Familiares*, xii. 19, we learn that Caesar once nominated Q. Cornificius as governor of Syria. Cicero writes to Cornificius as follows: *Bellum, quod est in Syria, Syriamque provinciam tibi tributam esse a Caesare ex tuis litteris cognovi.* As the letter is not dated, it cannot be used as determining anything further as to the time. In any case, that seems to have been a plan that was never carried out.

^{7a} On the negotiations in regard to the provinces during the year B.C. 44, see further details in Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, i. 139–144, ii. 123 f. Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* ii. 196 f. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, iii., 2 Aufl. p. 498 ff. Krause, *Appian als Quelle für die Zeit von der Verschwörung*

in winning over to himself the two besieging generals, whereupon also the legion of Bassus went over to him. Cassius himself relates to Cicero that this occurred in March and May B.C. 43 (Cicero, *ad Familiares*, xii. 11 and 12. Compare *ad Brutum*, ii. 5; *Philippic.* xi. 12, 30; Appian, *Civ.* iii. 78, iv. 59; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 28; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 2; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 128).—Thus Cassius had considerable fighting power at his command⁸ before Dolabella, who had meanwhile established himself in the interests of Marc Antony in Asia Minor, made his appearance in Syria in B.C. 43, and pressed forward as far as Laodicea, on the sea-coast south of Antioch (Appian, *Civ.* iii. 78, iv. 60; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 29–30). Cassius laid siege to him there (Cicero, *ad Familiares*, xii. 13–15), and compelled him to yield, whereupon Dolabella had his head struck off by a soldier of his bodyguard (Appian, *Civ.* iv. 60–62; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 30; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 129 ff., 514 ff.; Wegehaupt, *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, 1880).—After the defeat of Dolabella, Cassius intended to turn to Egypt, but instead of this was called by Brutus to Asia Minor in B.C. 42.⁹ He therefore left his nephew¹⁰ with a legion

gegen Caesar bis zum Tode des Decimus Brutus, Thl. i. 1879, p. 12 ff. Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 22 ff. Otto Eduard Schmidt, *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, 13, Supplementband, 1884, pp. 700–712.

⁸ Of the three above-named generals, Cassius had at their own wish dismissed Crispus and Bassus, but he retained in his service, with the retention of his former rank, Statius Murcus (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 28).

⁹ Van der Chijs, *de Herode M.* p. 18, has rightly shown, in opposition to Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 328, that Brutus' call to Cassius was given, not in B.C. 43, but in B.C. 42, not till some time after Cicero's death, which took place on 7th December B.C. 43 (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 28), when already Octavian and Marc Antony had formed the plan of passing over to Greece (Appian, iv. 63). On the other hand, he is in error in making Cassius winter in Egypt in B.C. 43–42, since the opposite is proved from Appian, iv. 63. Hitzig, ii. 517, gives the right view. Compare also Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta Societatis philol.* Lips. iv. 1875, p. 251 sq.

¹⁰ His name is unknown. In the battle at Philippi a nephew of

in Syria (Appian, *Civ.* iv. 63), met with Brutus at Smyrna, then undertook an expedition against Rhodes, again joined Brutus at Sardes, and then accompanied him to Macedonia, where, late in autumn of the year B.C. 42, at Philippi, the troops of the conspirators were defeated by Marc Antony and Octavian. Cassius, as well as his confederate Brutus, ended his life by his own hand (Appian, *Civ.* iv. 63–138; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 31–49; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 28–53).

4. *Syria under the Rule of Marc Antony*, B.C. 41–30.

Decidius Saxa, B.C. 41–40.

After the battle of Philippi, Octavian went to Italy, while Marc Antony proceeded first of all to Greece and afterwards to Asia (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 23–24). On his march through Asia, Antony met for the first time, in B.C. 41, at Tarsus, Cleopatra, who managed so to fascinate him by her charms, that he followed her to Egypt, where he spent the winter of B.C. 41–40 in inactivity and self-indulgence (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 25–28).—During B.C. 41, before he went to Egypt, he arranged the affairs of Syria,¹¹ exacted on every hand an exorbitant tribute (Appian, *Civ.* v. 7), and left Decidius Saxa as governor (Dio Cassius, xlviii. 24; Livy, *Epitome*, 127).

In the spring of B.C. 40, Antony left Egypt, and in the summer of the same year arrived in Italy, with the intention of engaging in conflict with Octavian; but after some unimportant skirmishing, he concluded with him at Brundisium a treaty, according to which the provinces were to be partitioned between Octavian and Antony, in such a way

Cassius fell, named L. Cassius (Appian, iv. 135). Perhaps this is the same as he who is referred to in the text, as Noris, *Cenot. Pis.* p. 280, conjectures.

¹¹ Where he already had served under Gabinus. See above, p. 331.

that the former should have the West and the latter the East (Appian, *Civ.* v. 52-65; Dio Cassius, *xlvi.* 27-28. The dividing line was at Scodra, now called Scutari, in Illyria, Appian, v. 65). Antony remained for somewhere about a year in Italy, during which time he appointed several vassal kings, among whom was Herod,¹² and then went in autumn of B.C. 39 to Athens (Appian, *Civ.* v. 75-76; Dio Cassius, *xlvi.* 39), where, with several intervals of absence, he remained till the spring of B.C. 36 (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, i. 441 f., 447 f.).

At the time when Antony secured to himself from Octavian the rule over the East, a large portion of the eastern territory, the whole province of Syria, had been taken possession of by the Parthians. These had, in B.C. 42, just about the time when Cassius left Syria (Appian, *Civ.* iv. 63), been invited by Cassius to join a league against Octavian and Antony. But nothing came of that plan then, for the whole programme fell through at Philippi, and the negotiations that had been for a long while under consideration were brought to an end. But Labienus, the chief of the embassy, remained at the Parthian court, and succeeded by his persistent representations in persuading King Orodes at length to make an inroad upon the Roman territory. As early perhaps as the autumn of B.C. 41, at latest in the spring of B.C. 40, a great Parthian army, under the command of Labienus and Pacorus, the son of King Orodes, invaded Syria, and attacked Decidius Saxa, who fell in the battle. He then conquered all Syria, Phoenicia (with the exception only of Tyre), and Palestine,

¹² Appian, *Civ.* v. 75: Ἰσθη δὲ πη καὶ βασιλείας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν, καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας, καὶ ἑτέροισι ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. Also some appointments of later times (B.C. 35) in Dio Cassius, *xlix.* 32. Compare Plutarch, *Antonius*, 36: πολλοῖς ἔχαρξεν τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας ἐθνῶν μεγάλων, ἰδιώταις οὖσι, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφῆρετο βασιλείας.

and finally pressed on to Asia Minor, and even went as far as the Ionian coast (Dio Cassius, xlviii. 24–26; Appian, *Syr.* 51; *Civ.* v. 65; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 30; Livy, *Epitome*, 127).—On the chronology, see especially, Bürcklein, *Quellen und Chronologie der römisch-parthenischen Feldzüge in den Jahren 713–718 d. St.* (*Leipziger Dissertat.* 1879) pp. 49–51. Generally, Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer* (Tüb. 1888), p. 93 ff., and the literature there referred to by Gutschmid.

P. Ventidius, B.C. 39–38.

Toward the end of the year B.C. 40, according to Bürcklein, or, according to the usual reckoning, in B.C. 39, Antony sent P. Ventidius with an army to Asia. This general, in B.C. 39, drove Labienus back to Taurus, and defeated him there in a decisive battle. Labienus was himself taken prisoner and put to death. Ventidius then overran Cilicia, gained a victory over Pharnapates, a general under Pacorus, at Amanus, the mountain boundary between Cilicia and Syria, and took possession now without difficulty of Syria and Palestine (Dio Cassius, xlviii. 39–41; Livy, *Epitome*, 127; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 33).¹⁸—In B.C. 38 the Parthians made a new invasion, but suffered a complete defeat in the district of Cyrestic at the hands of Ventidius. Pacorus was slain in the battle, on the same day on which Crassus had fallen fifteen years before. This gives as the date of the battle V. Idus Junias, or 9th June (Dio Cassius, xlix. 19–20; Livy, *Epitome*, 128; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 34. Compare also Dio Cassius, xlix. 21: ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφοτέρα συνηνέχθη).—Ventidius now went forth against Artiochus of Comagene. While he laid siege to his enemy in Samosata, Antony himself arrived, dismissed Ventidius,

¹⁸ That all this happened during the year B.C. 39, is distinctly stated in Dio Cassius, xlviii. 43, *init.*

and continued the siege. But he met with little success, was satisfied with an apparent submission on the part of Antiochus, and went back to Athens, leaving C. Sosius governor in Syria (Dio Cassius, xlix. 20–22; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 34).—On the chronology, see Bürcklein, *Quellen und Chronologie des röm. parth. Feldzüge*, pp. 51–61.

C. Sosius, B.C. 38–37.

Sosius completed the subjugation of Syria by conquering the Jewish king Antigonus, the confederate of the Parthians, and taking Jerusalem. He then set up Herod as king, who had been nominated before by Antony. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, assigns this to B.C. 38, under the consulship of Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Norbanus Flaccus. But compare what is said under § 14.

In the year B.C. 36 Antony himself again appeared in the East. Wishing to deal a decisive blow at the Parthians, he advanced against them with a great force, but accomplished nothing, and was obliged, after the beginning of the winter, to retire again with heavy losses (compare Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, pp. 97–101).—But before he went forth against the Parthians, in the spring of B.C. 36, he had again met with Cleopatra in Syria. And after his return from that unfortunate expedition, he gave himself up in Leuke Kome, between Sidon and Berytus, to the usual luxurious indulgences in her company (Dio Cassius, xlix. 23–31; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 36–51).—He then followed her, before the end of the year B.C. 36 (Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 358 f.), to Egypt, and remained there till B.C. 33, abandoning himself to unbounded revels and pleasures, which were interrupted only by two short campaigns against Armenia in B.C. 34 and B.C. 33 (Dio Cassius, xlix. 33, 39–41, 44; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 52–53; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, i. 461–467; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* i. 1, 2 Aufl. p. 1178).

During this period and that immediately following, down to the battle of Actium, only two governors of Syria are known to us.

L. Munacius Plancus, B.C. 35.

In B.C. 35, while L. Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls (Dio Cassius, xlix. 18), Sextus Pompeius, who after his defeat by Octavian had fled to Asia Minor, was there put to death. Appian, *Civ.* v. 144, says that it is uncertain whether the order for his execution was given by Antony himself or by Plancus the governor of Syria (εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγουσιν ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἄρχοντα Συρίας). We see from this incidental statement that at this time L. Munacius Plancus was governor of Syria. He was one of the most trusty friends of Antony, but went over to the side of Octavian before the outbreak of the war between that prince and Antony in B.C. 32 (Dio Cassius, l. 3).—Compare also generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, iv. 207–213; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* v. 204–208; Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, ii. 83 ff.

L. Calpurnius Bibulus, B.C. 32–31 (?).

Appian, *Civ.* iv. 38, makes a passing reference to L. Bibulus among the conspirators who subsequently effected a reconciliation with Octavian and Antony. "But Bibulus reconciled himself [with Antony and Octavian] at the same time as Messala, and served under Antony as the commander of a ship, and was often employed in negotiations for peace between Antony and Octavian, and was appointed by Antony governor of Syria, and died while he held the office of governor."¹⁴ Since Bibulus is here said to have

¹⁴ Βίβουλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἄμα τῷ Μεσσάλα, καὶ ἐναυάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ, διαλλαγὰς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου, καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

died during his governorship, but was, according to the evidence of the coins, alive at least in B.C. 33 (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 106), Noris, *Cenot. Pison.* p. 286; Schöppflin, p. 477, and others correctly place his term as governor in the period of the wars between Antony and Octavian. Compare also Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. 105 f.; Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, ii. 92 ff.; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 581. The coins in Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, t. i. 1885, p. 304 sq.

Antony was meanwhile becoming more and more enslaved by the caresses of Cleopatra. He had allowed himself to be persuaded to promise Roman provinces to her and to her children. Thus Cleopatra obtained, among others, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia as far as Eleutherus, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, portions of Judea and Arabia, which were taken away from their kings Herod and Malchus, and, finally, a part of Iturea, the king of which, Lysanias, had been slain (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 8, 4. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18 5; Dio Cassius, xlix. 32; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 36. On the time at which these donations were made, see below at § 15). Cleopatra's son, Ptolemy, whom she had borne to Antony, at a somewhat later period obtained Syria as far as the Euphrates and Phoenicia, while Coele-Syria continued the portion of his mother (so Plutarch, *Antonius*, 54; compare Dio Cassius, xlix. 41). See generally, Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, 2 Aufl. p. 118.—These donations were not indeed confirmed by the senate (Dio Cassius, xlix. 41). And the glory of Antony soon came to an end. After the last Armenian campaign of B.C. 33 he went to Greece. While he was there in B.C. 32 the war between him and Octavian broke out, and in the following year, by the battle of Actium of 2nd September B.C. 31, the power of Antony was finally and completely overthrown.

II. THE PERIOD OF THE EMPIRE, B.C. 30—A.D. 70.

1. *Octavianus Augustus*, B.C. 30—19th August A.D. 14.*Q. Didius*, B.C. 30.

After the battle of Actium, Antony fled to Egypt. Octavian pursued him, but was obliged, on account of the unfavourable season, to pass the winter in Samos (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 17). It was not until the year B.C. 30 that he made a land journey through Asia and Syria (*Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit*, Suetonius, *Augustus*, 17) to Egypt, where, on 1st August B.C. 30, before the gates of Alexandria, he engaged in a battle in which Antony was beaten, while at the same time his fleet went over to Octavian. In consequence of this, Antony and Cleopatra took away their own lives, and Octavian became supreme and absolute sovereign over the whole of the Roman empire (Dio Cassius, li. 1–14; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 69–86. Compare Clinton, *ad ann.* 30; Fischer, *Zeittafeln*, p. 370 f.).

During the period that elapsed between the battle of Actium and the death of Antony, from September B.C. 31 to August B.C. 30, a certain Q. Didius is said to have been governor of Syria. He incited the Arab tribes to burn the ships which had been built for Antony in the Arabian Gulf, and prevented the gladiators, who sought to proceed from Cyzicus to the aid of Antony, from passing over into Egypt, in which King Herod also lent him assistance (Dio Cassius, li. 7; Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7).—It seems that this Didius had been appointed by Antony; but after the battle of Actium, when he saw that the cause of Antony was lost, he joined the party of Octavian.

Toward the end of B.C. 30 Octavian returned back again from Egypt to Syria, and now for the first time had affairs

there thoroughly well arranged (Dio Cassius, li. 18). The winter of B.C. 30–29 was spent by Octavian in Asia.

M. Messala Corvinus, B.C. 29.

Those gladiators whom Didius had prevented from taking part in the campaign in Egypt, were driven about into various places, and ultimately slain by Messala, *i.e.* M. Messala Corvinus, consul of the year B.C. 31 (Dio Cassius, li. 7). Messala must therefore have been governor of Syria after Didius.

M. Tullius Cicero, B.C. 28 (?).

From Appian, *Civ.* iv. 51, we know that M. Tullius Cicero, the son of the great orator, after he had held the office of consul for the year B.C. 30, was appointed governor of Syria. But nothing can with certainty be said about the time of his administration. Schöpfung, p. 478, and Zumpt, ii. 74 sq., make him follow immediately after Messala. Mommsen was formerly disposed to set him down in the period following the year 741 A.U., or B.C. 13 (*Res gestae divi Augusti*, 1 Aufl. p. 114 f.), but now leaves the date of his governorship undetermined (*Res gestae*, 2 Aufl. p. 165). The words of Appian are at least favourable to the view of Schöpfung and Zumpt.¹⁵ The inscription on which Cicero is mentioned as governor of Syria (Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 572) has now been proved to be not genuine (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. x. falsae n. 704 *; Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, p. 165,

¹⁵ 'Ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως, ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν.— Augustus had now the opportunity of making up to the son for the wrong done to his father, and he sought to do so as soon and as completely as possible. He would therefore give him a province as soon as he could after his consulship, and not allow seventeen years or more to pass.

note).—Compare generally, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, vi. 711–719; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* vi. 2. 2232 ff.).

In B.C. 27 the well-known partition of the Roman provinces between Augustus and the senate was carried out. Augustus had hitherto administered all the provinces through his legates. But now he gave a part of them back to the senate, reserving to himself only the more important, that is, those which were most difficult to manage. Among the latter was Syria, which was in itself one of the most important of the provinces, and which, on account of the attacks which were constantly threatened on its eastern frontier, could not be left without a strong military guard.¹⁶

¹⁶ Compare on this partition of the provinces, especially Dio Cassius, liii. 12; also Strabo, xvii. p. 840; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 47.—The more important modifications which Augustus, partly now and partly at a later period (according to Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 380, with reference to the Western Provinces in B.C. 27–24, with reference to the Eastern Provinces in B.C. 22–19), introduced into the administration of the provinces are essentially as follows (compare especially, Dio Cassius, liii. 13–15; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i., 2 Aufl. 1881, pp. 543–557; and Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1. 217–246; comp. also i. 303–308):—

(a) In regard to the senatorial provinces. They were divided into two classes: into those that were administered by such as had been consuls, and into those that were administered by such as had been praetors. Only Africa and Asia were consular provinces, all the rest were praetorian.—All governors, even if but for a year, were chosen by lot. The *lex Pompeia* of B.C. 52, however, required that at least five years should elapse between their holding of the office in the capital and their departure to their province. The interval was frequently longer.—The two consuls to whose turn the appointments came then cast lots for the two consular provinces, Africa and Asia (those to whom the appointments fell were not always the oldest consuls; see Zippel, *Die Lösung der konsularischen Prokonsuln in der früheren Kaiserzeit*, Königsberg, Progr. 1883).—In like manner the praetors chosen for provincial appointments cast lots for praetorian provinces (particulars in regard to them, however, are not certainly known).—The governors of the senatorial provinces had all the title of proconsuls, whether they had before been consuls or only praetors; but the proconsuls of Africa and Asia had twelve lictors, the others only six.—None of the governors of senatorial provinces had an army at their command, but only a small

Varro, down to B.C. 23.

Immediately before Agrippa had been sent to the East (in B.C. 23), a certain Varro is spoken of as governor of Syria (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4). Whether this was one of the otherwise well-known bearers of that name can no longer be determined. It is equally uncertain when he first went to Syria.—Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 75–78, identifies our Varro with the Terentius Varro referred to by Dio Cassius, liii. 25, and Strabo, iv. 6. 7, p. 205, who in B.C. 25, as legate of Augustus, subdued the Salassi, a nation of Gallia Transpadana, and, at least according to Zumpt's conjecture, died in B.C. 24. Zumpt therefore assigns his administration of Syria to the years B.C. 28–26.¹⁷

garrison sufficient for the purpose of maintaining order. An exception was made only in the case of Africa, where a legion was stationed, which, however, was subsequently put under the charge of the legate of Numidia.

(b) In regard to the imperial provinces. They, too, were divided into those administered by such as had been consuls and those administered by such as had been praetors, and, besides, there were some which were administered by simple knights.—All the governors were nominated independently by the emperor, on whose pleasure it depended solely how long their term of office should be.—The governors of consular provinces (to which also Syria belonged), as well as those of praetorian provinces, were called *legati Augusti pro praetore* (Dio Cassius, liii. 13: τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τε ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευόντων ᾧσι, διέταξε. Among the inscriptions is found: LEG · AVG · PR · PR · On later modifications of this rule, see Waddington, *Inscriptions de la Syrie*, Explanations to Nos. 2212 and 2602), and all of them had five lictors (not six, as formerly was supposed, on the ground of a false reading of Dio Cassius; see against that, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i. 308; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 550).—As distinguished from governors of the senatorial provinces, and to indicate their military authority, they had the *paludamentum*, and wore a sword.

¹⁷ In the blank that has hitherto existed between Varro and Agrippa, Zumpt places C. Sentius Saturninus. But inasmuch as Zumpt makes the Tiburtine inscription (see below, under Quirinius) refer to Saturninus, he assumes for that officer two separate terms in the governorship of Syria, of which the first embraced the years B.C. 26–23.

But Josephus affirms decidedly that our Varro was still in Syria when Augustus gifted to Herod the district of Trachonitis,¹⁸ which Zumpt correctly places at the end of B.C. 24 or beginning of B.C. 23. Varro must then have been still in Syria, and so cannot be identical with that Terentius Varro. —On the other hand, Mommsen's view (*Res gestae*, p. 165 sq.), that Varro may have been a legate of Agrippa, is also improbable; for Josephus places Varro in the period preceding that of Agrippa's stay in the East.

M. Agrippa, B.C. 23–13.

In B.C. 23 Augustus sent M. Agrippa, his trusted friend and counsellor, who soon after, in B.C. 21, became his son-in-law, to Syria (Dio Cassius, liii. 32). Josephus describes him as "the representative of Caesar in the countries beyond the Ionian Sea" (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 2: τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι). He had therefore evidently very extensive powers—more than an ordinary *legatus Caesaris*. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 3. 3, he held this position (the διοίκησις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας) for ten years, that is, down to B.C. 13.—Agrippa did not, indeed, go to Syria in B.C. 23, but waited from B.C. 23 to B.C. 21 in Mitylene, on the island of Lesbos, and then returned to Rome (Dio Cassius, liii. 32, liv. 6; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 66; comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 2; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 388, 392). Then he was engaged for five years in the West, and did not again go to the East till B.C. 17 or 16, where he remained till B.C. 13 (Dio Cassius, liv. 19, 24, 28; Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 1–3. 3, *fin.*; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 402–408). He was therefore by no means during the ten years always even in the East, let

¹⁸ Augustus commanded Varro to root out the robber bands of Trachonitis, and at the same time gave the government of the district to Herod. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1: Καίσαρ δὲ ἀνενεχθέντων τούτων ἀντέγραφεν ἐξελεῖν τὰ ληστήρια, τὴν δὲ χώραν Ἡρώδῃ προσέειπεν.

alone in Syria. But since, to use the phrase of Mommsen, Agrippa's position was more that of a *collega minor* than that of an *adjutor* (*Res gestae*, p. 164), he could discharge his official duties *in absentia* by means of legates, and so indeed he actually did send his legates in B.C. 23 from Lesbos (τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους, Dio Cassius, liii. 32) to Syria. He is therefore during this period, at least during B.C. 23–21 and B.C. 17–13, to be regarded as governor of Syria.¹⁹

During the period B.C. 21–19 occurred the two years' visit of Augustus to the East (Dio Cassius, liv. 7–10; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 392–396. Comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4).

M. Titius, about B.C. 10.

About the time when Herod made his third journey to Rome (probably in B.C. 10; see below at § 15, the Chronology of Herod), M. Titius was appointed governor of Syria (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 6). He was consul in B.C. 31.—Nothing more definite can be said about the date of his administration. Compare regarding him, Strabo, xvi. 1. 28, p. 748; Mommsen, *Res gestae div. Aug.* p. 166; Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* vi. 2. 2011 f.

C. Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9–6.

Titius was succeeded by Sentius Saturninus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 1), who had held the office of consul in B.C. 19. Josephus names alongside of him also Volumnius as *Καίσαρος ἡγεμών*. But Volumnius must certainly have been subor-

¹⁹ Mommsen (*Res gestae*, pp. 163–165) regards the statement of Josephus, referred to in the text, as inaccurate to this extent, that Agrippa was clothed with a sort of regency for the whole kingdom, for the West no less than for the East. Yet even Mommsen admits that Agrippa exercised this office of regency at the bidding of the emperor and in the place of imperial legates, sometimes in the East, sometimes in the West. So far the statement of Josephus is not wholly unjustifiable (*aliquatenus excusatur*).

dinate to Saturninus, since the supreme command in a province was always in one hand. Sentius Saturninus is also referred to in Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 8, 11. 3; xvii. 1. 1, 2. 1, 3. 2.

P. Quinctilius Varus, B.C. 6–4.

The immediate successor of Saturninus was Quinctilius Varus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 2), consul in B.C. 13, who at a subsequent period undertook the disastrous campaign against Germany. From evidence afforded by the coins (as shown in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iii. 275; Mionnet, v. 156), it is proved that Varus was governor of Syria in the years 25, 26, 27 of the *aera Actiaca*. The twenty-fifth year of the *aera Actiaca*, as that era begins with 2nd September B.C. 31, extends from autumn B.C. 7 to autumn B.C. 6. Varus must therefore have gone to Syria at least before autumn B.C. 6; but he remained there till after the death of Herod (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3, 10. 1, 10. 9, 11. 1), *i.e.* till the summer of B.C. 4, or longer. Compare in regard to him also, Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 166.

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, B.C. 3–2 (?).

During the period B.C. 3–2 there is no direct evidence about any governor of Syria. But it may be concluded with a fair amount of probability from a passage in Tacitus, that about this time P. Sulpicius Quirinius, consul in B.C. 12, was appointed governor of Syria. Tacitus in the *Annals*, iii. 48, expressly records the death of Quirinius in A.D. 21 (*coss. Tiber. iv., Drus. ii.*), and on that occasion gives the following account of him: *Consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam optinenti.*²⁰ Strabo, xii. 6. 5, p. 569, tells the story of the war with the Homonadensians in the following words: 'Εκείνους δὲ (τοὺς Ὁμονα-

²⁰ The following words: *Tiberium . . . coluerat*, are, according to Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 174 sq., to be connected, not with what goes before, but with what follows.

δέας) Κυρίνιος ἐξεπόρθησε λιμῶ καὶ τετρακισχιλίου ἀνδρας ἐξώγησε καὶ συνώκισεν εἰς τὰς ἐγγυς πόλεις, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀπέλιπεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ. Quirinius therefore had previously conquered the Homonadensians, on account of which the honour of a triumph had been accorded him, and this indeed took place after his consulship in B.C. 12, but before he had been appointed by C. Caesar, his counsellor, on his arrival in Armenia in A.D. 3 (Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 430). But a war could not at any time be carried on except by the governor of that province in which or from which the war was being conducted. Quirinius must therefore have been then governor of that province to which the Homonadensians belonged, or from which the war against them proceeded. Seeing that the Homonadensians occupied the Taurus Mountains, we might have to do with the provinces of Asia, Pamphylia, Galatia, Cilicia, Syria. But of these the first three must be at once set aside, because they had no legions, so that their governors could not carry on a war.²¹ And further, Cilicia was probably at that time only a part of the province of Syria (and with this agrees the judgments of Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 95–98, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 57–61; and Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 172 sq.), at least it was, as also Pamphylia and Galatia were, no consular province, whereas Quirinius led the war against the Homonadensians as one who had been consul. Now, one who had been a consul was never sent to a praetorian province, which was administered by one who had been a praetor. The only conclusion then that remains is that Quirinius at the time of that war with the Homonadensians was governor of Syria.²² But since this governorship belongs

²¹ Compare in reference to Asia, also Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 4 (ed. Bekker, v. 184. 1–2).

²² In what relation the Homonadensians stood to the Romans before their conquest by Quirinius it is difficult to determine, and for our object it is of no importance. They probably stood even before that time under the suzerainty of the governor of Cilicia *resp.* Syria, if we may assume

to the period before the year A.D. 3, that is, to the period before he had been appointed counsellor to C. Caesar in Armenia, it cannot be identical with the one of A.D. 6, referred to by Josephus. The only date, therefore, that we can assign to it is the interval between Varus and C. Caesar, that is, B.C. 3-2.²³

It is wholly on this combination, in regard to which Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 90-98; *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 43-62; and Mommsen, *Res gestae div. Aug.* p. 172 sq., are thoroughly agreed that the assumption of an earlier governorship than that of A.D. 6, referred to by Josephus, is based (for a full statement of Zumpt's theory, see note in Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 129-135). For the inscription, which some have sought to make use of in this question, cannot prove anything material to the point at issue. It does, indeed, prove that the individual to whom it refers was twice governor of Syria.²⁴ But whether it is to be applied to Quirinius is open to question, since the name is not given in the inscription. The main ground upon which Mommsen and others have referred it to Quirinius is just that they regard the fact of Quirinius having been twice governor to be proved

that the former was part of the latter. But even if this were not the case, Quirinius carried on the war against it from Syria, and as the governor of Syria.

²³ During the period between Agrippa and Titius, if indeed there was an interval between the two, this war could not have taken place; because at least as a rule, the imperial provinces also were apportioned a considerable time after the administration of the civic office, in this case the consulship.

²⁴ Yet even this may be doubted. See Strauss, *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, p. 75 f. Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evv.* p. 41 f. Rud. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1880, pp. 98-114.—The last-named especially seeks to show that the *iterum* is to be connected only with *leg. pr. pr. divi Augusti*, and can accordingly only mean that the person referred to, when he became a second time *legatus Augusti*, was intrusted with the administration of Syria. See in opposition to this, Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 162.

from other sources, that is, from Tacitus and Josephus. The theory that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria is not therefore to be based upon the inscription, but, on the contrary, the application of the inscription to Quirinius is based upon the proof, elsewhere obtained, that he held the governorship a second time.²⁵

C. Caesar, B.C. 1—A.D. 4 (?).

In the year B.C. 1, that is, A.U.C. 753, Augustus sent his grandson, C. Caesar, son of Agrippa and Julia, now eighteen years of age, to the East, in order to compel the Parthians and Armenians, who refused any longer to recognise the authority of Rome, again to yield submission. Caesar went first of all to Egypt, then, probably, still before the end of

²⁵ The inscription was found in A.D. 1764 in the neighbourhood of Tibur, and in A.D. 1765 was published for the first time. Sanclemente (*De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, 1793, pp. 414–426) applied it to Quirinius. He was followed in this by Borghesi, Henzen, Nipperdey, Bergmann, Mommsen, Gerlach. On the other hand, Zumpt (*Commentt. epigr.* ii. 109–125; *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 72–89) refers it to C. Sentius Saturninus. Zumpt founds his refusal to apply it to Quirinius mainly on the fact that he had been proconsul for Africa (*Commentt. epigr.* ii. 115 sq.; *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 80–83). Mommsen contests this, and endeavours, on the other hand, to show that Sentius Saturninus was proconsul for Africa (*Res gestae div. Aug.* pp. 168, 170 sq.). This latter statement would tell decidedly against Saturninus, the former against Quirinius, seeing that one and the same person could never be proconsul for Africa and for Asia (see above, p. 347), the latter of which offices the person referred to in the inscription held. We must therefore still leave the question here raised *in suspensio*, but give in full the half of the text of the inscription (see the whole of it in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 3613), with the words and letters supplied by Mommsen:—

<i>bellum</i>	<i>gessit</i>	<i>cum</i>	<i>gente</i>	<i>homonaden-</i>
<i>ium</i>	<i>quae</i>	<i>interfecerat</i>		<i>amyntam</i>
REGEM · QVA · REDACTA · IN · POTestatem			imp. caesaris	
AVGVSTI · POPVLIQVE · ROMANI · SENATVS			dis immortalibus	
SVPPLICATIONES · BINAS · OB · RES · PROSPere ab eo gestas et				
IPSI · ORNAMENTA · TRIVMPHalia			decrevit	
PRO · CONSVL · ASIAM · PROVINCIAM · OPTinuit			legatus pr. pr.	
DIVI · AVGVSTI · ITERVM · SYRIAM · ET · PHoenicen			optinuit.	

the year B.C. 1, to Syria, without, however, entering Palestine (Suetonius, *Aug.* 93). There he remained probably during the year A.D. 1, and then went onward against the Parthians in A.D. 2, and against the Armenians in A.D. 3. After he had succeeded in putting matters right, Augustus called him back to Rome. But he died on his homeward journey, on 21st February A.D. 4, at Limyra in Lycia (Zonaras, x. 36; Dio Cassius, lv. 10*a*, where he introduces a quotation from Xiphilinus; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 101–102; Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 3. The date of the death according to the *Cenotaphium Pisanum*. Compare, Clinton, *ad ann.* B.C. 1–A.D. 4. Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 426–431).—According to Zonaras, x. 36, C. Caesar had proconsular authority (τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔδωκεν); according to Orosius, vii. 3, he was sent *ad ordinandas Aegypti Syriaeque provincias*; according to Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 12, he was *Orienti praepositus*. He must therefore have held during this period the administration of Syria. Compare Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 165.

Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 32–40, decidedly opposes this view, because he assumes that, in addition to C. Caesar, ordinary *legati Augusti* were also then present in the imperial provinces, only that Caesar had the right of independent action, having authority wherever he went superior to the governors of the provinces concerned. Zumpt depends for support to this opinion mainly upon the fact that, if the case were otherwise, Augustus would have renounced all power in the East, which is not to be supposed. But this argument will not by any means stand the test; for then we should have to suppose that, besides Agrippa, ordinary *legati Caesaris* were also to be found in the provinces, which, however, even Zumpt does not assume. In favour of Mommsen's theory (which had previously been for the most part set forth by Baronius in his *Annals*, and by Schöpflin) is to some extent the circumstance that no *legati Augusti* of that

period are known to us, although, considering the scantiness of our information, this cannot be regarded as by any means conclusive; and also, and much more decidedly, the testimony of Orosius, vii. 3, that C. Caesar had been sent *ad ordinandas Aegypti Syriaeque provincias*. One cannot see why Augustus should have assigned to him the ordering of the affairs of Egypt and Syria, if there had been already at that very time imperial legates in those provinces.²⁶

Apart from these points, the positive conjectures of Zumpt about the legates of Syria during that period are extremely hazardous. He assumes that the counsellors (*rectores*) appointed for the youthful Caesar were always at the same time governors of Syria. Such *rectores* were, according to Zumpt, first of all P. Sulpicius Quirinius (Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 48); after him, M. Lollius (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 12); and last of all, C. Marcius Censorinus (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 102). Compare Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 98–104, 107 sq.; *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 40–43, 62–71.—But Quirinius was counsellor of Caesar certainly not before, but after Lollius, viz. in A.D. 3, when Caesar was already in Armenia (Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 48: *datusque rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam optinenti*), Lollius having meanwhile died during the Parthian campaign in A.D. 2 (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 102). Compare Mommsen, *Res gestae*, pp. 173–175. On the chronology, Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, pp. 428–430.—It is particularly questionable whether Censorinus ought to be reckoned among those *rectores* at all. He is at least never expressly named as such.²⁷—And, finally, the hypothesis is utterly without sup-

²⁶ Under Germanicus (see under date A.D. 17–19) such a state of matters did indeed find place. But this cannot be regarded as a parallel case, because the jealous, suspicious Tiberius sought to paralyze the power of Germanicus by his legates, whereas Augustus had no such reason for acting so.

²⁷ The whole passage in Velleius Paterculus, ii. 102, runs as follows: "Quo tempore M. Lolli, quem veluti moderatorem juventae filii sui

port, that these *rectores* were at the same time governors of Syria.

L. Volusius Saturninus, A.D. 4–5.

Consul suffectus in B.C. 12.—From a coin we know that he was governor of Syria in the year 35 of the *Actian era*, which corresponds to autumn 757–758 A.U.C., or A.D. 4–5 (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 275 sq.; Mionnet, v. 156).

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, A.D. 6 ff.

After the banishment of Archelaus, ethnarch of Judea, in A.D. 6, P. Sulpicius Quirinius went to Syria, and immediately on his arrival took the census in Judea (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5; xviii. 1. 1, 2. 1). How long he continued governor of Syria cannot be determined.—Reference is made to his operations in Syria in an inscription which was long regarded as ungenuine, but has now been proved to be undoubtedly genuine by the discovery of the second half of it in the original (see especially, Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. iv. 1881, pp. 537–542; also, Lecoultré, *De censu Quiriniano*, Lausannae 1883, pp. 48–51; a facsimile of the restored piece in De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1880, tav. ix., comp. p. 174).—On the inscription one Q. Aemilius Q. or Pal. Secundus says of himself among other things: *jussu Quirini censum egi Apamenae civitatis millium homin(um) civium CXVII. Idem missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi.*

Augustus esse voluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia, per Parthum indicata Caesari, fama volgavit. Cujus mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro. Sed quam hunc decessisse laetati homines, tam paulo post obisse Censorinum in iisdem provinciis graviter tulit civitas, virum demerendis hominibus genitum.”—The words “in iisdem provinciis” are certainly in favour of the suppositions that Censorinus had the same office as Lollius.

Q. Caecilius Creticus Silanus, A.D. 11–17.

Consul in A.D. 7.—That he went to Syria as governor at the latest in A.D. 11, is proved by a coin of the year 41 of the Actian era, that is, autumn 763–764 A.U.C., or A.D. 10–11 (so Sanclemente, p. 348). Other coins for the years 42, 43, 44, 45, 47 of the Actian era were given by Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 276; Mionnet, v. 156–159. The latest of these coins, that of the year 47 of the Actian era, belongs to A.D. 16–17. In accordance with this, Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 43, records the recall of Silanus by Tiberius in A.D. 17.—Compare also, Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 4; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 4; Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 166.

2. *Tiberius*, 19th Aug. A.D. 14–16th March A.D. 37.

Cn. Calpurnius Piso, A.D. 17–19.

In the year A.D. 17, probably toward the end of the year, Tiberius sent his nephew and adopted son Germanicus to the East that he might look to the settlement of various matters. He obtained higher powers than the governors of the provinces to which he went (*decreto patrum permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari dividuntur, majusque imperium, quoque adisset, quam vis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent*. Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 43). At the same time Silanus was recalled, and in his place Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul in the year B.C. 7, was appointed governor of Syria, a man of a violent and unbending character (*ingenio violentus et obsequii ignarus*, Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 43).

Germanicus went first of all to Greece, where in the beginning of the year A.D. 18 he entered on his second consulship. He then passed over to Byzantium and then to Troy, and proceeded west along the Ionian coast to Rhodes, and from thence to Armenia. After he had put matters there to rights, he went to Syria, where Piso had

already arrived before him (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 53–57).²⁸ Owing to the violent character of Piso, hostilities between them could not long be avoided. Yet these outbursts had at first no ulterior consequences (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 57–58). In the year A.D. 19 Germanicus undertook a journey to Egypt, chiefly to inquire into the antiquities of that country (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 59–61). Soon after he returned to Syria he fell sick, and died on 9th Oct. A.D. 19. Common report charged his death upon Piso (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 69–73; Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. p. 4). Even before the death of Germanicus occurred, Piso had quitted Syria, having been commanded by Germanicus to leave the province (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 70).

Cn. Sentius Saturninus, A.D. 19–21.

After the death of Germanicus his generals transferred the supreme command to Cn. Sentius Saturninus, consul in A.D. 4 (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 74). But Piso, on his return voyage, obtained in the neighbourhood of the island of Cos the intelligence of the death of Germanicus, and now resolved to take violent possession of Syria. He landed in Cilicia, gained possession of the stronghold of Celenderis (Κελένδερεις, Strabo, pp. 670, 760; compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 31. 3), but was obliged there, on surrendering to Sentius, to agree to the condition that he should return to Rome (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 75–81).—He reached Rome in the beginning of the year A.D. 20, was there accused by the friends of Germanicus, but avoided condemnation by committing suicide (Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 8–15.)

How long Sentius Saturninus remained in Syria is not known. He is referred to as *legatus Caesaris* in an inscription

²⁸ Yet Piso cannot have reached Syria before the year A.D. 18, since he had met with Germanicus on his outward journey at Rhodes (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 55).

found at Nicopolis, on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, on the Gulf of Issus, which at the earliest belongs to the year A.D. 21, *Tiber. iv. cos. (Ephemeris epigraph. vol. v. 1884, p. 573, n. 1336)*. According to this inscription, it would seem that he had been also formally appointed governor of Syria; for it is in this sense probably that the title *legatus Caesaris* is to be understood (see Mommsen's remarks as above).

L. Aelius Lamia, down to A.D. 32.

From the *Annals* of Tacitus, i. 80; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 41, 63, we know that Tiberius repeatedly appointed legates without actually allowing them to go to their provinces (Tacitus: *qua haesitatione postremo eo proventus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus*). By this measure L. Aelius Lamia among others was affected. Tacitus, in his *Annals*, vi. 27, has given the following particular account of his death: *Extremo anni (A.D. 33) mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat*. We see from this that Aelius Lamia, immediately after he had been released from the *imago administrandae Suriae*, i.e. from the nominal, not actual, administration of Syria, was appointed *praefectus urbi*. He did not, however, hold the office of *praefectus urbi* until after the death of L. Piso, see Dio Cassius, lviii. 19: *τὸν τε Πίσωνα τὸν πολίαρχον τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἐτίμησεν, ὅπερ πού καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχαρίζετο· καὶ Δούκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Λαμίαν ἀνθείλετο, ὃν πρόπαλαι τῇ Συρίᾳ²⁹ προστάξας κατείχευεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ*. Seeing then that Piso, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 10, and Dio Cassius, lviii. 19, died in A.D. 32, Aelius Lamia must have been appointed *praefectus urbi* in that year, and was therefore up to that date, at least in name, governor of Syria (Zumpt,

²⁹ So Dindorf reads instead of *στρατιᾷ*.

Commentt. epigr. ii. 131 sq.; *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 184, 265).—Josephus, in his *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2-3, seems indeed to contradict this view. He makes the statement that Agrippa I., before he became king of Judea, once paid a visit to Pomponius Flaccus, governor of Syria, and successor of Aelius Lamia (see below), and that then, after many adventures by the way, he returned to Rome, and there, after he had been for some time resident in Rome, charged his freedman Eutychus with theft, and had him brought up before Piso as *praefectus urbi* (*Antiq.* xviii. 6, 5). It seems therefore at first sight necessary to assume that Flaccus some time before the death of Piso had been made governor of Syria, for apparently Lamia could not have held the office down to that date. But, in truth, on closer examination of the facts this argumentation³⁰ will not be found convincing. That particular Piso before whom Eutychus was brought (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5) cannot possibly have been the Piso who died in A.D. 32, since the occurrence referred to took place, as will be shown farther on, under the history of Agrippa, in § 18, in the year A.D. 36.³¹ We have here then to do with another Piso, who at a later period, A.D. 36-37, held the

³⁰ It has been urged mainly by Wieseler in his controversy against Keim's chronology of the life of Jesus. See Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evv.*, sec. 8, Anm.; *Beweis des Glaubens* for 1870, April no. p. 170 (there Wieseler assumes that Flaccus "had entered Syria somewhere about A.D. 27"). *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, pp. 533-535.

³¹ In order to support his opinion that the Piso alluded to by Josephus in his *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5 was he who died in A.D. 32, Wieseler is obliged to have recourse to very questionable hypotheses. 1. He is obliged to assume that between the apprehension of Eutychus and his trial before Tiberius no less than four years had passed, A.D. 32-36, for undoubtedly the trial did not take place before the autumn of A.D. 36, half a year before the death of Tiberius (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 5). Keim in the *Protestant. Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, No. 51, col. 1218, rightly declares that this is contrary to fact; while Wieseler in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 169, firmly stands by his statement. 2. He is obliged, however, to make a violent alteration of the text of Josephus. For this same Piso is immediately thereafter, in *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10, once again

office of *præfectus urbi*,³² so that mention of him contributes nothing to the solution of the question when Flaccus succeeded Lamia.—We must accordingly confine ourselves wholly to the statements of Tacitus, which represent Lamia as occupying his nominal office of governor of Syria up to the date of his entrance upon his civic prefecture, *i.e.* up to A.D. 32.³³ When the governorship was conferred upon him we cannot determine. He had held it certainly for a long time, as is evident from the “*tandem*” of Tacitus and the “*πρόπαλαι*” of Dio Cassius.³⁴

referred to, and that in connection with the spring of the year A.D. 37, after the death of Tiberius. Wieseler therefore strikes the name out of that passage (*Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 168; *Beiträge*, p. 8 f.). 3. He is also obliged to make a further alteration in the text. For Josephus says expressly, in his *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3, that Agrippa had gone to Rome only a year before the death of Tiberius (ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβερίου), *i.e.* not in A.D. 32, but in A.D. 36. In this case Wieseler by an alteration of the text reads instead of one year several years (*Beiträge*, p. 13 f.; *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 169). Compare on the other side, Keim, *Protestant. Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, No. 51, col. 1217. In opposition generally to Wieseler, see also Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. 1874, pp. 84–87.

³² So also Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, iii. 325 sq. Mommsen, *Index zu Plin. Epist.*, ed. Keil, p. 405. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium* (1874), Index, p. 180 sq.—In regard to others of the name of Piso belonging to that same period, see Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* i. 143–151, 226 sq.

³³ Gerlach (pp. 49–52) assumes that Flaccus had gone to Syria as early as A.D. 22. He supports his opinion by reference to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 1–3, and Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 42. But from the former passage it does not follow, as Gerlach wishes to make out, that the visit of Agrippa to Flaccus was made in A.D. 24, soon after the death of Drusus, who died in A.D. 23; and in the latter passage the *confestim* is to be connected only with the words: *Pisoni præfecturam urbis detulit*, whereby the statement loses all its force as a proof passage. The words of Tacitus do not permit us to restrict the period of office of Aelius Lamia to two years, and to postulate between his ceasing to hold the post of governor and his appointment to the office of city prefect a lengthened interval. Gerlach himself at a later period abandoned this view (*Zeitschrift für luther. Theologie*, 1869, p. 48).

³⁴ From the fact that about A.D. 30 there was actually no governor in Syria, is to be explained the circumstance that no one is named as such in Luke iii. 1.

L. Pomponius Flaccus, A.D. 32–35 (?).

Since Lamia withdrew from the office of governor of Syria in A.D. 32, Flaccus, who had been consul in A.D. 17, succeeded him in that year. The death of Flaccus is reported by Tacitus in his *Annals*, vi. 27, in immediate connection with the above passage about Aelius Lamia in the following words: *exim* (that is to say, after the death of Aelius Lamia) *Flacco Pomponio Suriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris literae, quis incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decumum jam annum attineri.* Since Tacitus, however, mentions this among the events of the year 33, the first suggestion that would occur to the reader is that the death of Flaccus took place during that year. And this is the opinion almost universally entertained. Yet it is not to be regarded as by any means impossible that Tacitus had gathered his facts about Lamia and Flaccus from materials that had been supplied him, and that the death of Flaccus did not occur till a subsequent date.³⁵ In fact, Keim³⁶ has raised the supposition to a high degree of probability that Flaccus did not die before A.D. 35. In favour of this view may be alleged:—1. The remark of Tacitus, that then, at the time of Flaccus' death, Arruntius had been already detained for ten years from going to his province, Spain. By *Hispania* only *Hispania citerior* can be

³⁵ That Tacitus does not in every case follow strictly the chronological order is shown, *e.g.*, in *Annals*, xii. 23, where the death of King Agrippa I., which occurred in A.D. 44, is mentioned among the occurrences of A.D. 49.

³⁶ Comp. especially, *Protestant. Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, No. 51, col. 1216 f.; also *Geschichte Jesu*, i. 628, iii. 490 f. (Engl. transl. *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 396, vi. 231). A similar opinion is also expressed by Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, 1 Bd. *Die Legaten in den römischen Provinzen* (1888), p. 267.

intended; for *Hispania ulterior* was a senatorial province (see Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 13). But that province did not become vacant before A.D. 25 (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 45). Accordingly the tenth year of Arruntius must correspond to A.D. 35. 2. Agrippa I. went to Rome in the spring of the year 36 (ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβερίον, Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3), after having not long before visited Flaccus in Syria (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2-3). If then, allowing for hindrances and delays that may have occurred, we allow for Agrippa's journey to Rome after his visit to Flaccus a whole year (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3-4), it must still be assumed that Flaccus was in Syria in A.D. 35.—Finally, it may further be alleged in favour of taking A.D. 35 as the year of the death of Flaccus, that his successor Vitellius, who certainly went to Syria in A.D. 35, is thus made immediately to follow, whereas in the other case a vacancy must have occurred.

A coin of Flaccus of the year 82 of the *aera Caesariana*,³⁷ corresponding to autumn 786-787 A.U.C., or A.D. 33-34, is given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 279; Mionnet, v. 167.—Compare also generally, Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 42; Pauly's *Real Encyclopaedie*, v. 1878 f.; Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium* (1874), Index, p. 195.

L. Vitellius, A.D. 35-39.

In A.D. 35 Tiberius sent L. Vitellius, who had been consul in A.D. 34, father of the next emperor, as legate to Syria (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 32).³⁸ Tacitus bears testimony on his behalf that, in contrast to his subsequent manner of life, he

³⁷ This era begins in autumn 705 A.U.C., eighteen years earlier than the Actian era. Compare Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, iii. ed. 4, Lips. p. 162 sqq. Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, pp. 224-229. Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* iii. 279 ff. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 460 ff.

³⁸ From the words of Tacitus, "cunctis quae apud orientum parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit," it may perhaps be assumed that Vitellius had

was blameless in his administration of the province (*eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari, ceterum in regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit*).—In A.D. 39 he was recalled by Caligula, and Petronius appointed his successor (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2).³⁹ Compare also generally, Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 2; Dio Cassius, lix. 27; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xv. 83; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2. 2682 f.; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*, 1 Bd. p. 373.

3. Caligula, 16th March A.D. 37—24th January A.D. 41.

P. Petronius, A.D. 39–42.

Petronius had been sent by Caligula into Syria in A.D. 39. We know from a coin (given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.*

held under his authority a wider region than the province of Syria. Yet even Tacitus himself in the *Annals*, vi. 41, names him “*praeses Suriae*,” as does also Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2: Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων. So, too, Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 2; Dio Cassius, lix. 27; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xv. 83. He was therefore certainly governor of Syria, but had perhaps over and above this a more extensive authority.

³⁹ From what Josephus says, it would appear as if the recall of Vitellius and the arrival of Petronius did not occur till the autumn of A.D. 40. Petronius after his arrival went into winter quarters at Ptolemais (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2). The negotiations begun straightway with the Jews took place during seed-time (*Antiq.* xviii. 8. 3, 8. 6), *i.e.* in November or December; see Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 342. In regard to these matters Petronius wrote to Caligula, who received the letter shortly before his death, which took place on 24th January A.D. 41, and answered it (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 8–9: καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ἢ γράψαι τῷ Πιτρωνίῳ τὴν—ἐπιστολήν). Josephus seems therefore to set the arrival of Petronius in the autumn of A.D. 40. According to the most decided testimony of Philo, on the other hand (*Legat. ad Cajum*, § 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 583), Petronius was already in harvest time in Palestine, that is, in April (see Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 340), and at the head of troops which he had had time to bring across the Euphrates (*Legat. ad Cajum*, § 31, ed. Mangey, ii. 576). He must therefore certainly have reached Syria in A.D. 39. So also Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*, 1 Bd. *Die Legaten in den römischen Provinzen* (1888), p. 374.

iii. 280; Mionnet, v. 167) that he was still governor in the year 90 of the *aera Caesariana*, corresponding to autumn 794–795 A.U.C., or A.D. 41–42; therefore for somewhere about a year after the beginning of the reign of Claudius.—Compare in regard to him Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2–9; xix. 6. 3; Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 31–34, ed. Mangey, ii. 576–584; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, v. 1402.

4. *Claudius*, 24th January A.D. 41–13th October A.D. 54.

C. *Vibius Marsus*, A.D. 42–44.

As successor of Petronius, Claudius sent C. Vibius Marsus, *Consul suffectus* in A.D. 17, into Syria (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 4). He had occasion repeatedly to protect Roman interests against King Agrippa (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 2, 8. 1). His recall took place soon after the death of Agrippa in A.D. 44, therefore towards the end of A.D. 44 or in the beginning of A.D. 45 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1).—Compare also Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 10. This passage does not prove that Marsus was still governor of Syria in A.D. 47; for Tacitus there, under the history of the year 47, recapitulates earlier occurrences in the history of Parthia. See Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 137; Gerlach, p. 67. Compare generally, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2. 2571.

C. *Cassius Longinus*, A.D. 45–50.

Marsus was succeeded by C. Cassius Longinus, *Consul suffectus* in A.D. 30 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1). He was celebrated in his day as a jurist (*ceteros praeminebat peritia legum*, Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 12), yea, as the founder of a special school of jurisprudence (*Cassianae scholae princeps et parens*, Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 24. 8). Coins with his name belonging to the years 94 and 96 of the *aera Caesariana*, corresponding to A.D. 45–46 and 47–48, are given by Eckhel,

Doctr. Num. iii. 280 ; Mionnet, v. 167. Tacitus speaks of him as governor of Syria as late as A.D. 49 (*Annals*, xii. 11–12). Not long afterwards he seems to have been recalled by Claudius. In regard to his subsequent fortunes, see Tacitus, *Annals*, xvi. 7 and 9 ; Suetonius, *Nero*, 37. Generally, *Digest*. i. 2. 2. 51 ; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. 201 ; Rudorff, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 169 f. ; Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 298. 3 ; Mommsen, *Index to Pliny's Epistles*, ed. Keil, p. 406 ; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 1 Bd. p. 375 f.

C. Ummidius Quadratus, A.D. 50–60.

In A.D. 51, C. Ummidius Quadratus is spoken of by Tacitus *Annals*, xii. 45, as governor of Syria. It may therefore be assumed with Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 138, that he went there in A.D. 50. Coins bearing his name belonging to the years 104–108 of the *æra Caesariana*, corresponding to A.D. 55/56–59/60, are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 280 ; Mionnet, v. 159. He died while governor of Syria in A.D. 60 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 26).⁴⁰—His public career (he had been quaestor as early as A.D. 14) is sketched in the inscriptions : Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 3128 = *Inscr. Regni Neapol.* n. 4234 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* x. n. 5182. His full name, C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, is also given on a brazen tablet which contains the oath of the inhabitants of Aritium in Lusitania upon Caligula's assuming the reins of government (Orelli, n. 3665 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ii. n. 172 = *Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 155). — Compare also with reference to him, Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54, xiii. 8–9 ; Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 2 ; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, v. 743 ; Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 45.

⁴⁰ Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 138, gives the date as A.D. 61. But what is recorded in Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 20–28, took place in A.D. 60, *cons. Nero IV. Cornelius Cossus*.

5. Nero, 13th October A.D. 54—9th June A.D. 68.

Cn. Domitius Corbulo, A.D. 60—63.

After the death of Ummidius Quadratus in A.D. 60, Domitius Corbulo went to Syria as governor (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 26). On his doings in that capacity, see Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 1–17; Dio Cassius, lxii. 19 ff. He held the position of governor till A.D. 63, in which year a higher office was given him, while another governor was sent to Syria; Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 25: *Suriae exsecutio Citio* (?), *copiae militares Corbuloni permissae et quinta decuma legio ducente Mario Celso e Pannonia adjecta est. Scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus et qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant, jussis Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat.* The name of the individual who obtained the province cannot be determined with certainty. The best manuscript has *Citius*. The editors make various conjectures: *Cincius*, *C. Itius*, *Cestius*. Most might be said in favour of Cestius, for we certainly meet with him as governor of Syria in A.D. 65 (so, e.g., Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* ii. 141).—In regard to Corbulo's death in A.D. 67, see Dio Cassius, lxiii. 17. An inscription of A.D. 64 has been found in Armenia, on which he is called *leg. Aug. pro pr.* (see *Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 25). Generally, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. 1218 f.; Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 291. 3, and the monographs there quoted from of Held (1862) and Wolffgramm (1874). Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 1 Bd. p. 169 f. For an estimate and characterization of Corbulo, see also Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer* (1888), p. 131, Anm.

C. Cestius Gallus, A.D. 63–66.

If the conjecture given above is correct, Cestius Gallus

went to Syria as early as A.D. 63. He was there undoubtedly in A.D. 65, for he went up to Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 66, in the twelfth year of Nero = October A.D. 65—A.D. 66 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4), after having been already for a long time in Syria (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 3). Coins with his name of the years 114 and 115 of the *aera Caesariana* = A.D. 65/66–66/67, are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 281 sq.; Mionnet, v. 169; *Supplem.* viii. 131.—During his governorship in May A.D. 66, the month Artemisios (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4), the Jewish war broke out of which Cestius Gallus lived only to see the opening campaign. For he died in the winter of A.D. 66–67 “by accident or through fatigue” (*fato aut taedio occidit*, Tacitus, *History*, v. 10).⁴¹

C. Licinius Mucianus, A.D. 67–69.

When Palestine was separated from Syria and transferred to Vespasian as a distinct province, Syria was assigned to Licinius Mucianus.⁴² Josephus speaks of him in A.D. 67

⁴¹ Cestius Gallus was still in Syria in the winter of A.D. 66–67 (Josephus, *Life*, 8, 43, 65, 67, 71). But before the beginning of the spring the management of the war had been committed to Vespasian (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2).

⁴² On the severance of Palestine from Syria, see Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. 179 f., 183–189; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 419.—Tacitus, *History*, i. 10: *Suriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus . . . bellum Judaeicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat*. Tacitus, *History*, ii. 5: *Ceterum hic Suriae, ille Judaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positus odiis in medium consulere*. Also Aurelius Victor, *De Caesarib.* c. 9, *epit.* c. 9, ascribes the establishment or erection of the province of Palestine to Vespasian.—In opposition to this, Pick in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, pp. 197–200, expresses the opinion that Vespasian did not hold Palestine as a separate province; his office is rather to be regarded as that of “a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of a higher rank without a special province, who, intrusted with the conduct of a war, occupies a position superior to the ordinary governors.” But this view is not reconcilable with the precise words of Tacitus.

when referring to the siege of Gamala (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 5), and in A.D. 69 when referring to the election of Vespasian as emperor (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 5-6). Compare also, Tacitus, *History*, i. 10; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 1. Coins with his name of the time of Galba (9th June A.D. 68-15th January A.D. 69) and of Otho (15th January-16th April A.D. 69)⁴³ are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 282; Mionnet, v. 169; *Suppl.* viii. 131.—In the autumn of A.D. 69, in order to oppose Vitellius, he brought an army from Syria to Rome (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 1; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 82 sq.; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 6; Dio Cassius, lxx. 9), where he did not, however, arrive until after the death of Vitellius, which occurred on 20th December A.D. 69. He had then for a long time the supreme power in his hands (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 4; Tacitus, *History*, iv. 11, 39, 49, 80; Dio Cassius, lxx. 22, lxxi. 2).—Compare in regard to him also, Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, iv. 345-353; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 1069 f.; L. Brunn, *De C. Licinio Muciano*, Lips. 1870; Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 314. 1; Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, Index, p. 190 sq.; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. 257 f.

The later governors of Syria do not come within the range of our investigation, since from this time forth Palestine continued to be a separate province from Syria. For the governors of Palestine from the time of Vespasian to Hadrian, see § 21.

⁴³ Both coins bear the date of the year 117 of the *aera Caesariana*, and just for this reason afford sure grounds for determining the reckoning of the era.

§ 13. HYRCANUS II., B.C. 63-40. REBELLION OF ANTIPATER
AND HIS SONS PHASAEI AND HEROD.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xiv. 5-13 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8-13. ZONARAS, *Annales*, v. 7-9 (abstract of Josephus).

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HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 500-523.
STANLEY, *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. iii. 408-421.
SCHNECKENBURGER, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 166-173.
HAUSRATH, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. pp. 179-203.
LEWIN, *Fasti sacri*, pp. 8-54.

OWING to the meagreness of the sources, it is difficult to give an exact account of the position which Palestine at this time occupied in reference to the Romans. This much is certain, that it was tributary (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 6), and lay under the general oversight of the Roman governor of Syria. But the question is, whether it was immediately incorporated or not with the province of Syria. In favour of the latter supposition might be alleged the statement of Josephus, that by the enactment of Gabinius, who divided Palestine into five sections, the country was now freed from monarchical rule: ἀσμένως δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐπικρατείας ἐλευθερωθέντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀριστοκρατία διωκοῦντο (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5). Hyrcanus therefore had stood at the head of the government of the country, and

was subordinate only to the supervision of the Roman governor.¹

After the campaign of Pompey there followed for Palestine some years of peace. Scaurus as well as his two successors, Marcius Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus, had still indeed some skirmishes with the Arabians.² But these had no influence upon the fortunes of Palestine. In A.D. 57, however, Aristobulus' son Alexander, who had escaped from his keepers on his way to Rome, sought to secure to himself the government of Palestine. He succeeded in collecting an army of 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers and 1500 horsemen, and got into his power the fortresses of the Alexandrium, Hyrcania, and Machaerus.³ Gabinius, who had just then arrived as proconsul in Syria, sent against him, first of all, his lieutenant M. Antonius, afterwards the well-known triumvir, and soon followed with the main body of his troops. Alexander was defeated in an engagement near Jerusalem, and withdrew into the stronghold of the Alexandrium. Here he was besieged by Gabinius, and was compelled to surrender; but it would seem that, on condition of his yielding up the fortresses which were in his possession, he was allowed his freedom.⁴ At this time, too, Gabinius made an important change in the political relations of Palestine. He assigned to Hyrcanus only the care of the temple, but took from him the political administration; for he divided the country into five districts (*σύνοδοι, συνέδρια*), with Jerusalem, Gazara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sepphoris as their capitals.⁵ What is to be understood by

¹ So also Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. 163. Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philolog. Lipsiensis*, v. 162.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 1. Appian, *Syr.* 51.

³ On the Alexandrium, see p. 320. The position of Hyrcania is unknown. Machaerus, now called *Mkaur*, lay to the east of the Dead Sea. For more details about this important fortress, see § 20.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 2-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 2-5.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5.—About Amathus,

those five *σύνοδοι* or *συνέδρια* is not altogether clear. They may be regarded as either customs, districts, or circuits, making the jurisdiction of law courts (*conventus juridici*).⁶ The term *συντελεῖν* (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5: οὐ δ' ἵνα συντελῶσιν εἰς Ἀμαθοῦντα) favours the former view; the term *σύνοδοι* (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5) favours the latter.⁷

in the country east of the Jordan, see above, p. 297. On Sepphoris in Galilee, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 136-141. The other three towns were situated in Judea proper. On Gazara, see above, p. 261. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5, has also the form Gadara. But by this it is quite evident he does not mean the Hellenistic Gadara in Peraea, which had a population mainly pagan, and had been separated from the Jewish territory by Pompey. We are to understand by it the Gazara Judaized by Simon the Maccabee, for which also elsewhere the form Gadara is found. So Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7. 4 and 1 Macc. iv. 15. Also in Strabo, xvi. 2. 29, p. 759, by Γαδάρης, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξειδιόσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, we are to understand the region of Gazara, which indeed he confounds with Gadara in Peraea; for from this latter place were sprung the celebrated men who are referred to by him. In a *Notitia episcopatum* a Περυαῶν Γαδάρων in the neighbourhood of Azotus, to be distinguished from Γάδαιρα between Pella and Capitolias (*Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitias graecae episcopat.* ed. Parthey, 1866, p. 144). At a Synod at Jerusalem in A.D. 536 there were present together a bishop Ἀράξιος Γαδάρων and a bishop Θεόδωρος Γαδάρων. There were therefore two places in Palestine called Gadara (Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, t. iii. p. 595 sq.). Compare also Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 365-367. Menke's *Bibelatlas*, Bl. iv.

⁶ On the erection of a province, the Romans were wont to divide the country into customs or taxation districts, each of which was grouped round one of the larger towns. The communal court of such a town was utilized by the Romans as a fiscal or customs court, for it had to make arrangements for collecting the taxes in its district. More extensive, as a rule, than these customs districts, were the juristic circuits (*conventus juridici*). For the purpose of deciding civil matters (only about these had it jurisdiction), a diet was held from time to time at a certain place, to which the depute judges of the circuit went, in order, under the presidency of the governor, to decide cases that had arisen since last session. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. (1881) p. 500 f. Rudorff, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. (1859) pp. 5, 13. Rein, art. "Conventus," in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. 635 f.

⁷ For example, Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 336, 367, regards the *Synedria* of Gabinius as *conventus juridici*. Also I have myself argued in favour of this opinion, Div. ii.

Possibly the one view may not exclude the other. At least this measure of Gabinius took away the remnant of political independence which Palestine had hitherto enjoyed. Pompey having already deprived Hyrcanus of the title of king, the next step was to strip him of all political prerogatives and to restrict him to his priestly functions. The country was parted into five divisions, which were "delivered" from the dominion of Hyrcanus, *i.e.* were incorporated in the province of Syria. This arrangement was not indeed of long duration. By the ordinances of Caesar it was again wholly set aside.

Soon after this, in A.D. 56, the country was anew involved in a revolution by Aristobulus and his son Antigonus, who had both escaped from their Roman imprisonment. Aristobulus so completely failed to learn caution from the abortive attempt of his son Alexander, that he made himself a similar endeavour in that direction in which his son had failed. But he himself had no better fortune. A detachment of the Roman army attacked him, and the little band which he had gathered was, without much difficulty, driven across the Jordan. He attempted to defend himself in Machaerus; but was obliged after a two years' siege to yield, and was sent again as a prisoner to Rome. His children, however, were set at liberty by the senate.⁸ Just then Gabinius, against the will of the senate, undertook the Egyptian campaign, in order to set up Ptolemy Auletes again as king (see above, p. 331). When he returned from thence, in A.D. 55, he had once again to deal with a revolt in Judea. Alexander had made a fresh attempt to secure the sovereignty, and had won

vol. i. p. 168 f. Still the matter does not seem to me beyond question. Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. 163, does not hazard a decided statement, and declares only that it is certain that the remnants of freedom that had been left to the Jews by Pompey were taken from them by this measure of Gabinius.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 6. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 6. Dio Cassius, xxxix. 56. Plutarch, *Antony*, 3.

over to his side at least a part of the people. His proceedings, however, were also this time again brought to a speedy end.⁹

In A.D. 54 the triumvir, M. Licinius Crassus, went to Syria as proconsul in place of Gabinius. While Gabinius had already sorely oppressed the country by his exactions, Crassus at once began to indulge in open robbery. Pompey, upon the taking of the temple, had left its rich treasures untouched. Crassus now laid hold for himself of all these: in pure gold alone, 2000 talents; of other articles of value, 8000 talents.¹⁰ Palestine was soon indeed delivered from his rapacity, for he met his death in A.D. 53 in the war against the Parthians.

During the period B.C. 53-51 C. Cassius Longinus, the quaestor of Crassus, held the supreme authority in Syria. He had not only to be on his guard against the Parthians, but also to suppress the revolutionary elements that were still always present in Palestine. Aristobulus, indeed, was detained in his Roman imprisonment, and his sons had for the time no wish to risk anew sharing his fate. But a certain Pitholaus now undertook to play their role, and gathered together the malcontents. He did not indeed succeed in his aim any better than those who had tried before. For the final issue of his undertaking was this, that he himself was slain, and 30,000 of the disturbers of the peace were sold as slaves.¹¹

With the year B.C. 49 begins the period of the civil wars, disastrous for Italy as well as for the provinces, but peculiarly disastrous for the provinces, inasmuch as they were obliged to find the enormous sums which the contesting parties required for carrying on their operations. During these

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 6. 2-3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 7.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 8.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 9.

twenty years, from Caesar's crossing the Rubicon down to the death of Antony, B.C. 49–30, the whole Roman history was reflected in the history of Syria and also in that of Palestine. Every change and turn in the Roman history was answered by a corresponding movement in Syrian history, and during this short period Syria and Palestine changed sides and owned new masters no less than four times.

When, in the beginning of the year B.C. 49, Pompey and the party of the Senate had fled from Italy, and Caesar had established himself in Rome, Caesar and his friends wished to make use of the prisoner Aristobulus for their own ends. And so they released him from prison and gave him two legions, in order that with these he might fight in Syria against the party of Pompey. But the adherents of Pompey who still remained in Rome put a stop to the enterprise by ridding themselves of Aristobulus by poison. At the same time also one of Aristobulus' sons, Alexander, fell a victim to the party strifes of the civil war. He too had made his appearance as an adherent of Caesar, and so he was now, at the express command of Pompey, beheaded at Antioch by Q. Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, who was then pro-consul for Syria (see above, p. 334).¹²

After the battle of Pharsalia, on 9th August B.C. 48, and Pompey's death, on 28th September of the same year, Hyrcanus and his old friend Antipater immediately attached themselves to Caesar's party.¹³ They clearly perceived that

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 1–2. That Caesar sent Aristobulus into Palestine is also reported by Dio Cassius, xli. 18.

¹³ Antipater, even before Caesar's interference in the affairs of Palestine, is described as procurator of Judea. He is so described, not only by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 8. 1: ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής), but also by Strabo, who refers again to Hysicrates (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 3: τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιμελητήν). Possibly he obtained this position through Gabinius, who, on account of Antipater's many services in the interest of Rome, "settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem in accordance with Antipater's inclinations" (*Antiq.* xiv. 6. 4: καταστήσάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ

their safety depended wholly upon his grace, and therefore they hastened to prove their capacity for serving him. Caesar, after his landing in Egypt, in October B.C. 48, had become involved in a war with King Ptolemy. Mithridates started from Pergamum in the spring of 'B.C. 47 to go into Egypt with an auxiliary force.¹⁴ When he encountered obstacles at Pelusium, Antipater went to his help, at the command of Hyrcanus, with 3000 Jewish troops, which had been indeed collected for this very purpose, and he had also arranged that the neighbouring powers should contribute auxiliaries. With these Jewish troops Antipater rendered most important service to Mithridates, not merely in the capture of Pelusium, but also throughout the whole of the Egyptian campaign. Not less important was the aid rendered by Hyrcanus in seeing to it that the Egyptian Jews ranged themselves upon Caesar's side.¹⁵

When, therefore, Caesar, at the conclusion of the Alexandrian war, in the summer of B.C. 47, went to Syria and rewarded, by proofs of his clemency, the governing families

τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι. *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 7: Γαβίνιος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου βούλημα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν. Since this must have been an institution not in contradiction to the other ordinances of Gabinius, it may perhaps be assumed that to Antipater was made over the chief administration of the taxes in the Jewish territory. For ἐπιμελητής is an administrative officer; in its primary application, an officer of finance. Certainly Antipater cannot have been a political official in the service of Hyrcanus; for Hyrcanus, since the passing of the measures of Gabinius, had no longer any political functions. If, then, he acted ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ (*Antiq.* xiv. 8. 1), this is to be explained of the spiritual authority which Hyrcanus had as high priest (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1: κατ' ἐντολὴν Ὑρκανοῦ, belongs to a period when Hyrcanus had no longer any political power). On Antipater's services to the cause of Rome in the period B.C. 63-48, see Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1, 2, 6. 2, 3, 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 1, 3, 7, 9.

¹⁴ *Bellum Alexandr.* c. 26.

¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 1-3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 3-5.—In the decree of Caesar, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2, the number of the Jewish auxiliary troops is given only as 1500.

that had favoured him,¹⁶ Hyrcanus and Antipater were treated in the most generous manner. Antigonus indeed appeared before Caesar as the only remaining son of Aristobulus, complained that Hyrcanus and Antipater had violently thrust themselves forward, and sought to show that his claims were older and better.¹⁷ But Caesar estimated the trustworthiness and usefulness of Hyrcanus and Antipater more highly than the professions of Antigonus, ignored the claims of the latter, and showed favour exclusively to the other two. Even before the intervention of Antigonus, Hyrcanus seems to have been established as high priest, and upon Antipater the right of Roman citizenship and immunity from tribute had been conferred.¹⁸ Hyrcanus was now appointed ἐθνάρχης of the Jews, *i.e.* he was reinstated in the political authority that had been taken from him by Gabinius; but Antipater was made procurator, ἐπίτροπος, of Judea, and so confirmed in the authority with which he had been already invested. At the same time permission was given to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Bellum Alexandrinum*, 65 "Reges, tyrannos, dynastas provinciae finitimos, qui omnes ad eum concurrerant, receptos in fidem condicionibus impositis provinciae tuendae ac defendendae dimittit et sibi et populo Romano amicissimos."

¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 1-2.

¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 3: Ὑρκανῷ μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην βεβαιώσας, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ πολιτείαν ἐν Ρώμῃ δοὺς καὶ ἀτίλειαν πανταχοῦ. So, too, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 5.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5: Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα . . . [Ἀντίπατρον] ἐπίτροπον ἀποδείκνυσιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστήσαι τείχη. Similarly, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 3.—These enactments seem to be different from those referred to in the preceding note; the concessions referred to in the one case having been granted before, and those in the other after the intervention of Antigonus. So think Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. 190 sqq.; Judeich, *Caesar im Orient*, 1885, p. 123 f. See especially, Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 1: Ἀντίγονος . . . γίνεται παραδόξως Ἀντιπάτρῳ μείζονος προκοπῆς αἴτιος. It is certainly the case, as appears from the decrees of Caesar, in thorough agreement therewith,

We obtain further details with respect to the proceedings of Caesar from documents communicated by Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2-10, which, however, are so slight and fragmentary that in regard to many particulars no certain conclusion can be reached.²⁰ This, at least, is unquestionable, that the letter of Caesar to the Sidonians, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2, was written in the year B.C. 47, and that the formal decree of Caesar appointing Hyrcanus was issued in that same year.²¹ According to this document, Hyrcanus was appointed hereditary ἐθνάρχης and ἀρχιερεύς of the Jews, with all the rights and privileges which belonged to him as high priest according to the Jewish law, and jurisdiction in all Jewish matters was conceded to the Jews. Hyrcanus also, for himself and for his children, was declared the "confederate" of the

that Hyrcanus was appointed high priest by Caesar, with political functions, ἀρχιερεύς and ἐθνάρχης, and so reinstated in the political position of which he had been stript by Gabinius.—The decree of senate communicated by Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5, belongs probably to a much earlier period. See above, p. 268.

²⁰ Compare, in regard to these documents, especially, Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. 1875, pp. 191-246 (and the review of that paper in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, Nr. 15, col. 394 f.); and Niese, *Hermes*, Bd. xi. 1876, pp. 483-488; and in reply, Mendelssohn, *Rhein. Museum*, neue folge, Bd. xxxii. 1877, pp. 249-258. Also, Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869, p. 75 ff. Wieseler, *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1877, p. 290 ff. Rosenthal, *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1879, pp. 176 ff. 216 ff., 300 ff. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 501 f. (English translation, *History of Rome—the Provinces, from Caesar to Diocletian*, London, 2 vols.). Judeich, *Caesar im Orient*, 1835, pp. 119-141 (only with regard to the events and documents of the year B.C. 47, to which date Judeich makes Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5, also to refer). Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl. 1888, pp. 660-671.—For the older literature, see above, p. 109; also in Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, p. 144 ff.

²¹ In this document Caesar designates himself αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον (*imperator et pontifex maximus dictator II.*). Caesar's second dictatorship extended from October 48 to the end of the year 46 (see Mommsen, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. i. pp. 451-453). But since the title of consul is not in the formula, whereas Caesar held the consulship in the years 48, 46, 45, and 44, the document must be assigned to the year 47.

Romans, and it was stipulated that the Roman troops should not seek winter quarters in his territory, nor should levies of money be exacted.²² It is uncertain whether some of the other documents belong to this same year or not, but it is certain that Hyrcanus, not long before Caesar's death, somewhere about the end of the year B.C. 45, sent an embassy to Rome, which procured a decree of senate granting new concessions to the Jews. The beginning of this decree of senate, under Caesar's fourth dictatorship and fifteenth consulship, *i.e.* B.C. 44, is given in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 7. Its date is probably correctly preserved in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 10: *πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων*, *i.e.* 9th February. As it was not immediately put down in the tables of the treasury, a new decree of senate was passed, after Caesar's death, during the consulship of Antony and Dolabella, *τῇ πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων*, *i.e.* 11th April B.C. 44, by which the recording of the former decree of the senate in the tables of the treasury was now ordered (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 9–10). Since the new decree is of a purely formal character, we gain no information from it regarding the contents of the claims conceded to the Jews. Also, the fragment of the earlier decree preserved in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 7 contains only the formal introduction. It is extremely probable, however, that other portions of it are contained among the fragments in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 3–6. Yet it is just here that the difficulties of the investigation begin. The question arises as to what pieces

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2: *διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι βούλομαι, ἀρχιερασίην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντός ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη, εἶναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ συμμάχους ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις ἀριθμείσθαι ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικά ἢ φιλόανθρωπα, ταῦτα κελεύω κατέχειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. ἂν δὲ μεταξὺ γένηται τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. παραχειμασίαν δὲ ἢ χρήματα πράττεσθαι οὐ δοκιμάζω.*—For an exposition of this passage, see Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. 195–197. Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 501 f.

belong to the decree of senate of B.C. 44 and what to former years, such as B.C. 47 or other years. Owing to the corruptness of the text, no certain result can ever be reached.²³ The chief portion of the passage peculiarly rich in material, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6, belongs most probably to B.C. 44. Among the concessions there said to have been secured to the Jews, the most important are these: that Joppa, "which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans," was made over to them; that also the villages in the great plain, which they had previously possessed, should be restored to them; and that, finally, also still other places "which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, the

²³ The documents in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 3-4, contain scarcely anything else beyond the decree of Caesar of the year B.C. 47, as already given in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2. Since they belong to a year during which Caesar was consul, though the number of the consulship is wanting, the date must have been 46, 45, or 44. And so Mendelssohn, *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. 205-211, correctly maintains that they are fragments of a decree of senate of B.C. 46, which merely confirmed the enactments of Caesar of B.C. 47. On the confirmation, by the senate generally, of bargains made by military commanders, see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, iii. 2, 1888, pp. 1166-1168.—The portions given in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5-6 contain very particular statements regarding the assessing of tribute, and seem to go together as referring to the same period. According to the beginning of *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5, they belong to the year B.C. 44, Caesar's fifth consulship. But this seems to be contradicted by the fact that the permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem is there recorded (*Antiq.* xiv. 60. 5), which, however, had been given as early as B.C. 47 (*Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 3), and, indeed, the building had been already proceeded with and the walls restored (*Antiq.* xiv. 9. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 4). The date is further determined as B.C. 47 by *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6: Γαίος Καῖσαρ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον (it ought to have been: αὐτοκράτωρ, διπλάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον). And finally, in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6, we meet with various statements about Joppa which seem to belong to various periods. On the basis of all these particulars, Mendelssohn, *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. 197 sqq., conjectures that the passage, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5-6, refers, indeed, to the decree of senate of B.C. 44, but that in the earlier portion of that passage, xiv. 10. 5-6a, a decree of Caesar of the year B.C. 47 is quoted. This decree Mendelssohn distinguishes from the one communicated in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2. This one last referred to was issued prior to the intervention of Antigonus; the other, as given in xiv.

confederates of the Romans," should now be given to them.²⁴ It may be assumed that these were merely possessions that had been taken away from them by Pompey. Of the places thus restored, Joppa, as affording a harbour, was the most important.

The Jews also, through Caesar's favour, obtained important privileges beyond the limits of Palestine. The Alexandrian Jews gained protection by having the privilege of Roman citizenship conferred upon them;²⁵ and the Jews of Asia Minor were guaranteed the undisturbed exercise of their

10. 5 and 6a, after that occurrence. This is a conclusion, however, which can scarcely be sustained, for, by the decree of appointment (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2), Antigonus was no longer in a position to venture making hostile representations. But in other respects Mendelssohn's hypothesis, that the passage in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5 and 6a belongs to the year B.C. 47, is highly probable. Mendelssohn finds the new decrees of the senate of the year B.C. 44 only in the second half of *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6, beginning, perhaps, with the words, ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον. Niese, *Hermes*, xi. p. 483 ff., ascribed to the senate decree of B.C. 44 the whole of the passage *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 3-6, because he assumed that the verbal permission given somewhat earlier by Caesar to rebuild the walls was only at that date formally ratified by the senate, and because he reads, in *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6, τὸ δ' instead of τὸ δεύτερον.

²⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6.—If it is correct that the beginning of *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6 belongs to a decree of the year B.C. 47, a portion of the tribute of Joppa would have been assigned, even so early as that, to the Jews. It would then be necessary with the old Latins to read: ὅπως τελεῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως Ἰοπηνοί, ὑπεξαίρουμένου τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους. They did certainly hold it in the year B.C. 44 altogether in their own possession: Ἰόπην δὲ πόλιν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσχον Ἰουδαῖοι ποιοῦμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρότερον, ἡμῖν ἀρέσκειν φόρους τε [ὑπὲρ to be supplied] ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ὑγκανὸν ἔχειν κ.τ.λ.—It is quite uncertain who is intended by "the kings of Syria and Phoenicia confederate with the Romans" that had formerly possessed some of the territories now given over to the Jews. Probably they were princes to whom Pompey had gifted Jewish lands. But perhaps the text is corrupt; for other obscurities may be explained from the faulty transmission of the text. Compare, in exposition of Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5-6, Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, v. pp. 199 sqq., 234 sqq.; Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 501 f.

²⁵ See Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 244.

religion.²⁶ It was in accordance with the general course of Caesar's policy to keep the provincials contented, so as to secure the interests of the empire. But by none of the foreign peoples was so great a lamentation made over his death as by the Jews.²⁷

The weak Hyrcanus, who had been installed in Palestine as "Ethnarch" of the Jews, held the government only in name. This was exercised in reality by the crafty and active Antipater. He now even appointed his two sons, Phasaël and Herod, governors, *στρατηγοί*, the one in Jerusalem and the other in Galilee.²⁸ Herod, whom we meet with here for the first time, was then a young man twenty-five years of age.²⁹ But even as early as this he gave proofs of that energy which brought him afterwards to the throne. In Galilee a robber chief named Hezekiah, with his numerous band, made the country insecure. Herod gained possession of his person, and had him executed along with many of his followers.³⁰ They were little accustomed in Jerusalem with such summary procedure. The aristocracy of that city regarded Herod's conduct as an infringement of the privileges of the

²⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. § and 20-24.—The decrees there gathered together were not, indeed, directly issued by Caesar, but are, with a high degree of probability, to be attributed to his initiative. See also Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 225 f.

²⁷ Suetonius, *Caesar*, 84: "In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaque more lamentata est, praecipueque Judaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt."

²⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 4.

²⁹ The traditional text of Josephus in *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 2 reads fifteen. The number twenty-five, which Dindorf and Bekker have put into the text, is purely conjectural. But this change is necessary: 1. Because a boy fifteen years old could not possibly have played the role which Herod had already played; and 2. Because Herod at his death is represented to have been about seventy years of age; *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 1: καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἑξὸς ἐβδομηχοστών ἦν; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 1: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡδὴ σχεδὸν ἑτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. Compare Havercamp's note on *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 2; van der Chijs, *De Herode Magno*, p. 1.

³⁰ Josephus, *Antia.* xiv. 9. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 5.

Sanhedrim, to which tribunal alone it belonged to pass a death sentence; and they therefore insisted that Hyrcanus would call young Herod to answer for what he had done. Hyrcanus yielded to their request, and summoned Herod before the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem. Herod indeed appeared, not, however, as became an accused person, in mourning garments, but decked in purple, and attended by a body-guard. When he thus entered the presence of the Sanhedrim, complaints were hushed, and he would undoubtedly have been exculpated, had not the celebrated Pharisee Sameas (Shemaiah ?) arisen and aroused the conscience of his colleagues. They were now disposed to insist upon their prerogatives and condemn Herod. But Hyrcanus had received orders from Sextus Caesar, governor of Syria, to secure Herod's acquittal. When he therefore perceived that things were taking a dangerous turn, he suspended the sitting, and advised Herod to withdraw secretly from the city. Herod did so; but he soon returned with an army against Jerusalem in order to avenge himself for the insult that had been given him. Only the most urgent representations of his father Antipater succeeded in appeasing his wrath, and restraining him from open violence. He then returned to Galilee, comforting himself with the reflection that he had at least given an exhibition of his power, and put a wholesome terror upon his opponents.—During this conflict with the Sanhedrim Herod was appointed, by Sextus Caesar, governor of Coele-Syria, *στρατηγὸς τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας*.⁸¹

All this happened in B.C. 47, or in the beginning of B.C. 46. In the spring of B.C. 46, while Caesar had to be

⁸¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3-5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 6-9. The rabbinical tradition preserves the remembrance of the scene before the Sanhedrim. The names there given, however, are altogether different. Instead of Hyrcanus, Jannäus; instead of Herod, a slave of Jannäus; instead of Shemaiah, Simon ben Shetach. See Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 146-148.

away fighting against the adherents of Pompey in Africa, one of Pompey's party, Caecilius Bassus, succeeded in making himself master of Syria by getting Sextus Caesar put out of the way by the hand of an assassin. He was afterwards besieged in Apamea by the Caesarian party, under the command of C. Antistius Vetus, in the autumn of B.C. 45³² (see above, p. 336). To the forces of Vetus were also added the troops of Antipater, which, as a new proof of his serviceableness to Caesar, he had sent to the aid of the Caesarian party.³³ The struggle of the two parties meanwhile continued without yielding any decisive result; and even the new governor, L. Statius Murcus, who arrived in Syria in the beginning of B.C. 44, and was supported by Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, obtained no decided advantage over Caecilius Bassus.

Meanwhile, on the 15th March B.C. 44, Caesar was murdered. Marc Antony resolved to avenge his death and continue his work. And it was only the fact that just then the fortunes of the party were in a rather backgoing condition that prevented the conspirators from also taking immediate steps in their own interest. It was only after Antony had proceeded against them in an openly hostile manner that the leaders of the conspiracy went to the East in order to collect their forces there: M. Brutus to Macedonia, L. Cassius to Syria. When Cassius, in the end of the year B.C. 44, arrived in Syria, Caecilius Bassus was still besieged by Statius Murcus and Marcius Crispus in Apamea. Although Murcus and Crispus had hitherto belonged to Caesar's party, they now placed their army at the service of Cassius, and Statius Murcus even offered his own personal aid. The legion of Caecilius Bassus also went over to

³² Not 47, as Hitzig, *Geschichte*, ii. 514, assumes. See, on the other hand, Cicero, *ad Atticum*, xiv. 9. 3.

³³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 1: *Wars of the Jews*, i. 10. 10.

Cassius.³⁴ Thus did Cassius become master of Syria, and gained possession of a considerable fighting force. But for the support of the large and now further increasing army immense sums of money were necessary. And to this even the small Jewish land must contribute its share. It was laid by him under an arrestment of 700 talents, in the collection of which Antipater and his son Herod showed themselves particularly useful. For, with the same zeal with which they had once secured to themselves Caesar's favour, they now sought to win the goodwill of Cassius. How useful this zeal was, some frightful examples in Judea itself showed. The inhabitants of the towns of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamna, because they could not contribute their share, were sold by Cassius as slaves.³⁵ But young Herod, as a reward for services rendered, was appointed by Cassius, as he had previously been by Sextus Caesar, governor (στρατηγός) of Coele-Syria.³⁶

About this time, B.C. 43, Antipater became the victim of personal enmity. A certain Malichus endeavoured, just as Antipater had done, to gain an influential position in Judea. But Antipater, more than any one else, stood in the way of his realizing his ambition. He must therefore, if he was to gain his end, rid himself of that man. By bribery he won over the cupbearer of Hyrcanus, who put Antipater to death by poison as he was one day dining with Hyrcanus.³⁷

Herod undertook to avenge the death of his father. While, therefore, Malichus was busying himself in the endeavour to carry out his ambitious plans and secure to himself the government of Judea, he was murdered in the

³⁴ For the proofs, see above, p. 337.

³⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 11. 1-2.

³⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 11. 4.

³⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 11. 4.

neighbourhood of Tyre by hired assassins, whom Herod, with the connivance of Cassius, had sent.³⁸

After Cassius had departed from Syria, in B.C. 42, still harder fortunes befell the province. Cassius had indeed wrung from it the most exorbitant sums, but now that the province was left to itself affairs fell into such a state of utter anarchy that there was no law but the will of the stronger. During this period Antigonus also made an attempt, with the assistance of Ptolemy the son of Mennaeus of Chalcis, to secure the sovereignty of Palestine. Favoured by fate and fortune, Herod indeed frustrated this attempt, but he was not able to prevent Marion, tyrant of Tyre, from snatching to himself certain portions of Galilean territory.³⁹

A new crisis arose in Palestine, and especially in the fortunes of the two Idumeans Phasael and Herod, when, late in autumn of the year B.C. 42, Brutus and Cassius were defeated at Philippi by Antony and Octavian. With this one stroke all Asia fell into the hands of Antony. The situation was all the more critical for Phasael and Herod, after an embassy of the Jewish nobility appeared before Antony in Bithynia about the beginning of B.C. 41, and made complaints against these two princes. Yet Herod succeeded by personal explanations in neutralizing for the time being the effect of these charges.⁴⁰ Soon after this,

³⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 11. 8.—The murder of Antipater took place before the conquest of Laodicea in the summer of B.C. 43 (see above, p. 338), while the murder of Malichus occurred immediately after that event. Hence both occurrences took place during the year B.C. 43 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 11. 7).

³⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 1 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 2-3.—In the narrative of Josephus, which is based upon the statements of Nicolaus Damascenus, a veil is thrown over the circumstance that Herod could not prevent the conquests of the Tyrians. But he makes this clear from the subsequent letter of Antony, which ordered the Tyrians to restore the places that they had conquered (see below, note 41).

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 4.

while Antony lingered in Ephesus, an embassy from Hyrcanus appeared before him asking that Antony should give orders for the emancipation of the Jews sold into slavery by Cassius, and for the restoration of the places that had been conquered by the Tyrians. Antony readily assumed the role of the protector of all rights and privileges, and issued the orders prayed for, with violent denunciation of the lawless proceedings of Cassius.⁴¹—Some time afterwards, in the autumn of B.C. 41, when Antony had gone to Antioch, the Jewish nobles renewed their charges against Phasaël and Herod. But neither at this time did they lead to any result. Antony, when he was serving in Syria under Gabinius in B.C. 57–55, had been for many years the intimate friend of Antipater. That friendship he did not now forget. And since, besides, Hyrcanus, who had also gone to Antioch, gave a favourable account of the two brothers, Antony appointed Phasaël and Herod tetrarchs of the country of the Jews.⁴² Hyrcanus was then stripped of his political authority. He did not indeed mourn over the loss, for he had for a long time possessed political authority only in name.

The period of Antony's residence in Syria was for the province a time of sore oppression. His luxurious style of living consumed enormous sums of money, and these the provinces were required to provide. Thus, wherever Antony went exorbitant taxes were invariably imposed; and Palestine was not by any means allowed to escape.⁴³

⁴¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 2. The original documents, a letter of Antony to Hyrcanus and two letters to the Tyrians, *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 3–5. One of the letters to the Tyrians (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 4) refers expressly to the restoring of the conquered places; the other (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 5) refers to the liberating of Jewish slaves. Similar letters were also sent to the cities of Sidon, Antioch, and Aradus (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 6). Compare, with reference to the documents, Mendelssohn in Ritschl's *Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis*, t. v. 1875, pp. 254–263.

⁴² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 5.

⁴³ Appian, *Civ.* v. 7: 'Επιπαριῶν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ

In the year B.C. 40, while Antony was during part of the time held in thrall by Cleopatra in Egypt, and during another part occupied with the affairs of Italy, the great invasion of the Parthians occurred, who overran all Further Asia with their wild hordes. And in consequence of this occurrence Antigonus succeeded, for a while at least, in securing the end for which he had been striving.

As the Parthians under Pacorus and Barzapharnes, the former the son of King Orodes, the latter a Parthian satrap, had already occupied Northern Syria, Antigonus succeeded in persuading them, by great promises, to aid him in securing possession of the Jewish throne. Pacorus marched along to the Phoenician coast, Barzapharnes advanced into the interior of the country toward the south. Pacorus sent to Jerusalem a detachment under the leadership of the king's cupbearer, whose name was also Pacorus. Before that company arrived at the city, Antigonus had already succeeded in gathering around him a company of adherents from among the Jews, and had with it advanced upon Jerusalem, where the battle was waged daily between him on the one hand and Phasaël and Herod on the other.⁴⁴ In the meantime the Parthian troops under Pacorus arrived. The Parthian gave out that he desired to settle terms of peace, and demanded of Phasaël that he should go to the camp of Barzapharnes in order that he might put an end to this strife. Although Herod earnestly warned his brother, Phasaël walked into the snare, and went along with Hyrcanus and Pacorus, the cupbearer, to the camp of Barzapharnes. A small detachment of Parthian horsemen remained behind in Jerusalem.⁴⁵ In the Parthian camp the mask was soon thrown aside, and the

Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπανιν ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας.

⁴⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 1-2.

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 4-5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 3.

two princes, Phasaël and Hyrcanus, were put in irons.⁴⁶ When Herod was told of this, not being strong enough to offer open opposition, he resolved to escape from Jerusalem by flight. Without attracting the attention of the Parthians, he had the female members of his family and the children carried out of the city and brought to the fortress of Masada, which he put under the charge of his brother Joseph.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, on the spot where at a later period he built the fortress Herodium, he had to fight with the Jews, who were still hostile to him. He was able, however, successfully to repel their attack. After he had thus secured all belonging to him in a stronghold, he continued his flight farther southward, and went first of all to Petra in Arabia.⁴⁸

Their friendship for Antigonus did not restrain the Parthians from plundering the country round about the capital. Phasaël and Hyrcanus were now placed at the disposal of Antigonus. The ears of Hyrcanus were cut off, so that he might no longer be eligible for the office of high priest. Phasaël, on the contrary, escaped the hands of his enemies by dashing his head upon a rock after he had received the joyful tidings of the fortunate flight of his brother.

Afterwards the Parthians carried away Hyrcanus with them as a prisoner, and set up Antigonus as king.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 5-6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 4-5.

⁴⁷ Masada was built on a steep rock on the western bank of the Dead Sea. In the war of Vespasian it was the last place of refuge for the rebels, who yielded only after the Romans had carried on long and fatiguing siege operations, in A.D. 73. On its situation and history, see below in § 20 toward the end, where also the more recent literature is given.

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 6-9 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 6-8.

⁴⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 9-10 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 9-11.—Dio Cassius, xlviii. 26, erroneously names him Aristobulus instead of Antigonus. Of the events of the years B.C. 43-40, Julius Africanus in *George Syncellus*, ed. Dindorf, i. 581 sq., and Syncellus himself, ed. Dindorf, i.

576 sq. and 579, give a short account, which contains some things different from Josephus, and derived probably from another source, perhaps from Justus of Tiberias. It is most worthy of remark that Phasael is represented, not as taking away his own life while a prisoner, but as falling in battle (Julius Africanus in Syncellus, i. 581 : Φασάηλος δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀναίρεῖται). Also the sum which Cassius raised in Palestine is given, not as 700, but as 800 talents (Syncellus, i. 576). Compare generally, Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 261-265. We have no right, however, to give a preference to these brief statements over the very circumstantial and detailed report of Josephus.

§ 14. ANTIGONUS, B.C. 40-37.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xiv. 14-16; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 14-18. 3. ZONARAS, *Annales*, v. 10-11 (abstract from Josephus).

LITERATURE.

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SCHNECKENBURGER, *Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 173-175.

HAUSRATH, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. 200-210.

LEWIN, *Fasti sacri*, pp. 52-62.

BÜRCKLEIN, *Quellen und Chronologie der römisch-parthischen Feldzüge in den Jahren 713-718 d. St.* Dissertat. 1879.

ANTIGONUS, or, as he was called according to the evidence of the coins by his Hebrew name, Mattathias, had thus by the help of the Parthians reached that position after which his father and brother had vainly striven. After the example of his forefathers, from the time of Aristobulus I., he assumed the rank and title of "king" and "high priest" (on the coins: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ*, מלכה מנחמיה הגדל).¹

¹ Compare on the coins of Antigonus; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 480, 481. Mionnet, v. 563 sq. De Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 109-113. Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 23-25. Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, pp. 65-67. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 76-79. Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismat. Monatsheften*, Bd. iii. 1867, pp. 114-116. De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 243 sq. Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, pp. 314-316. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii. 1876, pp. 209-213. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 99-103.

The hopes of Herod rested simply and wholly on Roman aid. Without going to Petra—for the Arabian prince Malchus had forbidden him to visit his country—he proceeded to Alexandria, and thence took ship for Rome, although already the autumn storms had begun. After passing through various dangers, he managed to reach Rome by Rhodes and Brundisium, and immediately upon his arrival he laid his sad complaint before Antony.² Herod knew how to win favour, whenever that had to be gained, by means of money. And so it happened that he, after having secured also the goodwill of Octavian, was declared at a formal session of the senate to be king of Judea. The appointment was celebrated by a sacrifice at the capitol and a banquet by Antony.³

From the appointment to the actual possession of the office was now indeed a longer and a more difficult step. For the time being the Parthians, and their *protégé* Antigonus, still maintained their authority in the country. The Parthians were indeed driven out of Syria in B.C. 39 by Ventidius, the legate of Antony (see above, p. 341). But from Antigonus, Ventidius only exacted a heavy tribute,

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 1–3. *Wars of the Jews*, i. 14. 1–3.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 4–5. *Wars of the Jews*, i. 14. 4. Compare Appian, v. 75 (see above, p. 340).—The appointment falls under the year B.C. 40, during the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio (*Antiq.* xiv. 14. 5). It must, however, have been very near the end of the year, for it was already late in harvest when Herod took ship from Alexandria (*Antiq.* xiv. 14. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 14. 2). The statement of Josephus, that the appointment was made in the 184th Olympiad (*Antiq.* xiv. 14. 5), is therefore incorrect, for that Olympiad ended in the summer of B.C. 40. Also contemporary Roman history agrees in setting the appointment in the autumn, since Antony and Octavian did not reach Rome earlier than that. Compare Sancellemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, pp. 360–366. Van der Chijs, *De Herode Magno*, pp. 31–35.—On the other hand, it is certainly wrong, with Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender*, pp. 238–250, to place the appointment so late as autumn B.C. 39.

and left him otherwise undisturbed. And Silo also, his lieutenant, pursued a similar policy after the departure of Ventidius.⁴

This was the state of matters when Herod, in B.C. 39, landed at Ptolemais. He quickly collected an army; and as now Ventidius and Silo, at the command of Antony, supported him, he soon made progress. First of all Joppa fell into his hands. Then also he gained possession of Masada, where his relatives had hitherto been besieged. As he succeeded, the number of his adherents increased, and he could even venture to go to Jerusalem and lay siege to it. He made nothing, however, of this attempt at the time, for the Roman troops of Silo, which were to have supported him, assumed a stubborn and defiant attitude, and insisted upon withdrawing into winter quarters.⁵

In the spring of the year B.C. 38, the Parthians renewed the attack upon Syria. While thus Ventidius and Silo had to go forth to fight against them, Herod sought to subdue the country wholly under him, and to rescue it out of the hands of many adventurers. Vast bands of brigands concealed themselves, especially among the inaccessible caverns in the mountain gorges of Galilee. But even of these Herod knew how to gain possession, for he let down his soldiers in large chests (*λάβρακες*) from the lofty rocky peak, and thus secured for them an entrance into the caves.⁶

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 15. 2. Dio Cassius, xlviii. 41.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 1-3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 15. 3-6.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 16. 4.—According to *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 4, and *Wars of the Jews*, i. 16. 2, these caverns were situated in the neighbourhood of Arbela. The caves there referred to are often elsewhere spoken of by Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 11. 1; *Life*, 37). The description which he gives in *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 5, and in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 16. 4, corresponds exactly with the actual character of the caves which are to be seen at the present day in the neighbourhood

Meanwhile, however, the Parthians were conquered by Ventidius on 9th June B.C. 38. And that general then turned his attention against Antiochus of Commagene, and laid siege to him in his capital of Samosata. During the siege Antony himself arrived at Samosata. Herod could not let this opportunity escape of speaking to his patron; for he had good grounds for complaining of the way in which support had been withheld from him. He therefore now proceeded to Samosata in order to pay his respects to Antony. He received him very graciously, and as the surrender of Samosata soon afterwards took place, Antony instructed Sosius, the successor of Ventidius, to afford efficient assistance to Herod.⁷

In Palestine, during the absence of Herod, matters were in a bad way. Joseph, the brother of Herod, to whom he had in the meantime transferred the chief command, had been attacked by an army of Antigonus, and was himself slain in the battle, and Antigonus had ordered his head to be struck off. In consequence of these events, the Galileans had seized the opportunity to rise again against Herod, and had drowned his adherents in the lake of Gennesareth.⁸

A full report of all these proceedings reached Herod at Antioch, and he now hastened to avenge the death of his brother. Galilee was without difficulty reconquered. At Jericho he encountered the army of Antigonus, but did not,

of Jrbid (Arbed), not far from the lake of Gennesareth, north-west of Tiberias. There can therefore be no doubt that Jrbid is identical with Arbela, and the caverns there with those mentioned by Josephus. Compare Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii. 279, 280. Guérin, *Galilee*, i. 198-203. *The Survey of Western Palestine; Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener*, i. 409-411 (description of Kulat Ibn Man, as the rock fortress of the caverns is now called); and therewith the large English map, Sheet vi. Frei, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ix. 1886, p. 108 ff.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 7-9; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 16. 6-7.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 17. 1-2.

it would seem, venture upon any decisive engagement. It was only when Antigonus divided his forces, and sent a portion of his troops under Pappus to Samaria, that Herod courted a regular contest. Pappus and Herod came together near Isana. The first attack was made by Pappus, but he was utterly defeated by Herod, and driven into the city, where all who had not managed to save themselves by flight were ruthlessly cut down. Pappus himself there met his death. With the exception of the capital, all Palestine thereby fell into the hands of Herod. Only the coming on of winter hindered him from beginning immediately the siege of Jerusalem.⁹

In the spring of B.C. 37, so soon as the season of the year admitted of it, Herod laid siege to the capital, and began by the erection of military engines of assault. When these were ready for operating, he left the army for a little while and went to Samaria, in order there to celebrate his marriage with Mariamme, a granddaughter of Hyrcanus, to whom he had been engaged for five years. This engagement had been entered into in B.C. 42 (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 3).¹⁰

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 11-13; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 17. 3-8.—Instead of ΙΣΑΝΑ (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 12), we have in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 17. 5, ΚΑΝΑ, which evidently is simply a corruption of the text. By a combination of the narratives it appears that the place lay either in the south of Samaria or in the north of Judea; for Pappus had been sent to Samaria, but Herod met him going against him from Jericho. Our Isana is therefore undoubtedly to be identified with יִשְׁנָה, which in 2 Chron. xiii. 19 is mentioned along with Bethel (in Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 11. 3, 'Ισανά). The name is probably still preserved, as Clermont-Ganneau conjectures, in the modern Ain Sinia, only a little to the north of Bethel. Compare Clermont-Ganneau, *Journal asiatique*, septième série, t. ix. 1877, pp. 499-501. *Quarterly Statements*, 1877, p. 206 sq. *Zeitschrift des DPV.* i. 41 f. Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 38. *The Survey of Western Palestine*; Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, ii. 291, 302; and the large English map attached, Sheet xiv.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 14; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 17. 8.—Mariamme

After the celebration of the marriage he returned again to the camp. Sosius also now appeared before Jerusalem with a great army; and Herod and Sosius made a joint attack upon the city. They made their onslaught, as Pompey had done, from the north. On this side mighty ramparts were raised, and against these the battering-rams began to play. Forty days after the beginning of these operations, the first rampart was taken; after fifteen days more the second also fell. But the inner court of the temple and the upper city were always still in the hands of the besieged. At last these too were stormed, and the besiegers now went on murdering in the city all whom they could lay their hands upon. Antigonus himself fell at the feet of Sosius and entreated of him mercy. The Roman looked upon him with scorn, called him Antigone, and had him bound in fetters. It was now Herod's greatest care to rid himself as soon as possible of his Roman friends. For the murdering and plundering that was going on in what was now again his capital could not possibly be pleasing to him. By means of rich presents he succeeded at last in inducing Sosius and his troops to take their departure.¹¹

(*Μαριάμνη* is not to be written *Μαριάμνη*) was a daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus II. and of Alexandra, a daughter of Hyrcanus II. (*Antiq.* xv. 2. 5).—She was the second wife of Herod. His first wife was called Doris, by whom he had one son called Antipater (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 1).

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 1-3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 17. 9, 18. 1-3. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22.—The date of the conquest of Jerusalem is variously given by the two sources which we have at our disposal. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, places it in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus in B.C. 38. He is followed by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. pp. 222 sq. (*ad ann.* 38), 299 sq., and Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 350, who adopt December B.C. 38 as the date of the conquest. Josephus, on the other hand, says that it occurred under the consulship of M. Agrippa and Caninius Gallus in B.C. 37 (*Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4). He is followed by almost all the moderns. It is, in fact, quite clear that the short and summary report of Dio Cassius cannot come into competition with the detailed and circumstantial narrative of Josephus, which rests on thoroughly good

In this way was Herod, almost three years after his appointment, enabled to enter on the actual possession of his sovereignty. Antigonus was carried away by Sosius to Antioch, and there, in accordance with the wish of Herod,

and reliable sources. But from the statement of Josephus it must certainly be concluded that the fall of the city did not occur before B.C. 37. We know that Pacorus was conquered by Ventidius on the 9th of June B.C. 38. Ventidius thereupon directed his energies against Antiochus of Commagene, and besieged him in Samosata. It was only after the siege had begun (compare especially Plutarch, *Antony*, 34), therefore at the earliest in July B.C. 38, that Antony arrived at Samosata. He there received the visit from Herod; and when Samosata after a long siege (Plutarch, *Antony*, 34: τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης) had capitulated, and he himself had again returned to Athens, he sent back Sosius with orders to give assistance to Herod (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 8-9). It must therefore have been autumn of B.C. 38 before Herod received this support; and the statement of Josephus puts it beyond question that a winter was past before the conquest of Jerusalem was accomplished (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 11: πολλοῦ χειμῶνος καταρραγέντος; *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 12: χειμῶν ἐπέσχε βαθύς; then again, 15. 14: λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος; and finally, 16. 2: θέρος τε γὰρ ἦν). Accordingly the conquest of Jerusalem cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the summer of B.C. 37 (compare Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, pp. 366-371. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 390; and in opposition to Clinton, especially van der Chijs, *de Herode Magno*, pp. 35-41; also Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 416. Bürcklein, *Quellen und Chronologie der römisch-parthischen Feldzüge*, 1879, pp. 61-65. Kellner in the *Katholik*, 1887, zweite Hälfte, pp. 65-75). But now the opinions of scholars diverge from one another. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4, says that the fall of the city took place τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, by which undoubtedly he means the great day of atonement, 10th *Tischri*=October. He is followed by van der Chijs, Ewald, Kellner, etc. On the other hand, Herzfeld in particular, in his paper in Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1885, pp. 109-115, entitled: *Wann war die Eroberung Jerusalem's durch Pompejus, und wann die durch Herodes?* has attempted to show that the conquest took place earlier in the summer, and, indeed, the facts will oblige us to assent to this conclusion. Herod certainly began the siege as soon as the season of the year allowed (λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος), that is probably in February, at latest in March. Therefore, even although it is stated in the *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 2, that the siege lasted for five months, it could scarcely have been prolonged into October. It is much more probable that the fall of the city occurred some time in July B.C. 37. The phrase ἑορτῇ τῆς

he was by Antony's orders led to the block. It was the first time that the Romans had executed such a sentence on a king.¹²

The rule of the Asmonean dynasty was thus brought to an end.

υποστάς, which Josephus met with in his pagan sources, may therefore refer, as in the case of the conquest of Pompey, not to the day of atonement, but to an ordinary Sabbath; for Dio Cassius here also again says that the city was taken *ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ* (xlix. 22).—Yet the statement of Josephus is to be remembered, that the capture took place *τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί* (*Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4). By this he certainly does not mean the third month of the Olympiad year, as van der Chijs supposes, p. 35, for the Greek months were never numbered; but he intends either the third month of the Jewish calendar, or the third month of the siege. Grätz, *Geschichte*, iii., 4 Aufl. p. 196, and Hitzig, *Geschichte*, ii. 532, take the former view, and so date the conquest of the city in June B.C. 37. But certainly this cannot have been the meaning of Josephus, since at the same time he places the fall of the city on the great day of atonement. It is therefore evident that by the phrase employed he meant to indicate the third month of the siege. The three months, then, are to be reckoned from the beginning of active operations (*Antiq.* xiv. 16. 2); the five months of the *Wars of the Jews* from the beginning of the preparations (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 14). Compare Herzfeld, *Wann war die Eroberung*, p. 113 f.

The view of Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender*, pp. 268-277, and Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 20 ff., that the fall of the city did not take place before 718 A.U.C., or B.C. 36, is decidedly false, inasmuch as it is in opposition to all well-supported chronological data.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4, xv. 1. 2, where Josephus also quotes a passage from the now lost historical work of Strabo. *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 3. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22. Plutarch, *Antony*, 36.

§ 15. HEROD THE GREAT, B.C. 37-4.

SOURCES.

- JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xv., xvi., xvii. 1-8 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18-33. ZONARAS, *Annales*, v. 12-26 (summary of Josephus).
 On the non-extant works of Herod, Ptolemy, Nicolas of Damascus, and Justus of Tiberias, see above, pp. 56-69.
 The Rabbinical traditions are given in DERENBOURG, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine* (1867), pp. 149-165.
 The Coins are treated of in the most complete manner by MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 105-114.

LITERATURE.¹

- EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 417-449.
 STANLEY, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, iii. 412-448.
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 HAUSRATH, *History of New Testament Times*, i. 207-ii. 57.
 LEWIN, *Fasti sacri ; or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament*, 1865, pp. 62-127.
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 DE SAULCY, *Histoire d'Hérode, roi des Juifs*. Paris 1867.
 SIEFFERT in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, 2 Aufl. vi. 47-55.
 REUSS, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften A.T.'s* 1881, § 541-545.

¹ The older literature, of which the most important is Noldii *Historia Idumaea*, is given in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 483, 485 f.

MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 503-507.

KELLNER, *Die Regierungszeit des Herodes und ihre Dauer* (Katholik, 1867, zweite Hälfte, pp. 64-82, 166-182).

MENKE'S *Bibelatlas*, Sheet iv. Map of "Judea and Phoenicia after the arrangement of M. Antony," and Sheet v. Map of "Judea and neighbouring countries at the time of the birth of Christ."

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.²

B.C.	A.U.C.	
37	717	Conquest of Jerusalem, some time in July. Executions, Josephus, <i>Antiq.</i> xv. 1. 2; compare xiv. 9. 4, <i>fin.</i> ; <i>Wars of the Jews</i> , i. 18. 4.
36	718	Hyrcanus II. returns from the Parthian imprisonment, <i>Antiq.</i> xv. 2. 1-4.
35	719	Beginning of the year: Aristobulus III., brother of Mariamme, is at the instigation of his mother Alexandra nominated high priest by Herod, <i>Antiq.</i> xv. 2. 5-7, 3. 1. ³ End of the year: Aristobulus III. is by Herod's order, soon after the Feast of Tabernacles, drowned in the bath at Jericho, τὴν ἀρχιερω- σύνην κατασχὼν ἐνιαυτόν, <i>Antiq.</i> xv. 3. 3. <i>Wars of the Jews</i> , i. 22. 2.
34	720	Herod is summoned by Antony to Laodicea to answer for the death of Aristobulus, but is dismissed with Antony's favour, <i>Antiq.</i> xv. 3. 5 and 8. 9. ⁴

² We prefix this chronological summary, because in what follows the chronological order is not always adhered to.

³ The appointment was made some time after Alexandra had sent the portraits of Aristobulus and Mariamme to Antony in Egypt (*Antiq.* xv. 2. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 3: εἰς Αἴγυπτον). Seeing, then, that Antony did not go into Egypt until the end of B.C. 36 (see above, p. 342), the appointment cannot have been earlier than the beginning of B.C. 35.

⁴ Since Aristobulus, according to the above statement, died in the end of the year B.C. 35, this summons to Laodicea would fall in the spring of B.C. 34, when Antony undertook the expedition against Armenia (Dio Cassius, xlix. 39); not, as we may assume, in B.C. 36, when Antony went

B.C. A.U.C.

34 720

Joseph, the husband of Herod's sister Salome, is executed, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 9.

Antony presents to Cleopatra the Phoenician coasts, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, and portions of Arabia and Judea; the region around Jericho being specially excepted, *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5.⁵

Cleopatra with Herod in Jerusalem, *Antiq.* xv. 4. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5.

forth against the Parthians. The correct view is taken by van der Chijs. —When Josephus says that then Antony went against the Parthians (*Antiq.* xv. 3. 9), his statement is loose and inexact, but not altogether incorrect. For Antony had, indeed, the design of going against the Parthians, see Dio Cassius, xlix. 39. But Josephus is clearly in error when he names in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5, "Parthians" instead of "Armenians."—The campaign ἐπὶ Πάρθους, referred to in *Antiq.* xv. 3. 9, is therefore identical with the campaign ἐπ' Ἀρμενίαν of *Antiq.* xv. 4. 2. The impression given by Josephus, that two different occurrences are there reported, probably results from his having used two different sources.

⁵ These presents are referred to by Plutarch, *Antony*, 36 (Φοινίκην, κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τε Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ βάλαμον φέρουσαν καὶ τῆς Ναβαταίων Ἀραβίας ὅση πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν), and Dio Cassius, xlix. 32 (πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τε Μάλχου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰτυραίων, τὸν γὰρ Λυσανίαν . . . ἀπέκτεινεν . . . πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης, Κρήτης τέ τινα καὶ Κυρήνην τὴν τε Κύπρον). Both writers assign these proceedings to the year B.C. 36. Plutarch indeed places the transaction before the Parthian campaign; Dio Cassius, after the return from it. According to Josephus, on the other hand, the presentation of portions of Arabia, Judea, and Phoenicia took place in B.C. 34, when Antony was entertaining the idea of going against Armenia. For that this campaign is intended in *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1-3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5, cannot be doubted when we compare these passages with Dio Cassius, xlix. 39-40. The date given by Plutarch and Dio Cassius obtains an apparent confirmation from the statement of Porphyry, that Cleopatra had reckoned the sixteenth year of her reign the first, because Antony in that year, after the death of Lysimachus (it ought to be Lysanias), had gifted to her the kingdom of Chalcis. (Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 170: τὸ δ' ἐκκαίδεκατον ἀνομάσθη τὸ καὶ πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσαντος Λυσιμάχου [i. Λυσανίου] τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ Χαλκίδος βασιλείας, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν τε Χαλκίδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τόπους παρέδωκε τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ). That this statement of Porphyry is correct, is

B.C. A.U.C.

32 722

War of Herod with the Arabians, after the outbreak of hostilities between Antony and Octavian, *Antiq.* xv. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19. 1-3.

Earthquake in Palestine, *Antiq.* xv. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19. 3: κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδομον, ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Ἀκτιον πολέμου, ἀρχομένου ἔαρος.⁶

also proved by a coin and an inscription. On a coin of Cleopatra the date is given: ἔτους κα' τοῦ καὶ ε' θεᾶς (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Egypte*, ii. 90; Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiv. 1887, p. 379 f.); and on an inscription we have the date κ' τοῦ καὶ ε' (Letronne, *Recueil*, ii. 125 = *Corpus Inscr. Graecorum*, n. 4931-4932 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, Bd. xii. Blatt 88, *Inscript. Graec.* n. 264, reviewed by Krall, *Wiener Studien*, Bd. v. 1883, p. 313 f.). Seeing, then, that the sixteenth year of Cleopatra, according to the usual reckoning of the years of her reign, corresponds to the year B.C. 36 (answering precisely to the period from autumn B.C. 37 to autumn B.C. 36, see Letronne, ii. 98), her new era begins with this same year, and it may safely be assumed that she obtained the kingdom of Lysanias in B.C. 36. But on more exact investigation this statement of Porphyry is found to favour, not that of Plutarch and Dio Cassius, but rather that of Josephus. Why does Porphyry name only the kingdom of Chalcis, and not also Phoenicia and the other countries which were far more important than Chalcis? Evidently because Chalcis was the first present, while the others were not bestowed till a later period. But this is just exactly what is assumed by Josephus. When Herod had made answer for himself before Antony at Laodicea, he wrote home an account of what had happened: Cleopatra's schemes for obtaining Judea were no longer to be dreaded, since she had received instead Coele-Syria (*Antiq.* xv. 3. 8, *fin.*). When Cleopatra, however, soon renewed more successfully her petitions to have Judea and Arabia given to her, the execution of Lysanias had been already carried out (*Antiq.* xv. 4. 1). The cession to her of Coele-Syria, by which is to be understood mainly the territory of Lysanias, thus preceded the other gifts of countries. Plutarch and Dio Cassius group together facts that belong to different periods of time. Josephus has given the more exact statement. Compare on the donations of Antony to Cleopatra generally what is said above, p. 344.—According to the conclusions which we have reached, the presentations spoken of by Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 6, must be assigned to a date not much later than the audience of Herod with Antony in Laodicea.

⁶ The seventh year of Herod corresponds to B.C. 31-30, and is to be

B.C. A.U.C.

- 32 722 Herod conquers the Arabians, *Antiq.* xv. 5. 2-5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19. 3-6.
 After the battle at Actium on 2nd September, Herod attached himself to the party of Augustus, for he supported Didius in the struggle with Antony's gladiators; compare *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 2. Also above, p. 345.
- 30 724 Spring: Hyrcanus II. executed, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 1-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 1; *πλεῖω μὲν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτύχχανεν ἔτη*, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 3.⁷
 Herod visits Augustus at Rhodes, and is by him made king, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 5-7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 1-3.
 He attaches himself to Augustus on his march to Egypt at Ptolemais, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 3.
 Autumn: Herod visits Augustus in Egypt, and gets Jericho back from him, as also Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, Straton's Tower, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 3.
 End of the year: he accompanies Augustus on his

reckoned from 1st Nisan to 1st Nisan. See the note at the close of the section.—The earthquake, therefore, took place in the Nisan of the year B.C. 31. Nisan is also elsewhere described as the beginning of spring. See *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1 (ὕπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος); compare this with iv. 7. 3 (περὰ δι Δύστρον). According to Mishna, *Taanith* i. 2, *Nederin* viii. 5, *Baba Mezia* viii. 6, the rainy season is reckoned from the Feast of Tabernacles to the Passover, therefore down to the middle or even to the end of Nisan.

⁷ Zonaras, *Annales*, v. 14, *fin.*: ἦν ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸς ἑνί. Also some of the manuscripts of Josephus have eighty-one.

B.C. A.U.C.

- return from Egypt as far as Antioch, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 4.
- 29 725 End of the year: Mariamme executed, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 4-6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 3-5 (*Antiq.* xv. 7. 4: ἡ τε ὑποψία τρεφομένη παρέτεινεν ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆκος, ἐξ οὗ παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἡρώδης ὑποστρέφει).
- 28 ? Alexandra executed, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 8.
- 25 729 Costobar, the second husband of Salome, and the sons of Babas, executed, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 10. The date is discovered from the statement of Salome: *ὅτι διασώζονται παρ' αὐτῇ χρόνον ἐνιαυτῶν ἤδη δώδεκα*, that is, after the overthrow of Jerusalem in B.C. 37.
- ? The four years' contendings begun. Theatre and amphitheatre built in Jerusalem, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 1.
- ? Conspiracy against Herod, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 3-4.
- 27 727 Samaria rebuilt and named in honour of Augustus Sebaste, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 2.⁶

⁶ The rebuilding of Samaria is by Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, v. 5. 1, ed. Lips. pp. 531-536, and Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* iii. 440 sq., set down in the year A.U.C. 729, or B.C. 25. And it would at least appear as if Josephus assigns it to the same year. Then immediately after he has referred to it in xv. 8. 5, he proceeds in xv. 9. 1 to say: *κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τρισκαίδεκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας*. But the thirteenth year of Herod began on 1st Nisan A.U.C. 729, or B.C. 25. The coins of Samaria, however, employ an earlier epoch (see especially, Mionnet, *Description de medailles antiques*, v. 513-516, *Supplément*, viii. 356-359, and de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 275-281). Even the coins of Caracalla with the date 242 (Mionnet, *Supplément*, viii. 358 = de Saulcy, p. 280) carry us as far back as the spring of the year 729; for Caracalla was murdered in April A.U.C. 970. We are carried still farther back by a coin of Nero with the date 94 (Mionnet, *Supplément*, viii. 357). From this coin it is evident that the epoch of Samaria began

B.C. A.U.C.

25 729	Famine and pestilence (κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τρισκαιδέκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου
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before June 728 A.U.C.; for Nero died in June A.U.C. 821. The reading of the year-number 94 is not altogether certain (de Saulcy, p. 276 sq.); yet a principal reason why de Saulcy suspects the correctness of the reading is, that the year-number 94 is not reconcilable with the assumed epoch of B.C. 25. On the other side, we are not led much farther back, that is, not farther back than to the 16th January 727 A.U.C., on which day Augustus first assumed the title Σεβαστός, after which the city was named (see Mommsen, *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. i. p. 384; *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, p. 149; *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 2. 708). Moreover, a coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus, with the year-number 220 (Mionnet, v. 514 f. = de Saulcy, p. 279), proves that the epoch of the city began in any case after the summer of A.U.C. 726, for Septimus Severus did not come to the throne before the summer of A.U.C. 946. If we assume, therefore, that the epoch of Samaria, like that of most Syrian cities, began in autumn, we may set down autumn of A.U.C. 727 as the epoch. The rebuilding of Samaria took place, therefore, probably in the year 727, in any case before the spring of 729, *i.e.* before the thirteenth year of Herod.

But this contradiction between the coins and what seems to be the chronology of Josephus is not the only difficulty which meets us. Costobar's execution, according to *Antiq.* xv. 7. 10, occurred in the thirteenth year of Herod. Thereupon a whole series of events is recorded in xv. 8. 1-5, which could not possibly have occurred in the space of one year. And yet, when we pass on to xv. 9. 1, we find that we are always still within this thirteenth year of Herod. From this it follows that the whole section xv. 8. 1-5 is evidently arranged according to the subject-matter, for Josephus here brings together statements to show how Herod by illegal procedure created opposition and gave offence, how the dissatisfaction of the people expressed itself in words and deeds, and what concessions Herod made in order to soothe the excitement of the multitude. If we consider all this, and remember that Josephus gathered his materials from various sources (see above, p. 88), it becomes in the highest degree probable that in the principal document used by Josephus, the section xv. 9. 1 was attached immediately to xv. 7. 10; that, on the other hand, xv. 8. 1-5 is interpolated from another document, and that the words κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, etc., have been taken over by Josephus unchanged from his principal document, and that it is connected in its text, not with the time of the rebuilding of Samaria, but with the time of Costobar's execution. In this way a solution is found for all difficulties.

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Βασιλείας = B.C. 25-24, from Nisan to Nisan),
Antiq. xv. 9. 1.

The famine continues also into the following year,
 B.C. 24-23, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 1, when Petronius
 was governor of Egypt, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 2.

25 729 Herod sends 500 men as auxiliaries to the expedi-
 tion of Aelius Gallus against Arabia, *Antiq.* xv.
 9. 3; compare Strabo, xvi. 4. 23, p. 780: συμ-
 μάχων, ὧν ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι.—
 The campaign ended in the following year, B.C.
 24, disastrously, and without any appreciable
 results.⁹

* The most detailed description of the campaign is given by Strabo, xvi. 4. 22-24, pp. 780-782; while it is reported more briefly by Dio Cassius, liii. 29; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, vi. 28. 160 sq.; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 18 sq. (in Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, p. 105).—Compare generally, Krüger, *Der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus nach dem glücklichen Arabien unter Kaiser Augustus* (62, p. 8), Wismar 1862; Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, 1883, pp. 105-109; *Römische Geschichte*, v. 608 ff.; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, Bd. i. 1883, pp. 198-201; Joh. Schmidt, *Philologus*, Bd. xlv. 1885, pp. 463-469; Schiller, *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, Bd. xlviii. pp. 251-257. For the geographical particulars, besides what is given in Schiller, *Kaiserzeit*, i. 201, compare the well-known works of Forster, Mannert, and Ritter, and especially Fresnel, *Journal asiatique*, troisième série, t. x. 1840, pp. 83-96, 177-181; Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, ii. 748 ff.; Sprenger, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, vol. vi. 1873, pp. 121-141; *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875, pp. 226-229; Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, 1878, p. 187.—Dio Cassius places the whole campaign within the tenth consulship of Augustus, B.C. 24, or A.U.C. 730. But, according to Strabo, the campaign proper did not begin until the year after Aelius Gallus had pushed on to Leuke Kome with great loss, and had there, in consequence of the numerous invalids in his army, been obliged to spend the winter (Strabo, xvi. 4. 24, p. 781: ἡναγκάσθη γοῦν τό τε θέρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διατελεῖσαι αὐτόθι τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀνακτῶμενος). The whole campaign, therefore, embraced the years B.C. 25-24. This may be accepted as certain. It is on the other hand, questionable whether Aelius Gallus conducted the expedition as governor of Egypt, and was followed in that office by

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Herod builds for himself a royal palace, and marries the priest's daughter, Mariamme, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3 (the name: *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 4, 29. 2, 30. 7).

The building of Caesarea is begun, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 6. Since the building after twelve years' labour was completed in B.C. 10, the works must have been begun in B.C. 22.

23 731 The sons of the first Mariamme, Alexander and

Petronius, or whether, on the contrary, Petronius was at the time of the Arabian campaign governor of Egypt, and was followed in that office by Gallus. We know definitely that both held the office of *praefectus Aegypti* (see on Aelius Gallus, Strabo, pp. 118 and 806; Dio Cassius, liii. 29; on Petronius, Strabo, pp. 788 and 819; Dio Cassius, liv. 5; Pliny, vi. 29. 181). We know further that Petronius undertook several expeditions against the Ethiopians which happened to occur just at the same time as the expedition of Gallus against Arabia (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 18 sq.: "Meo jussu et auspicio ducti sunt duo exercitus eodem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in Arabiam quae appellatur eudaemon;" Strabo, xvii. 1. 54, p. 820 sq.; Dio Cassius, liv. 5; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, vi. 29. 181 sq.; according to Strabo, the Ethiopians had made an attack upon the Thebaid, when the garrison of Egypt was weakened by the withdrawal of the troops of Aelius Gallus; and thus the expedition of Petronius became necessary. Dio Cassius places this occurrence in B.C. 22). Krüger and Schiller now assume that Aelius Gallus undertook the expedition against Arabia, not as governor of Egypt, but under a special commission, and that only after his return from the campaign did he receive the governorship of Egypt in succession to Petronius. Mommsen and Schmidt, on the other hand, maintain that Aelius Gallus directed the Arabian campaign as governor of Egypt, and that Petronius was his successor in Egypt. This latter view is supported by these two considerations: 1. Dio Cassius, liii. 29, expressly designates Gallus at the time of the Arabian expedition *ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀρχων*. 2. Dio Cassius places the Ethiopian campaign two years later than the Arabian, the latter in 24 B.C., the former 22 B.C. Since, then, according to Strabo, there are certainly two Ethiopian campaigns of Petronius to be distinguished from one another, these would fall in B.C. 23-22, or perhaps B.C. 24-22. In the second half of the year B.C. 24, Petronius may be supposed to have succeeded Gallus as governor of Egypt, after having been already for some time his substitute and representative (so also Haakh in Pauly's *Encyclopaedie*, v. 1401).

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Aristobulus, are sent to Rome for their education, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1.

Augustus bestows upon Herod the provinces of Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4 (μετὰ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκτιάδα).¹⁰

22 732 Herod visits Agrippa in Mytilene in Lesbos, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 2.¹¹

20 734 Augustus comes to Syria and bestows upon Herod the territory of Zenodorus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3: ἤδη αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαιδεκάτου παρελθόντος ἔτους (the seventeenth year of Herod extended to 1st Nisan at the end of the year B.C. 20); *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4: ἔτει δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν (also reckoned from the end of the year B.C. 30).—Dio Cassius, liv. 7, places the visit of Augustus to Syria in the consulship of M. Appuleius and P. Silius, A.U.C. 734.—Also Dio Cassius, liv. 9, makes mention of that presentation.

Pheroras appointed tetrarch of Perea, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 5; compare i. 30. 3.

Herod remits one-third of the taxes, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4.

Begins the temple building, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 1: ὀκτώ-

¹⁰ The games at Actium were celebrated on 2nd September for the first time in B.C. 28, then in the years B.C. 24, 20, 16, etc. That enlargement of territory therefore took place "after the course of the first Actiad had run," i.e. in the end of B.C. 24 or beginning of B.C. 23. See Zumpt, *Commentt. epigraph.* ii. 76.

¹¹ Josephus only says, Herod visited Agrippa περὶ Μυτιλήνην χειμᾶζοντα. Since Agrippa was in Mytilene from spring B.C. 23 till spring B.C. 21, this may have been the winter of B.C. 23-22 or of B.C. 22-21.

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καιδεκάτου τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος
ἐνιαυτοῦ = B.C. 20-19.¹²

- 18 or 17 Herod fetches his sons Alexander and Aristobulus home from Rome: the first Roman voyage of Herod,¹³ *Antiq.* xvi. 1. 2.—Since Herod met Augustus in Italy, and as Augustus did not return to Italy before the summer of B.C. 19, the journey of Herod must be placed at the earliest in the middle of the year B.C. 19, and at latest before the summer of B.C. 16, since Augustus was in Gaul from the summer of B.C. 16 till the spring of B.C. 13.¹⁴

¹² According to *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 1, the building was begun in the fifteenth year, which either is wrong, or refers to the earlier preparations for the building. That the building of the temple began in the year B.C. 20-19 is quite certain, from the fact that it was begun in the same year in the beginning of which the emperor went to Syria, which, according to Dio Cassius, liv. 7, was in the spring or summer of B.C. 20.—The building of the court of the temple occupied eight years, the building of the temple proper a year and a half (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5-6; it is not clear whether these $8 + 1\frac{1}{2}$ years are to be added, or whether the latter period is to be regarded as identical with the first year and a half of the whole building period). After the completion of the temple a great festival was celebrated. Seeing that it synchronized with the day of Herod's ascending the throne (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 6), the temple building, if we are right in setting down the date of Herod's accession at July, must have been begun in winter, therefore in the end of the year B.C. 20, A.U.C. 734, or in the beginning of B.C. 19, A.U.C. 735.—When it is therefore declared in John ii. 20 at the time of the Passover that the temple had been forty-six years in building (τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτησιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος), this means that the forty-sixth year was regarded as running or as completed at the Passover of A.U.C. 780 = A.D. 27, or A.U.C. 781 = A.D. 28. The latter is more probably the correct date. See Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 187; *Beiträge*, p. 156 ff.; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. pp. 11-13.

¹³ That is to say, from the time of his ascending the throne, and so without taking into consideration his journey in the year B.C. 40-39.

¹⁴ Noris, *Cenotaphia Pisana*, Diss. ii. cap. 6, pp. 150-153, places the journey of Herod in question in the year A.U.C. 737, or B.C. 17. For the

B.C.	A.U.C.	
15	739	Agrippa visits Herod in Jerusalem, <i>Antiq.</i> xvi. 2. 1 (Philo, <i>Legat. ad Cajum</i> , § 37, ed. Mangey, ii. 589).—He left Judea again before the end of the year: ἐπιβαλόντος τοῦ χειμῶνος. ¹⁵
14	740	Herod with Agrippa in Asia Minor, <i>Antiq.</i> xvi. 2. 2-5 (ἔαρος ἡπέλγετο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ). Compare also: <i>Antiq.</i> xii. 3. 2; Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, <i>Fragment. Hist. Graecor.</i> iii. 350. After his return he remits a fourth part of the taxes, <i>Antiq.</i> xvi. 2. 5. Beginning of quarrels with the sons of Mariamme, Alexander and Aristobulus.—Antipater brought to the court, <i>Antiq.</i> xvi. 3. 1-3; <i>Wars of the Jews</i> , i. 23. 1.
13	741	Antipater is sent with Agrippa to Rome that he might be presented to the emperor, <i>Antiq.</i> xvi. 3. 3; <i>Wars of the Jews</i> , i. 23. 2. (On the date compare: Dio Cassius, liv. 28; Fischer, <i>Zeittafeln</i> , p. 408.)
12	742	Herod goes with his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome in order to accuse them before

chronology of the history of Augustus, see the argument in Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 395 f.

¹⁵ Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 402, and van der Chijs, p. 55, set the visit of Agrippa in the year B.C. 17, and the return visit of Herod in the year B.C. 16, because they proceed on the assumption that Agrippa went to Palestine immediately after his arrival in the East. But Josephus by no means says so, and it is not at all certain that Agrippa had even arrived in the East in B.C. 17, since, according to the indefinite statement of Dio Cassius, liv. 19, this may have occurred in B.C. 16 just as likely as in B.C. 17. But that Agrippa came into Palestine first in B.C. 15, and that Herod first visited Agrippa in Asia Minor in B.C. 14, is proved from this, that Herod then met Agrippa at Sinope on his expedition to the Crimea, which campaign, according to Dio Cassius, liv. 24, took place in B.C. 14. So also Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. 97; Hitzig, ii. 548, and Keim in *Bibellexicon*, iii. 33.

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the emperor. Herod's second Roman journey. He meets the emperor at Aquileia. Augustus reconciles the discord.—Antipater returns back with them to Judea, *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 1–6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 23. 3–5.¹⁶

¹⁶ Even early writers such as Noris, *Cenotaphia Pisana*, Diss. ii. cap. 6, pp. 153–157, and Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*, p. 334 sq., placed this journey of Herod correctly in the year B.C. 12, or A.U.C. 742. So too, e.g. Zumpt, *Caesaris Augusti index rerum a se gestarum sive Monumentum Ancyranum*, ed. Franz et Zumpt, 1845, p. 59, and Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, 1883, p. 61. Quite decisive in this matter is the fact that during Herod's presence at that time in Rome, Augustus had the games celebrated, and "distributed presents among the Roman people" (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 5: Ἡρώδης μὲν ἰδωρεῖτο Καίσαρα τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις θίας τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιούμενον τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ). In *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iii. 7–21 (in Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, p. 58 sq.), Augustus gives a complete and chronologically arranged list of the largesses (*congiaria*) which he had distributed among the people during his reign (compare on these *congiaria* of the Roman emperors, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 132 ff.). They are eight in all. The fifth took place during the twelfth year of the tribunate of Augustus (*tribunicia potestate duodecimum*, i.e. between June 742 and June 743 A.U.C. Compare on the reckoning of the tribunicial years of Augustus, Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 753 ff.); the sixth did not occur till the eighteenth tribunicial year and the twelfth consulship of Augustus (*tribuniciae potestatis duodevicensimum*, consul. xii.; the latter corresponding to A.U.C. 749, or B.C. 5). Between these two terms, therefore, no donation of this sort had been made. The date of the former can be still more exactly fixed at the year 742, for in that year it is placed by Dio Cassius, liv. 29, and also by an Inscription Fragment (*Fasti Ripatransonenses*, see *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. i. p. 472 = t. ix. n. 5289). It belongs, therefore, to the second half of the year A.U.C. 742, or B.C. 12. Its amount was very munificent. At least 250,000 citizens received 400 sesterces, or 100 denaria each, so that in all at least 25 millions of sesterces were distributed, amounting to about £1,000,000 sterling.—Since in the case before us it cannot be the donation of the year B.C. 5 that is meant, we can only identify it with that of B.C. 12. That in this year Augustus arrived at Aquileia is not indeed proved by any direct evidence, but it may very well have been so, in consequence of the Pannonian campaign of Tiberius, which occurred in that year (Dio Cassius, liv. 31; compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, 20: "Reliqua [bella] per legatos administravit, ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Ger-

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- 10 744 The celebration of the completion of the building of Caesarea fell εἰς ὄγδοον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς = B.C. 10-9, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1; after it had been twelve years in building, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 6: ἐξετελέσθη δωδεκαετείῳ χρόνῳ (xvi. 5. 1 says: ten years, which is certainly wrong). On the building, compare also *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 5-8.
- ? The quarrel in Herod's family becomes more and more bitter and complicated, *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 2-6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 1-6.
- ? Herod by torturing Alexander's dependants seeks to fasten guilt upon him; Alexander is cast into prison, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 1-5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 7-8.
- 10? Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Alexander's father-in-law, effects once more a reconciliation be-

manicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset Ravennam vel Mediolanum vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens"). The games which Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 5, speaks of alongside of the διανομαί, are not indeed those which Augustus gave in the year 742 at the festival of the Roman "Panathanaea" (*quinquatrus*) in March (Dio Cassius, liv. 28), since those referred to by Josephus must have occurred later. And just inasmuch as, according to Dio Cassius, liv. 29, the *congiaria* of this year were occasioned by Agrippa's death, so also among the games were those connected with Agrippa's financial obsequies, not indeed celebrated until five years afterwards, but having certainly preparations made for them even then (so Mommsen after Dio Cassius, lv. 8). In the first edition of this work I had, in agreement with van der Chijs, assigned the journey of Herod to Rome, now under consideration, to the year B.C. 10, inasmuch as Dio Cassius, liv. 36, relates of this year, but not expressly of the year B.C. 12, that Augustus was absent from Rome, by which his presence at Aquileia can be accounted for. But this argument cannot hold ground against that drawn from the presents. No more weight can be laid upon the fact that Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1, says that about this time the rebuilding of Caesarea was celebrated (περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον), which certainly did not take place before B.C. 10.

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tween Herod and his sons, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 6 ;
Wars of the Jews, i. 25. 1-6.

Herod's third journey to Rome, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 1.¹⁷

9 ? Campaign against the Arabians, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 2.

8 ? Herod in disfavour with Augustus, *Antiq.* xvi.
 9. 3.

Herod having extorted by torture damaging statements against Aristobulus and Alexander, has them cast into prison, and accuses them to Augustus of high treason, *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 3-7 ;
Wars of the Jews, i. 26. 3, 27. 1.

7 ? Augustus, having again become favourable to Herod through the good offices of Nicolaus of Damas-

¹⁷ The date of this third journey cannot be more exactly determined. In the first edition of this work I assigned it, with Noris and van der Chijs, to the year B.C. 8. Noris (who in his *Cenotaphia Pisana*, Diss. ii. cap. 6, p. 157 sq., declares a precise determination of the date impossible, but then in Diss. ii. cap. 16, § 9, p. 303, decides for that date) regards the fact decisive that Herod had met Augustus in Rome, whereas in the years B.C. 10 and 9 he had been absent from Rome. But he was by no means absent from Rome during the whole of these years. Van der Chijs, p. 57 f., borrows his chief argument from Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 12. According to the statement made there, Herod once on his way to Rome was made judge in the Olympian games. The Olympian games were celebrated in B.C. 20, 16, 12, 8, etc. Since now, according to van der Chijs, the earlier journeys did not by any means occur in any of these years, the reference can only be to this last journey, which therefore falls in B.C. 8. But we have shown in the previous note that the second journey took place in B.C. 12. The subject has been treated in the most complete manner by Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*, p. 338 sqq. He comes to the conclusion that the journey of Herod in question is to be placed in the year B.C. 10 mainly for this reason, that the events which were transacted between that time and the departure of the Syrian governor, Sentius Saturninus, required a period of at least three full years (p. 340a: "ad minus integrum triennium exposeunt"). But Saturninus did not take his departure later than in the first half of the year B.C. 6 (see above, p. 351). The arguments of Sanclemente are in fact interesting, but not quite convincing. It is still quite possible that this journey of Herod was made in B.C. 9.

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cus (*Antiq.* xvi. 10. 8-9), gives him full power to deal with his sons according to his own discretion, *Antiq.* xvi. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 27. 1.

Alexander and Aristobulus condemned to death at Berytus, and strangled at Sebaste (Samaria), *Antiq.* xvi. 11. 2-7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 27. 2-6.¹⁸

Antipater all-powerful at Herod's court, *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 1, 2. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 1, 29. 1.

Executions of suspected Pharisees, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4.

6?

Antipater goes to Rome, *Antiq.* xvii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 2.

First testament or will of Herod, in which he named Antipater, or if he should die before himself, Herod, the son of the second Mariamme, his successor, *Antiq.* xvii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 2.

■ 749

Beginning of the year: Pheroras, Herod's brother, dies, *Antiq.* xvii. 3. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 4.

Herod discovers Antipater's hostile designs, *Antiq.* xvii. 4. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 30. 1-7.

Antipater returns again to Judea, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 31. 3-5; seven months after Herod had made that discovery, *Antiq.* xvii. 4. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 31. 2.

■ Since at the time of his condemnation (*Antiq.* xvi. 11. 3), and also for some time after (*Antiq.* xvii. 1. 1, 2. 1, 3. 2), Saturninus was governor of Syria, the condemnation must have taken place in the year B.C. 7, for Saturninus went away from Syria not later than in the first half of the year B.C. 6 (see above, p. 351). This also is the opinion of Sanclemente (*De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, p. 346): "Beryti concilium habitum fuit labente anno U.C. Varr. 747."

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Antipater on his trial; seeks in vain to justify himself, and is put in chains, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 3-7
Wars of the Jews, i. 32. 1-5.

Herod reports the matter to the emperor, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 7-8; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 32. 5.

Herod is ill and makes his second testament, in which he appoints his youngest son Antipater his successor, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 5.

4 750 Revolt of the people under the rabbis Judas and Matthias rigorously suppressed by Herod, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 1-4.

Herod's illness becomes more severe, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 5.

Antipater, after leave had been obtained from the emperor, is executed, *Antiq.* xvii. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 7.

Herod again changes his will, for he appoints Archelaus king, and Antipas and Philip tetrarchs, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 7.

Herod dies five days after the execution of Antipater, βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνείλεν Ἀντίγονον, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, μεθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδέδεικτο, ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8.¹⁹

Herod ²⁰ was born to be a ruler. Blessed by nature with a powerful body capable of enduring fatigue, he early inured

¹⁹ In regard to the year of Herod's death, see the note at the close of this section.

²⁰ The name Ἡρώδης (from ἥρως) occurs also previously, see *Corpus Inscript. Graec.*, Index, p. 92; Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*, s.v.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 481, Anm. 4. We have also some fragments of an old Iambic poet called Herod (see Pauly's *Real-Encyclo-*

himself to all manner of hardships. He was a skilful rider, and a bold, daring huntsman. He was feared in pugilistic encounters. His lance was unerring, and his arrow seldom missed its mark.²¹ He was practised in the art of war from his youth. Even in his twenty-fifth year he had won renown by his expedition against the robbers of Galilee. And then again, in the later period of his life, when over sixty years of age, he led in person the campaign against the Arabians.²² Rarely did success forsake him where he himself conducted any warlike undertaking.

paedie, iii. 1236 ; Nicolai, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, ii. 300). There is still extant a celebrated oration, *περὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου Φόνου*, by the Attic orator Antiphon, of the fifth century before Christ (see Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 1, 2 Aufl. p. 1154 f.). In the year B.C. 60 we find an archon at Athens bearing the name of Herod (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 182). In Cicero's letters an Athenian Herod is frequently mentioned, who was the teacher of Cicero's son (Cicero, *ad Atticum*, ii. 2. 2, xiv. 16. 3, xv. 16. A.). In the second century after Christ lived the celebrated Herod Atticus, the teacher of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (see, in reference to him, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. pp. 2096–2104).—Since the name is undoubtedly contracted from Ἡρωίδης, the writing of it with the iota subscribed is to be preferred (Ἡρώιδης). On inscriptions the form Ἡρωίδης is met with (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 3155, 4893 ; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 3) ; also Ἡρωιδας (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 2197c. [t. ii. p. 1028], n. 5774, 5775, lin. 180) ; also Ἡρωιδεος (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 5774, 5775, lin. 15, 42, 55, 87, 89, 114) ; also Εἰρωιδας (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 1574). The *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. Gaisford, p. 437, 56, says, s.v. Ἡρωίδης· Ἔχει τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον, etc. This mode of writing is adopted by Lobeck, *Paralip. gramm. graec.* p. 229 ; *Pathologiae graeci sermonis elementa*, i. 280. It is employed throughout by Westcott and Hort in their edition of the Greek New Testament. Compare their remark, vol. ii. p. 314 : “ Ἡρώιδης is well supported by inscriptions, and manifestly right ; ” and Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum*, ed. crit. octava major, p. 109. That the later inscriptions (see the proof in *Corpus Inscript. Graec.*, Index, p. 92) and the coins invariably give the form Ἡρωίδης, affords no evidence to the contrary, since it was not customary on inscriptions or coins to insert the *Iota subscriptum*.

²¹ Compare generally the description given in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 13.

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 2.

His character was wild and passionate, harsh and unbending. Fine feelings and tender emotions were strange to him. Wherever his own interests seemed to demand it, he carried matters through with an iron hand, and scrupled not to shed streams of blood that he might reach his object. Even his nearest relatives, even his most passionately loved wife, he could not spare, so soon as the wish arose in him.

He was, besides, cunning and adroit, and rich in devices. He understood thoroughly what measures should be taken to suit the circumstances of each changing day. Hard and un pitying as he was toward all who fell into his power, he was cringing and servile before those that were high in place. His glance was wide enough in its range, and his judgment sufficiently keen to perceive that in the circumstances of the world at that time nothing was to be reached except through the favour and by the help of the Romans. It was therefore an unvarying principle of his policy to hold firmly by the Roman alliance under all circumstances and at any cost. And he knew how to carry out this principle happily and cleverly.

Thus in his composition were linked together cunning and energy.

But these most conspicuous characteristics of his nature were set in motion by an insatiable ambition. All his devices and endeavours, all his plans and actions, were aimed directly toward the one end: the extending of his power, his dominion, his glory.²³ This powerful lever kept all his powers in restless activity. Difficulties and hindrances were for him so much greater inducement to put forth more strength. And this indefatigableness, this unwearied striving, continued to characterize him in extreme old age.

Only by a combination of all these characteristics was it

²³ Compare the sketch of Herod's character given by Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 4.

possible to attain to such greatness, as he unquestionably reached, amid the perilous circumstances of his times.

His reign falls into three periods.²⁴ The first period, which reaches from B.C. 37 to B.C. 25, is the period of the consolidation of his power. He has still to contend with many hostile powers, but goes forth at last from the conflict victorious over them all. The second period, from B.C. 25 to B.C. 13, is the period of his prosperity. The friendship of Rome has reached its highest point. Agrippa visits Herod in Jerusalem. Herod is repeatedly received by the emperor. It is at the same time the period of great buildings, pre-eminently the work of peace. The third period, from B.C. 13 to B.C. 4, is the period of domestic trouble. Everything else now passes out of view in presence of the disturbances in Herod's own house.

I.

In the first period of his reign Herod had to contend with many powerful adversaries: the people, the nobles, the Asmonean family, and—Cleopatra.

The people, who were wholly in the hands of the Pharisees, tolerated only with deep aversion the dominion of the Idumean, half-Jew and friend of the Romans.²⁵ It must have been Herod's first care to secure their obedience. By the utmost rigour he was able to reduce the rebellious elements; while he won the more pliant by bestowing on them favours and honours. Even of the Pharisees themselves two performed good services for Herod—Polio

²⁴ Compare Keim in *Bibellexicon*. He distributes the periods, however, somewhat differently. Also Ewald makes three sections, v. 422–429, 429–437, 437–449.

²⁵ Herod is called Ἰδιουμαῖος in *Antiq.* xiv. 15. 2. The Idumeans had been converted only by John Hyrcanus. See above, p. 280. On the ancestry of Herod, see above, p. 314.

(Abtalion) and his scholar Sameas (Shemaia or Shammai). They saw in the dominion of the foreigner a judgment of God, which as such they were under obligation patiently to bear.²⁶

Among the nobles of Jerusalem there were numerous adherents of Antigonus. Herod delivered himself from them by executing forty-five of the most wealthy and the most prominent of their number. By confiscating their property he gained possession of abundance of money, which he employed so as to secure a firmer hold upon his patron Antony.²⁷

Of the members of the Asmonean family, it was particularly Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law, the mother of Mariamme, who pursued him with unremitting enmity. The aged Hyrcanus had indeed returned from his Parthian exile;²⁸ but he was before that time on good terms with Herod. And this good understanding still continued undisturbed. Since he could not, owing to his physical mutilation, enter again on the high priest's office, Herod chose as high priest an utterly unknown and insignificant Babylonian Jew of the sacerdotal family called Ananel.²⁹ But even this was considered by Alexandra an infringement of Asmonean privileges. According to her view, it was her young son Aristobulus, brother of Mariamme, who alone was entitled to the high priest's office. She therefore set every wheel in motion in order to secure her rights. In particular, she applied to Cleopatra, urging her to exert her influence

²⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 1. 1; compare xiv. 9. 4, *fin.* On Polio and Sameas, see Div. ii. vol. i. 358, 359.

²⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 1. 2; compare xiv. 9. 4, *fin.*; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 4.

²⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 2. 1-4.

²⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 2. 4.—Herod could not himself assume the position, since he was not even a full-born Jew, let alone a member of the sacerdotal family.

upon Antony, so as to force Herod to appoint Aristobulus high priest. Mariamme also pressed her husband with petitions in favour of her brother. Thus Herod at last felt himself obliged to set aside Ananel (which was unlawful, inasmuch as the high priest held his office for life), and in the beginning of B.C. 35 made young Aristobulus high priest, who was now only in his seventeenth year.⁸⁰

The peace, however, was not of long duration. Herod saw, and not without reason, in all the members of the Asmonean family his natural enemies. He could not rid himself of suspicion and distrust, especially in regard to Alexandra, and he kept a careful watch upon her proceedings. This constant espionage Alexandra found intolerable, and thought to escape such supervision by flight. The coffins were already prepared in which she and her son Aristobulus were to have had themselves carried out of the city and thence to the sea-coast, so as to fly to Egypt to Cleopatra. But their secret was betrayed, and so their scheme proved futile, and thus it only served to increase the suspicions of Herod.⁸¹—When, moreover, the people, at the next Feast of Tabernacles, in B.C. 35, made a public demonstration in favour of young Aristobulus while he officiated as high priest, Herod became thoroughly determined to rid himself, without delay, of Aristobulus as his most dangerous enemy and rival. Soon an opportunity for doing so was given him. Herod had been invited to Jericho to a feast by Alexandra. And after the meal, as young Aristobulus along with others was refreshing himself in the bath, he was pushed under the water as if in sport by some of those with him who had been bribed by Herod, and kept down so long that he was drowned. After the affair was done Herod

⁸⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 2. 5-7, 3. 1.—In respect to the chronology, I refer once for all to the previous summary.

⁸¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 2.

pretended the most profound grief, and shed tears, which however, nobody regarded as genuine.⁸²

Alexandra, who clearly perceived the true state of matters, agitated again through Cleopatra, so that Herod was summoned to make answer before Antony for the deed. Antony, who since the spring of B.C. 36 had been again residing in the East, and under the spell of Cleopatra, was just then, in the spring of B.C. 34, undertaking a new expedition to the West, ostensibly against the Parthians, really against the Armenian king Artavasdes. When he had now reached Laodicea, that is, Laodicea by the sea, south of Antioch, Herod was summoned to meet him there,—for Alexandra had, through Cleopatra, actually obtained her wish,—to give an account of his conduct. Herod did not dare to refuse, and, no doubt with a heavy heart, presented himself before Antony. But it may be readily supposed he did not go empty-handed. This circumstance and his clever representations soon prevailed in dispelling all clouds. He was pronounced innocent, and returned to Jerusalem.⁸³

His absence was the occasion of fresh disturbances. He had on his departure appointed his uncle Joseph, who was also his brother-in-law, for he had married his sister Salome, as his viceroy, and had committed Mariamme to his care. And as he considered his going before Antony as dangerous, he had commanded Joseph, in case he should not return, to kill Mariamme, for his passionate love for her could not brook the thought that any other should ever obtain his beloved. When, then, he did return, Salome calumniated her own husband, charging him with having himself had unlawful intercourse with Mariamme. Herod at first gave no heed to the calumny, as Mariamme maintained her innocence. But when he learned that Mariamme knew about that secret

⁸² Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 3-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 2.

⁸³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 5, 8-9.

command, which the chattering old man had told her as a proof of the peculiar love of Herod, Herod thought that he had in this a confirmation of those charges, and caused Joseph to be executed, without affording him an opportunity of being heard.³⁴

The fourth hostile power during this first period of Herod's reign was Cleopatra. She had even previously, by her combination with Alexandra, been the means of giving troubled days to Herod. It was still more unfortunate for him that she now sought to use her influence with Antony to obtain an increase of territory. Antony at first gave no heed to her demands. But at length, during that same expedition against Armenia, in B.C. 34, he was induced to bestow upon her the whole of Phoenicia and the coast of the Philistines south of Eleutherus, with exception only of Tyre and Sidon,³⁵ and besides, a part of the Arabian territory, and the fairest and most fertile part of the kingdom of Herod, the celebrated district of Jericho, with its palm trees and balsams.³⁶ Opposition on the part of Herod was not to

³⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 5-6, 9. On the parallel passage, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 4-5, see under, note 50.

³⁵ See map in Menke's *Bibelatlas*.

³⁶ The district of Jericho was at that time the most fruitful part and the most profitable for revenue in all Palestine. This is stated most decidedly in Strabo, xvi. 2. 41, p. 763, and in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 3. Near Jericho there was, according to Strabo, the palm forest (ὁ φοινικῶν), extending to a hundred stadia, and the balsam garden (ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου παράδεισος), which produced the precious balsam resin used as a means of healing. Josephus also represents the date palm and the balsam shrub as the two principal plants grown in the district. This region, peculiarly rich in revenue in consequence of its being so well watered and possessing so hot a climate, is reckoned by Josephus as extending to twenty stadia in breadth and seventy stadia in length. Since both of these products were greatly in request (compare Strabo, xvii. 1. 15, p. 800), Josephus rightly designates this region a θεῖον χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ δαψιλῇ τὰ σπανιώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα γυνᾶται (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 3). Elsewhere, too, he takes every opportunity of expatiating upon the fruitfulness of the district of Jericho, with its palm trees and balsam

be thought of, and he was now obliged to take his own land

shrubs (*Antiq.* iv. 6. 1, xiv. 4. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 6; *Antiq.* xv. 4. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5). In one passage he expressly declares that it was the most fruitful part of Judea (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 6: τὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρῶτατον). Subsequently Herod extended the palm plantations as far as Phasaelis (see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 131). Archelaus built near Jericho a new aqueduct for watering the palm groves there (*Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1).—Also in Trogus Pompeius, according to the correct reading restored by Rühl, Jericho is spoken of as the centre of the palm and balsam culture of the Jordan valley (Justin's *Abstract*, xxxvi. 3): "Opes genti ex vectigalibus opobalsami crevere, quod in his tantum regionibus gignitur. Est namque vallis, quae continuis montibus velut muro quodam ad instar hortorum clauditur. Spatium loci ducenta jugera; nomine Ericus dicitur. In ea silva est et ubertate et amoenitate insignis, siquidem palmeto et opobalsameto distinguitur." Then follows a description of the balsam shrub, which is trained like the vine, and is annually at a fixed time stripped of its balsam.—Diodorus Siculus places the palm and balsam plantations in general in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, for after giving a description of the balsam he proceeds (ii. 48. 9, almost in the same words as in xix. 98. 4): Ἀγαθὴ δ' ἐστὶ φοινικόφυτος . . . Γίνεται δὲ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους ἐν αὐλῶνι τινὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βάλαμον, ἐξ οὗ πρόσδοον λαμπρὰν [xix. 98. 4: ἄδραν] λαμβάνουσιν, οὐδαμοῦ, μὲν τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης εὐρισκομένου τοῦ φυτοῦ τούτου, τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρείας εἰς φάρμακα τοῖς ἰατροῖς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐθετούσης.—According to Pliny, the dates of Jericho were the best in the world, *Historia Naturalis*, xiii. 4. 44: "sed ut copia ibi [in Aethiopiae fine] atque fertilitas, ita nobilitas in Judaea, nec in tota, sed Hiericunte maxime, quamquam laudatae et Archelaide et Phaselide atque Liviade, gentis ejusdem convallibus." Compare xiii. 4. 26: "Judaea vero incluta est vel magis palmis;" xiii. 4. 49: "Servantur hi demum qui nascuntur in salsis atque sabulosis, ut in Judaea atque Cyrenaica Africa." Pliny's most complete treatment of the balsam (*Historia Naturalis*, xii. 25. 111–123) begins with the following words: "Sed omnibus odoribus praefertur balsamum, uni terrarum Judaeae concessum, quondam in duobus tantum hertis, utroque regio, altero jugerum xx. non amplius, altero pauciorum." The way in which the balsam was obtained was this: the bark was slit with a stone, not an iron instrument, and then the thick juice ran out and was gathered in small vessels.—Tacitus also, in his *Historia*, v. 6, mentions among the most important products of Palestine balsamum et palmae. He describes the mode of securing the balsam similarly to Pliny (compare also Strabo, p. 763, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 6).—Pausanias also gives it as a special proof of the superiority of the palms of Palestine, that "their fruit is always fit for use," i.e. even when dried (he tells, ix. 19. 8, of the sanctuary at Mykalessus in Boeotia: Φοίνικες δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεφύκασιν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν ἐδώδιμον παρεχόμενοι καρπὸν, ὥσπερ ἐν

τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ). To Horace also the material value of these plantations was known. As an example of a particularly rich and valuable estate, he speaks of *Herodis palmetis pinguibus* (*Epistolae*, ii. 2. 184).—According to Dioscorides, i. 18, the balsam used as a means of healing grew only in Judea and Egypt (βάλσαμον . . . γεννόμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατὰ τινα αὐλῶνα καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ).—We hear of the existence of the palm groves of Jericho during somewhere about two thousand years. Even in the Old Testament Jericho is called “the city of palm trees” (עִיר הַתְּמָרִים, Deut. xxxiv. 3; Judg. i. 16, iii. 13; ■ Chron. xxviii. 15). Among Greek writers, Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, speaks of the palm and balsam plantations of the Jordan valley. Of the palms, he says that only in three places in Coele-Syria with a saline soil do such grow as can have their fruit made use of (*Hist. plant.* ii. 6. 2: τῆς Συρίας δὲ τῆς Κοίλης, ἐν ᾗ γ’ οἱ πλείστοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἐν τρισὶ μόνοις τόποις ἀλμῶδεσιν εἶναι τοὺς δυναμένους θησαυρίζεσθαι; ii. 6. 8: θησαυρίζεσθαι δὲ μόνους δύνασθαι φασὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι. This αὐλῶν of Syria, where the palms grow, extends, according to ii. 6. 5, to the Red Sea). On the balsam he says, in *Hist. plant.* ix. 6. 1: Τὸ δὲ βάλσαμον γίνεται μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι τῷ περὶ Συρίαν. Παραδείσους δ’ εἶναι φασὶ δύο μόνους, τὸν μὲν ὅσον εἰκοσι πλέθρων τὸν δ’ ἕτερον πολλῷ ἱλάττονα (Pliny, in the above-quoted passage, derives his information from this source). In the Mishna it is related that the inhabitants of Jericho were wont to prop up the palms (*Pesachim* iv. 8). A *Descriptio orbis* of the fourth century after Christ remarks upon the rich revenue (Müller, *Geographi graec. minores*, ii. 513 sqq., c. 31: “Nicolaum vero palmulam invenies abundare in Palaestina regione, in loco qui dicitur Hiericho”). The existence of the palm groves there is also witnessed to by the Christian pilgrims Arculf in the seventh century (see Tobler et Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i. 1879, p. 176) and Saewulf in the beginning of the eighth century (see Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 49). An English translation of the travels of Arculf and Saewulf is given in a volume of Bohn’s Antiquarian Library, *Early Travels in Palestine*. In the year 1838, Robinson saw there still one palm tree (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 290), which in the year 1888 was only a withered stump (*Zeitschrift des DPV.* xi. 98).—Compare generally the articles “Balsam,” “Dattelpalme,” “Jericho,” in Winer’s *Realwörterbuch*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii. 760-858; Theobald Fischer, *Die Dattelpalme, ihre geographische Verbreitung und culturhistorische Bedeutung*, 1881 (=Petermann’s *Mittheilungen*, 64, *Ergänzungsheft*; Anderlind, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. xi. 1888, pp. 97-99 (occurrence of the date palm in modern Syria).—On Jericho and its neighbourhood, see Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 273-304; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1, pp. 500-534; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. 642-669; Sepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*, 2 Aufl. i. 720-734; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 46-53; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, 1 Aufl. p. 273 ff.; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 222 (Plan of

in lease from Cleopatra.³⁷ He had indeed to accept the disagreeable with as good a grace as possible, and to receive Cleopatra with all honour and with royal munificence when she, on her return from the Euphrates, to which point she had accompanied Antony, paid a visit to Judea. But when she sought to draw him also into her net, he was cunning enough not to commit himself any more into her power.³⁸

Thus Herod's first four or five years were spent amid various struggles for his own very existence. The outbreak in B.C. 32 of the war between Antony and Octavian caused fresh anxieties. Herod wished to hasten with a powerful army to the help of Antony; but at the instigation of Cleopatra he was instead ordered by Antony to fight against the Arabian king. That prince had latterly failed to pay regularly his tribute to Cleopatra, and was now to be punished for that fault. And Cleopatra wished that the war should be committed to Herod, in order that the two vassal kings might naturally weaken and reduce one another. And thus Herod was sent against the king of Arabia rather than against Octavian. But as Athenio, Cleopatra's commander, went to the help of the Arabians, he suffered a crushing defeat, and found himself obliged to stop the great war, and rest satisfied with mere robber raids and plundering expeditions.³⁹

Then again in the spring of B.C. 31 a new calamity befell him, for a terrible earthquake visited the country, by which 30,000 men lost their lives. Herod now wished to treat for peace with the Arabians; but these slew his ambassadors and renewed their attack. Herod required to use all his elo-

the aqueducts near Jericho in the time of the Romans); and with this also the large English Map, Sheet xviii.

³⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5.—Plutarch, *Antony*, 36, and Dio Cassius, xlix. 32, assign this gift of territory to an earlier period. Compare above, p. 402.

³⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 4. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 5.

³⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19. 1-3.

quence in order to induce his dispirited troops again to enter into the engagement. But this time his old fortune in war returned to him. He drove before him the Arabian army in utter rout, and compelled its remnants, which had sought refuge in a fortress, soon to surrender. Proud of this brilliant success, he returned home.⁴⁰

Soon thereafter, on 2nd September B.C. 31, the decisive battle at Actium was fought, by which Antony finally lost his power. It was at the same time a sore blow to Herod. But with that adroitness which was characteristic of him, he passed over at the right time into the camp of the conqueror, and soon found an opportunity for proving his change of mind by action. In Cyzicus there was a troop of Antony's gladiators, who held themselves in readiness for the games, by which Antony had intended to celebrate his victory over Octavian. When these now heard of the defeat and flight of Antony, they wished to hasten to Egypt to the assistance of their master. But Didius, the governor of Syria, hindered their departure, and Herod afforded him in this zealous and efficient aid.⁴¹

After he had given such a proof of his disposition, he could venture to present himself before Augustus. But in order to secure himself against any miscarriage, he contrived to have the aged Hyrcanus, the only one who might prove a dangerous rival, as nearer to the throne than himself, put out of the way. That Hyrcanus was condemned to death for conspiring with the Arabian king, as was affirmed in Herod's own journals, is highly improbable when we consider the character and the extreme age of Hyrcanus. Other contemporary writers have expressly declared his innocence. For Herod in his critical position, the mere existence of Hyrcanus was

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 5. 2-5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19. 3-6.

⁴¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 2. Dio Cassius, li. 7.

sufficient motive for the bloody deed. Thus fell the last of the Asmoneans, a memorial of past times, an old man more than eighty years of age, a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of Herod.⁴²

Herod now set out to meet Augustus, who had passed the winter, B.C. 31–30, for the most part in Samos.⁴³ He met him in the spring of B.C. 30 in Rhodes. At the meeting he played his part skilfully. He boasted of his friendship with Antony, and of the service which he had rendered him, and wished in this way to prove how useful he might be to any one whose party he might join. Augustus was not inclined to give too much heed to this speech, but found it to his advantage to win over to himself the crafty and energetic Idumean who had been the steady friend of the Romans. He was very gracious to him, and confirmed him in his royal rank. With this joyful result Herod returned to his own home.⁴⁴

Soon thereafter, in the summer, Augustus left Asia Minor and touched at the Phoenician coast on his way to Egypt, and Herod failed not to receive him with all pomp at Ptolemais, and took care that during that hot season of the year his army in its march should want for nothing.⁴⁵

After Augustus in Egypt had done with Antony, who, as well as Cleopatra, had committed suicide in August B.C. 30, Herod again visited Augustus, undoubtedly with the intention of wishing him success, and securing for himself as great a reward as possible. In this latter object he was completely successful. Augustus now gave him back, not only the district of Jericho, but also Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Straton's Tower.⁴⁶—In proof of his

⁴² Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 1–4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 1.

⁴³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, c. 17.

⁴⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 5–7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 1–3.

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 3.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 3.—On all these cities, see § 23. 1.

gratitude, Herod gave his patron, on his return from Egypt in the end of B.C. 30, the pleasure of his company as far as Antioch.⁴⁷

While thus he had exchanged his outward dangers for good fortune, Herod had nothing but confusion and strife in his own house. Even when he had gone away to Rhodes, he had committed the guardianship of Mariamme to a certain Soemus, and to him again he had given the same command as before to Joseph.⁴⁸ Mariamme had also this time again come to know it, and gave to Herod on his return proofs of her aversion.⁴⁹ The mother of Herod, Cypros, and his sister Salome, who had both for a long time been disaffected toward the proud Mariamme, were greatly gratified at this misunderstanding, and they knew how to inflame the quarrel by giving currency to the most scandalous calumnies. At last Salome managed to bribe the king's cupbearer, and got him to declare that Mariamme had given him a poison draught in order that he should give it to Herod. When Herod heard this, he had Mariamme's eunuch examined by torture in reference to this matter. This servant indeed knew nothing of the poison draught, but confessed that Mariamme hated her husband on account of the command which he had given to Soemus. When, now, Herod heard that Soemus, as well as Joseph, had betrayed the secret of his command, he saw again in this a proof of unlawful intercourse, and cried out saying that he had now evidence of his wife's unfaithfulness. Soemus was immediately executed; Mariamme, after a judicial investigation, was condemned, and then executed in the end of B.C. 29.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 4. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xv. 6. 5. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* xv. 7. 1-2.

⁵⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 3-6.—A fabulous Talmudic story about the death of Mariamme is given by Derenbourg, p. 151.—In criticism of the account repeated by us from Josephus Destinon (*Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1882, p. 113): "It is remarkable how precisely in order of time the succession of events correspond in the two journeys of the king to

In Herod's relations with Mariamme were revealed all the savagery and sensuality of his nature. Ungovernable and passionate as his love for her was, such was also his hatred so soon as he thought himself deceived by his wife. But equally ungovernable and passionate was also his yearning over his beloved whom he himself had murdered. In order to drown the pangs of remorse, he sought relief in wild excesses, drinking bouts, and the pleasures of the chase. But even his powerful frame could not endure such an excessive strain. While he was hunting in Samaria he fell ill, and was obliged there to take to his bed. As his recovery was doubtful, Alexandra began to scheme, so that in the event of his death she might secure the throne to herself. She applied herself

Antony and Augustus (*Antiq.* xv. 3. 5-6 and 9, xv. 6. 5, 7. 1-6). On both occasions he put his wife under the guardianship of a trusted individual, with instructions, if anything should happen to prevent his return, that she should be slain; both times her guardians, meaning no harm, communicated the secret to her; the king returning home learns this, becomes suspicious of gross infidelity, and has the innocent executed. . . . Moreover, it is remarkable that the second story is wholly omitted in the *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 4-5; according to the story given there, Herod kills not only Joseph, but also Mariamme, on his return from Antony. It might be supposed that the two narratives in the *Antiquities* refer to one and the same occurrence, that Josephus found the second story perhaps in some secondary document, and regarding it, in consequence of the introduction of the name Soemus, as different from the story given in his principal document, incorporated it in his narrative of the journey of Herod to Augustus, so that no particular might be omitted."—This explanation might without more ado be accepted, were it not, on the other hand, firmly established that the *Wars of the Jews* frequently reproduces in a greatly abbreviated form the same original document as is used in the *Antiquities*, and that the first story is expressly presupposed in the second tale of the *Antiquities* (xv. 7. 1: τὰς Ἰασηπῶ δοθείσας ἐντολὰς ἀνεμνημόνευεν). That the same story would have been repeated in an almost identical form, is scarcely probable. But it does seem to me probable that both stories had already had a place in the principal source used by Josephus, and that specially for this reason, that in both passages the narrative of domestic circumstances is so clearly bound up with the exposition of the political history. In both passages the political history is introduced between the beginning and end of the domestic affairs.

to those in command of the two fortified places in Jerusalem, and sought to win them over to her side. But they reported the matter to Herod, and Alexandra, who had long deserved that fate far more than others, was then executed some time in B.C. 28.⁵¹

Gradually Herod recovered, and soon found occasion for further bloodshed. A distinguished Idumean, Costobar, had been, soon after his accession, appointed by Herod governor of Idumea, and had subsequently been married to Salome, whose first husband, Joseph, had been executed in B.C. 34. Even during this first period he had secretly conspired against Herod with Cleopatra, but had been received into Herod's favour again at the entreaty of Salome.⁵² But now Salome herself was tired of her husband, and in order to rid herself of him she had recourse to denunciation. She knew that her husband had preserved the sons of Babas,⁵³ as it seems, distant relatives of the Asmonean house, whom Herod ever since his conquest of Jerusalem had in vain sought to track out. This information she communicated to her brother. Herod, when he heard this, promptly resolved upon the course he would pursue. Costobar, together with his *protégés*, whose place of concealment Salome had betrayed, was seized and executed in B.C. 25. And now Herod could console himself with the thought that of all the relatives of the aged Hyrcanus there was no longer one surviving who could dispute with him the occupancy of the throne.⁵⁴—Here

⁵¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 7-8.

⁵² *Ibid.* xv. 7. 9.

⁵³ The name βαβας is found on an inscription given by Euting, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1885, p. 685, Tafel xi. n. 80.—A בבא בנ בוטי appears in *Kerioth* vi. 3; a בבא בנ יהודה in *Erubin* ii. 4-5; *Jebamoth* xvi. 3, 5, 7; *Edujoth* vi. 1, viii. 2 (the Cambridge Manuscript has בבא בנ four times, and אבא בנ three times).

⁵⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 10. At the close of the narrative Josephus says expressly: ὥστε εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ἰρκανοῦ συγγενείας. It is indeed only the male relatives that are here intended. For, according

then the first period closes, the period of conflict with hostile powers.

II.

The period from B.C. 25 to B.C. 13 is the period of glory and enjoyment, although the enjoyment was not altogether unchequered and undisturbed.

Among the glories of the period are to be reckoned the magnificent buildings which he erected. All the provinces vied with one another in their celebration of the emperor-cultus, and in the lavishness of display every fourth year at the festal games in honour of Caesar. For the former purpose emperor-temples (*Καϊσαρεία*) were erected; for the latter, theatres, amphitheatres, race-courses for men and for horses. New cities also were founded in honour of Caesar, and called after his name. "Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt. Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno Caesareas urbes condiderunt."⁵⁵ All these endeavours were entered upon by Herod with that energy by which he was characterized. But he was also unweariedly active in erecting other buildings for purposes of use and luxury, and in the reconstruction of entire cities.⁵⁶

In Jerusalem a theatre was reared; in the valley near

to *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 2, *fin.*, the daughter of Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean kings, continued alive for about twenty years after this, and she had been married to Herod's eldest son Antipater.

⁵⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 59-60. Compare generally on the cultus of the emperor, Div. ii. vol. i. p. 15; and on the festal games the same volume, pp. 23-28.

⁵⁶ On the buildings of Herod, compare Hirt, *Ueber die Baue Herodes des Grossen überhaupt, und über seinen Tempelbau zu Jerusalem insbesondere* (*Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Berliner Akademie aus den Jahren, 1816-1817*, pp. 1-24); van der Chijs, *de Herode Magno*, pp. 55-57.

Jerusalem, an amphitheatre.⁵⁷ Some time later, about B.C. 24, Herod built for himself a royal palace, upon which marble and gold were lavished with profusion. It was provided with strong fortifications, and thus was made to serve also as a castle for the upper city.⁵⁸ Even during the time of Antony he had had the citadel north of the temple rebuilt and named

⁵⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 1 : καὶ θέατρον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀποδόμησεν, αὐθις τ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μέλειστον ἀμφιθέατρον. Also the hippodrome in Jerusalem, which is casually referred to (*Antiq.* xvii. 10. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1), was certainly built by Herod; so, too, were the theatre, amphitheatre, and hippodrome in Jericho (see about these in Div. ii. vol. i. p. 33).—Schick (*Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund* (1887), pp. 161–166) gives interesting reports with plans of a theatre near Jerusalem discovered by him. It lay south of the city (south-south-west of Bir Ejub, north of Wadi Jasul; its distance from Wadi Hinnom is not much greater than that of the latter from the present city wall). The crescent-shaped space for the spectators may still be marked out with perfect certainty. It is hewn out of the natural rock on the north side of a hill, so that the spectators had a view of the city. A straight line drawn through the middle of the sitting benches measures 132 feet; the benches rise regularly at an angle of 37 degrees. It is very strange that Schick should call his interesting discovery an amphitheatre, since his plan and description leave no room for doubt that what he had before him was a theatre. The amphitheatre was always an enclosed elongated circle, in the middle of which was the arena for gladiatorial combats and contests with wild beasts. The theatre, on the other hand, was a semicircle, on the open side of which the stage was erected for dramatic performances. Schick had been misled into this erroneous nomenclature by Josephus' statement that the theatre of Herod was ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, whereas the building discovered by Schick lay outside of the city. But he himself must admit the building discovered by him does not by any means lie ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, which, according to Josephus, was the position of the amphitheatre. If therefore ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις means “within the city walls,” then the building discovered by Schick could neither be the theatre nor the amphitheatre of Herod. But that rendering is not at all necessary, and so the identifying of the theatre of Schick and that of Herod is quite possible and highly probable.—Also on the restoration of the city of Hadrian the site once occupied by Herod would not be overlooked.

⁵⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 1. Compare the description given in *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 3–4.—A tower of the palace of Herod is in a state of partial preservation to this day, the so-called Tower of David. See the description by Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 1878, pp. 226–237.

Antonia in honour of his patron.⁵⁹—In the non-Jewish cities of his territory, and farther away in the province of Syria, he built numerous temples, especially such as he built in honour of Caesar (*Καισάρεια*), and adorned them with statuary of the most beautiful description.⁶⁰

New cities in large number were built under his direction throughout the land. The old Samaria, which after its destruction had been already rebuilt by Gabinius, was now reconstructed by Herod in a magnificent style, and received from him the name of Sebaste.⁶¹ Not satisfied with this, he engaged in the year B.C. 22 on a still more ambitious undertaking, for he erected on the coast, on the site of the ancient Straton's Tower, a new city of large and imposing dimensions, to which he gave the name of Caesarea. As deserving of special mention, Josephus speaks of the commodious haven attached to the city. In order to secure ships while receiving their cargo from the storms, a powerful breakwater was carried far out into the sea, the material for which had to be brought from a considerable distance. On the breakwater were erected dwellings for the seamen, and in front of these paths were made for pleasure walks. In the midst of the city was a hill,

⁵⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5, 11. 4, xviii. 4. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 1. Compare the description given in *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8; Tacitus, *History*, v. 11, *fin.*

⁶⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 4. Compare *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 23. 3 (temple at Paneion). Also the reconstructed cities of Sebaste and Caesarea contained each a temple of Augustus.—De Vogüé and Waddington found at Sî'a (a league and a half from Qanawât, at the western base of the Hauran) the ruins of a temple of the Herodian era (a sketch of which is given by de Vogüé in his *Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse*, pl. 2 et 3). Among these ruins were also found the following subscription of an early statue of Herod: [Βα]σιλεῖ Ἡρώδει κυρίῳ Ὀβαίσατος Σεΐδου ἔθηκε τὸν ἀνδριάντα ταῖς ἑμαῖς δαπάναι[s]. Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2364.

⁶¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 2; Strabo, xvi. p. 760. For further details, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 123–127. On the time of the building, see above, p. 405.

on which a temple in honour of the emperor was built, which could be seen far out at sea. Twelve full years were occupied in the building of the city. And when it had been completed, a grand celebration of the event was made with great pomp in the 28th year of Herod, corresponding to B.C. 10–9.⁶²

But Herod's love of building had not yet received full satisfaction. In place of the ancient Capharsaba, he founded a city, which he named in honour of his father Antipatris. At Jericho he built a citadel which he named after his mother Cypros. In the Jordan valley, north of Jericho, he founded, in a previously unbuilt but fruitful district, a new city, and named it after his brother Phasaelis.⁶³ The ancient Anthedon he reconstructed, and, in honour of Agrippa, named it Agrippaeum.⁶⁴ In honour of himself, he named two new strongholds Herodium; the one lay in the mountainous region toward Arabia; the other on the spot, three leagues south of Jerusalem, where he had conquered the Jews who pursued him after his flight from Jerusalem. The latter fortress was also supplied with rooms beautifully fitted up for the use of the king.⁶⁵ The strongholds of Alexandrium and

⁶² Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 6, xvi. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 5–8. Compare also, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 13. 69. On the subsequent history of Caesarea, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 84–87. Also on the temple of Augustus, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 15–17.

⁶³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 9. On Antipatris and Phasaelis, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 130–132.

⁶⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 8. Compare *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 2. In the two latter passages the name is given in the form of Agrippias. On the subsequent history of the city, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

⁶⁵ *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 10. On the second-named and more important of these fortresses, see also *Antiq.* xv. 9. 4; comp. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 8. During the Roman period it was the chief town of a toparchy (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 14. 70: *Herodium cum oppido industri ejusdem nominis*). During the war of Vespasian it formed one of the last refuges for the rebels (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1). According to *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 5, Herodium lay in the neighbourhood of Tekoa (στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ κατὰ τινα κάμην ἢ

Hyrkania, built by the Armenians but destroyed by Gabinius, were now restored by Herod, and furnished with new fortifications.⁶⁶ He dealt similarly also with the fortresses of Machärus and Masada, both of which he adorned with royal palaces.⁶⁷ Military requirements also led to the rebuilding of

Θεκωὲ καλεῖται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἡραδείῳ Φρουρῶς, ὅπερ ἦν πλεσίον). According to *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 9, xv. 9. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 8, 21. 10, it was 60 furlongs south of Jerusalem. Seeing, then, that the present Tekoah is more than 60 furlongs south of Jerusalem, Herodium must have lain to the north of Tekoa. Of this at least there can be no doubt, that the steep rock which now by Europeans is called Frankenberg, and by natives Jebel-el-Fureidis (Paradise, fruit-garden), is to be identified with Herodium. The distance from Jerusalem in a direct line, as given in the large English map, is 8 Roman miles, or 64 furlongs. On the hill there are to this day remnants of the round towers which Herod, according to the statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 9. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 10), had built there. Also traces are still discernible of the stone steps which are made mention of by Josephus. Compare generally, Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 173-175; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. 565-572; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. i. 643 f.; De Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, i. 168 sqq.; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 122-132; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, 1 Aufl. p. 267; Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iii. 1880, pp. 88-99 (with plans); *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs* by Conder and Kitchen, iii. 315 sq., 320-332; Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, i. 158 f.; Ohlmann, *Die Fortschritte der Ortskunde von Palästina*, 1 Thl. (Norden 1887) p. 17 f.

⁶⁶ Both fortresses are mentioned first in the time of Alexandra (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3). In Alexandrium, Aristobulus waited the arrival of Pompey, but was forced to surrender the fortress to him (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 5). Both the fortresses were razed by Gabinius, because they had been strongholds to Alexander in his revolt (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 2-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 2-5). Alexandrium was fortified again by Pheroras (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 16. 3). Hyrcania for a long time served as a place of refuge for the sister of Antigonus, and it was only shortly before the battle of Actium that Herod secured possession of it (*Wars of the Jews*). The new fortifications which Herod erected in both places were so important that he showed them to Agrippa on his visit as worthy of attention (*Antiq.* xvi. 2. 1). The situation of Hyrcania is not known. Alexandrium is probably identical with Mount Sartaba on the border of the Jordan valley north of Jericho (see above, p. 320).

⁶⁷ Machärus had been first fortified by Alexander Jannäus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). Its restoration by Herod is fully described by Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2.—Masada had been fortified by the high priest

Gaba in Galilee and Esbon in Perea, in which places he established military colonies.⁶⁸

Also far beyond the bounds of Palestine architectural works proclaimed the liberality of Herod. For the Rhodians, Herod built at his own cost the Pythian temple. He aided in the construction of most of the public buildings of the city of Nicopolis, which had been founded by Augustus near Actium. In Antioch he caused colonnades to be erected along both sides of the principal street.⁶⁹ Happening on one occasion to visit Chios, he spent a large sum on the rebuilding of the piazza, destroyed during the Mithridatic war.⁷⁰ In Ascalon he built baths and fountains. Tyre and Sidon, Byblus and Berytus, Tripolis, Ptolemais, and Damascus were also graced with memorials to the glory of Herod's name. And even as far as Athens and Lacedæmonia proofs of his liberality were to be found.⁷¹

But the most magnificent of all his building operations was the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem. The old temple, built by Zerubbabel, was no longer in keeping with the magnificence of the modern structures. The palaces in its neighbourhood quite eclipsed it in grandeur. But now, as was only proper, it was to be brought into harmony with its

Jonathan (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3). On its restoration by Herod, see *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3.—Both fortresses played an important part in the war of Vespasian. On their situation and history, see further details in § 20 at the end.

⁶⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 5. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 1. For further details regarding both, see Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 127–130.

⁶⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 2.

⁷¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 11.—In an inscription at Athens (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 361 = *Corpus Inscript. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 556), Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa I., is named: *μεγάλων βασιλέων ἐνεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔκγονος*.—Perhaps also the inscription at Athens (*Corpus Inscript. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 550) refers to Herod the Great: *Ὁ δῆμος βασιλέα Ἡρώδην Φιλορώμαιον ἐνεργεσίας ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν*. Another similar one (*CIA.* iii. 1, n. 551) is, on account of its divergent title, referred to another Herod, Herod of Chalcis.

beautiful surroundings. The rebuilding was begun in the eighteenth year of Herod, corresponding to B.C. 20–19, or A.U.C. 734–735. After the temple proper was completed it was consecrated; but still the building was carried on for a long period, and only a few years before its destruction, in the time of Albinus (A.D. 62–64), was it actually finished. Its beauty was proverbial. “He who has not seen Herod’s building has never seen anything beautiful,” was a common proverb of that day.⁷²

Besides the buildings, the games, celebrated with great

⁷² On the history of the building, see Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 1. In the former passage Josephus gives a detailed description of the whole extent of the temple buildings, with their beautiful porticoes. The inner court and the temple proper are described with the most minute accuracy (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 5). With this description of Josephus the account given in the Mishna, in the tract *Middoth*, agrees in all essential particulars. A brief and merely summary description is given by Philo, *De monarchia*, lib. ii. § 2 (ed. Mangey, ii. 223 sq.).—The Jewish proverb and other Rabbinical traditions are given in Derenbourg, pp. 152–154.—With all its grandeur, however, the temple was still inferior to the palace of Herod (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 1).—On the date of the building, see above, p. 410. On its completion in the time of Albinus, see *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7.—On the measures taken in order to maintain the ordinances of worship while the building was proceeding, see *Edujoth* viii. 6. “Rabbi Elieser said: I have heard that when the temple (הֵיכָל) was being built, they made curtains (קַלְעִים) for the temple and curtains for the court; and then they built the walls of the temple outside of the curtains, but those of the court inside of the curtains.” While the temple was building, it is said that rain fell only by night (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 7; Derenbourg, p. 152 sq.).—On the basis of the description given in Josephus and in the Mishna tract *Middoth*, the temple of Herod has been in innumerable instances represented in modern literature. The most important literature is catalogued in Haneberg, *Die religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel*, 2 Aufl. 1869, pp. 260–265. Summary descriptions are given in the articles on the temple in Winer’s *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 578–591; Schenkel’s *Bibellexicon*, v. 479–484; and Riehm’s *Handwörterbuch*, pp. 1636–1645; in Keil’s *Biblical Archaeology*, i. 187–201; Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, i. 365–433; Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 432–434; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 436–444; and the handbooks on *Jewish Antiquities* by De Wette, Haneberg, and others (see above, p. 14). The statements of Josephus are well summarized by Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, 1881, pp. 46–94. Compare also Hirt, *Ueber die Baue Herodes der Grossen* (see above, p. 432). The differences between Josephus and the Mishna are examined by Hildesheimer,

pomp and magnificence, belonged to the glory of the Augustan period. In this department also Herod was quite abreast of the requirements of the age. Not only in the predominantly pagan Caesarea, but even in Jerusalem, competitive games were celebrated every fourth year.⁷³ To the eyes of legalistic Jews these pagan exhibitions, with their slight valuation of the life of men and animals, constituted a serious offence, which could be tolerated only under threat of severe measures.⁷⁴ The zeal of the king, however, went so far that he even gave liberal grants in support of the old Olympic games.⁷⁵

Die Beschreibung des herodianischen Tempels in Tractate Middoth und bei Flavius Josephus (Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars für das orthodoxe Judenthum, Berlin 1876, 1877). Speculations on its measurements may be seen in O. Wolff, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem und seine Maasse*, Grätz 1887. —For determining topographical questions of detail, especially in reference to the outer limits of the temple and its gates, a knowledge of recent discoveries is indispensable. Exact descriptions of these are given in de Vogüé, *Le temple de Jérusalem*, 1864; and Schick, *Beit el Makdas oder der alte Tempelplatz zu Jerusalem, wie er jetzt ist*, 1887. An investigation into the antiquity of the various portions of the surrounding wall as it now stands may be seen in Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, t. iv. 1887, pp. 176–218. Valuable materials for the topography of the temple site are contained in the works of Rosen, de Saulcy, the volume on “Jerusalem” in the *Survey of Western Palestine* (1884), together with the plans, elevations, sections (1884) on the largest scale attached thereto; and generally almost all the works on the topography of Jerusalem referred to above on pp. 17–20.—The prevailing view that the present boundaries of the temple site represent exactly those of the temple restored by Herod, is opposed by Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews and other Buildings in the Harem Area at Jerusalem*, London 1879; and Prof. Robertson Smith in his article “Temple” in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xxiii. 1888, pp. 168–171.

⁷³ In Caesarea, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 8. In Jerusalem, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 1.—The expressions, κατὰ πενταετηρίδα (*Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1), πενταετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 8), and πανήγυρις τῆς πενταετηρίδος (*Antiq.* xv. 8. 1), are not to be held as meaning that the plays were celebrated every fifth year, but every fourth year (as we would express it). See Div. ii. vol. i. p. 23.

⁷⁴ On the view taken of the games by the strict loyalists among the Jews, see Div. ii. vol. i. p. 32, and the literature there referred to.

⁷⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 12.

How unweariedly and extravagantly he also in other ways promoted culture and learning of every kind we are informed from explicit statements by Josephus. Very serviceable indeed was the colonizing of the districts west of the lake of Genesareth hitherto traversed only by robber nomad tribes.⁷⁶ He laid out at great cost the parks and gardens about his palace at Jerusalem. Walks and water canals were made through the gardens; water fountains decorated with iron works of art were to be seen, through which the water gushed. In the neighbourhood of these stood dovecots with tamed pigeons.⁷⁷ The king seemed to have a special fondness for pigeon-breeding; it is, indeed, only in connection with this that mention is made of Herod in the Mishna. "Herodian pigeons" is the phrase used for pigeons kept in captivity.⁷⁸ It seems, there-

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. ■ (colonizing by 3000 Idumeans). *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 1-3 (settlement of a colony of Babylonian Jews). Compare also *Div.* ii. vol. i. p. 4.

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 4: πολλοὶ . . . πύργοι πελειάδων ἡμέρων (and the general description there also given of the park).

⁷⁸ In the Mishna the name of Herod occurs only in the two following passages: *Schabbath* xxiv. 3, "On the Sabbath one should not, indeed, place water for the hens and pigeons in the dovecot, but for the geese, and hens, and the pigeons of Herod (יוני הרדסיית)."—*Chullin* xii. 1, the law, *Deut.* xxii. 6. 7 (that from a bird's nest only the young may be taken, but the mother must be allowed to escape), applies only to such birds as build in the open, e.g. geese and hens, but not to such as build in houses, e.g. the pigeons of Herod (יוני הרדסיית).—In both passages the pigeons of Herod are distinguished as pigeons kept in captivity from those that fly about in freedom. The passage in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 4, shows us that they are wild pigeons (πελειάδες), not tame house pigeons (περιστεραί), that are referred to. The reading הרדסיית (*hadoresijoth*) is given even in the Babylonian Talmud on *Chullin* xii. 1, along with the other, but is certainly false.—The *Aruch* (the rabbinical lexicon of Nathan ben Jehiel) gives, s.v. יון, the following explanation: "King Herod had pigeons brought from the wilderness, and bred them in breeding-houses." In reading this passage the learned Drusius had the misfortune to read, instead of *jonim* (pigeons), *jevanim* (Greeks); in accordance with which he explained the Ἑρῳδιανοί (*Matt.* xxii. 16) as meaning *Greeks* whom King Herod had brought from the wilderness and reared in inhabited districts. Compare Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* col. 630-632 (s.v. הרדסי).—

fore, that Herod was the first in Judea to keep and rear wild pigeons in an enclosed place.

In order that he might pose before the eyes of the Graeco-Roman world as a man of culture, Herod, who continued to the last a barbarian at heart, surrounded himself with a circle of men accomplished in Greek literature and art. The highest offices of state were entrusted to Greek rhetoricians. In all more important matters he availed himself of their counsel and advice. The most distinguished of these was Nicolas of Damascus, a man of wide and varied scholarship, versed in natural science, familiar with Aristotle, and widely celebrated as a historical writer.⁷⁹ He enjoyed the unconditional confidence of Herod, and was by him entrusted with all serious and difficult diplomatic missions. Beside him stood his brother Ptolemy, also a trusted friend of the king. Another Ptolemy was at the head of the finance department, and had the king's signet ring.⁸⁰ In addition to these, we find in the

Generally: Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, and Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, arts. "Taube;" Leyrer in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Tauben in Palästina" (2 Aufl. xv. 215–218). Lorentz, *Die Taube in Alterthume*, Leipzig 1886.

⁷⁹ Compare on him above, pp. 58–63.—Since Nicolas of Damascus in the discourse, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 4, in which he treats of the interests and aspirations of the Jews, employs the first person plural (τήν τε ἐβδόμην τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνίμεν τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐδῶν καὶ νόμον, etc.), one might be inclined to regard him as a Jew. But according to a note in Suidas (*Lex. s.v.* Ἀντίπατρος), Antipater, his father, shortly before his death commissioned Nicolas and his brother Ptolemy, in case he should die, to have made for Zeus a censer which he had promised to the god (τῷ Δι θυμιατήριον, ὅπερ ἔφθη αὐτός προὔπσυχμένος τῷ θεῷ, κατασκευάσαι ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ).

⁸⁰ That at the court of Herod two men of the name of Ptolemy are to be distinguished, is put beyond doubt from what took place immediately after his death. At that time Ptolemy, brother of Nicolas of Damascus, was on the side of Antipas (*Antiq.* xvii. 9. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 3); while at that same period another Ptolemy represented the interests of Archelaus (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8; *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3 and 5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 1 and 4). By the latter Archelaus had Herod's accounts and signet-ring carried to Rome to the emperor (*Antiq.* xvii

circle immediately around the king two Greeks or half-Greeks—Andromachus and Gemellus. The latter of these was also the tutor of Herod's son Alexander.⁸¹ Finally, in the proceedings after Herod's death we meet with a Greek rhetorician, Irenaeus.⁸² Among those Hellenic counsellors of the king there were indeed some very bad characters, most conspicuous among them that Lacedæmonian Eurykles, who contributed not a little in fomenting and intensifying the trouble between Herod and his sons.⁸³

Herod to all appearance had very little real interest in Judaism. His ambition led him to foster the liberal arts and culture. But any other form of culture than that of Greece was scarcely recognised by the world of that day. So he himself submitted to receive instructions, under the direction of Nicolas of Damascus, in philosophy, rhetoric, and history, and boasted of being more nearly related to the Greeks than to the Jews.⁸⁴ But the culture which he sought to spread throughout his land was essentially

9. 5: Καίσαρι δὲ Ἀρχέλαος εἰσπέμψας . . . τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων σὺν τῇ σημαντῇρι κομίζοντα Πτολεμαῖον; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 4: Ἀρχέλαος . . . τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἰσπέμπει διὰ Πτολεμαίου). This same man had during the lifetime of Herod charge of his signet-ring, and on his death read his will (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8). Identical with him is the διοικητὴς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας πραγμάτων referred to in *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 2-3, and in the parallel passage, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 2. Compare also *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 5.

⁸¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 3.

⁸² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 3.

⁸³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 26. 1-4.

⁸⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 3: Ἑλλῆσι πλέον ἢ Ἰουδαίοις οικείως ἔχειν.—On the humanistic studies of Herod under the direction of Nicolas of Damascus, see *Nicolaus Damascenus* in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 350 sq.: Ἡρώδης πάλιν διαμεθεὶς τὸν φιλοσοφίας ἔρωτα . . . ἐπεθύμησε πάλιν ῥητορικῆς, καὶ Νικόλαον ἠνάγκαζε συρρητορεύειν αὐτῷ, καὶ κοινῇ ἐρρητόρευον. Αὐθις δ' ἱστορίας αὐτὸν [ἔρωσ] ἔλαβεν, ἐπαινέσαντος Νικολάου τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ πολιτικώτατον εἶναι λέγοντος, χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ, ὡς τὰ τῶν προτέρων ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἱστοροῖν. . . . Ἐκ τούτου πλέον εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρα Ἡρώδης ἐπήγετο τὸν Νικόλαον ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νηὸς καὶ κοινῇ ἐφιλοσόφουν.

Greek and pagan. He even erected heathen temples in the non-Jewish towns of his kingdom.—Under these circumstances it is interesting to observe the place which he gave to the law and the national aspirations of his people. The Pharisaic-national movement had grown up, especially since the reaction under Alexandra, into a power so strong and so firmly rooted in the hearts of the people, that Herod could not possibly think of a violent Hellenizing like that carried on by Antiochus Epiphanes. He was sagacious enough to show respect in many points to the views of the Pharisaic party. Hence it is particularly worthy of notice that his coins bear no human image, but only innocent symbols, like those of the Maccabean coins; at most only one coin, and that belonging probably to Herod's latest period, bears the figure of an eagle.⁸⁵ In the building of the temple he was anxiously careful to avoid giving any offence. He allowed

⁸⁵ On the coins of Herod, see Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 483-486; Mionnet, v. 565; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, i. 52 f., 54-57; De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque*, pp. 127-133; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, ii. 25-31; Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, pp. 67-72; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 81-91; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 21-25; De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, pp. 245-247; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 43-45; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 105-114.—The coins have the simple inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, and various emblems—some the number of the year 3 (L Γ). The year number 15 (ΕΙ), which is read by some numismatists, results probably from a false reading (see Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 86 sq.; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 109, note). A portrait is found on none; but it is probable that a small copper coin with an eagle, of which various copies have been found in Jerusalem, belonged to Herod the Great, not to Herod of Chalcis, who never reigned in Jerusalem (see de Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 131; Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, pp. 86-88; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 114. For Herod of Chalcis: Cavedoni, ii. 35; Levy, p. 82, and Madden in his earlier *History of the Jewish Coinage*, pp. 111-113). Reinach supposes that it belongs to the latest period of Herod the Great, when he showed less respect to Jewish feelings than previously (Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, 1887, p. 32 = *Actes et conférences de la Société des études juives* [Beilage zur *Revue des études juives*], 1887, p. cxviii.).

only priests to build the temple proper, and even he himself ventured not to go into the precincts of the inner temple, which should be entered only by the priests.⁸⁶ Upon none of the many beautiful buildings in Jerusalem were images placed. And when the people once looked with suspicion on the imperial trophies of victory which were set up in the theatre at Jerusalem, because they took them for statues which were covered with the armour, Herod had the trophies taken down in the presence of the most distinguished men, and showed them to their complete satisfaction the bare wooden frames.⁸⁷ When the Arabian Sylläus sought to win for himself the hand of Herod's sister Salome, it was required of him that he should adopt the Jewish customs (*ἐγγραφῆναι τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθελαι*), and thereupon the proposed marriage was abandoned.⁸⁸ Some of the most famous Pharisees, among whom Polio and Sameas may be specially named, were held by Herod in high esteem, and were not punished even when they refused to take the oath of allegiance.⁸⁹

But clearly a thoroughgoing carrying out of Pharisaic views was impossible under his scheme for the furtherance of culture, and he had no intention of promoting them. For a time, what he raised with the one hand he overthrew with the other. After he had carefully studied the Pharisaic requirements in the building of the temple, he at last had an eagle put up over the temple gate as if in insult.⁹⁰ Theatre and amphitheatre were already in themselves heathen abominations. The Greek surroundings of the king, the administration of state business by men of Greek culture, the development of heathen splendour within the Holy Land, the provision for heathen worship within the borders of Judea, in the king's own territory, all this completely outweighed those concessions

⁸⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 5-6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* xv. 8. 1-2.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* xvi. 7. 6.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* xv. 1. 1, 10. 4

⁹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 2.

to Pharisaism, and in spite of these lent to Herod's reign more of a heathen than a Jewish character. The Sanhedrim, which according to the opinion of the people was the only court that had any right to exist, under Herod was stripped of all importance, so that doubts have been entertained as to its very existence.⁹¹ The high priests, whom he appointed and removed at his pleasure, were his creatures, and were for the most part Alexandrians, with a veneer therefore of culture, and so offensive to the Pharisees.⁹² The treatment of the high-priesthood is quite typical of the home policy of the king. As he had tossed aside with ruthless violence the old Sadducean nobles on the one hand, because of their sympathy with the Asmonean dynasty (see above, p. 420); so, on the other hand, he was just as little satisfied with the Pharisees. Their ideals went far beyond the concessions of the king, and the friendships enjoyed among the Pharisees were only exceptions.⁹³

When one considers that in addition to this contempt of the claims and the actual or imagined rights of the people, Herod oppressed them by imposing a heavy taxation, it may be readily supposed that his rule was endured amid much murmuring. All foreign glory could only be distasteful to the people so long as it was secured by the oppression of the citizens and accompanied by the disregarding of the laws of their fathers. Most of the Pharisees regarded the government of the Roman vassal king generally as not existing in right, and refused twice over the oath of allegiance which Herod demanded, first for himself and then for the emperor.⁹⁴ The

⁹¹ Indeed, this may be accepted as certain. See Div. ii. vol. i. p. 170.

⁹² Compare on the high priests, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, pp. 598-600; and below, § 23, iv. (Div. ii. vol. i. pp. 195-206).

⁹³ Wellhausen, *Die Phariseer und die Sadducäer*, pp. 105-109, has indeed rightly stated that the Pharisees could be contented with Herod sooner than the Sadducees. But he has too strongly accentuated this correct idea.

⁹⁴ The two cases of refusal to take the oath, which are reported in

prevailing dissatisfaction sought vent once in the earlier period of his reign, about B.C. 25, in a conspiracy. Ten citizens conspired to murder the king in the theatre. Their plan, indeed, failed, since it was betrayed beforehand. When they were just on the eve of committing the deed, they were

Antiq. xv. 10. 4 and in xvii. 2. 4, seem to be quite distinct. In the former passage it is said that Herod persecuted his enemies in all manner of ways; "but for the rest of the multitude he required that they should be obliged to take the oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him goodwill and continue so to do in the management of his government" (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 4: τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ὁρκοῖς ἡξίου πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ὑπάγεσθαι, καὶ συνηνάγκαζεν αὐτῷ ἐνώμοτον τὴν εὐνοίαν ἢ μὴν διαφυλάξειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμολογεῖν). It is an oath of fidelity to the king that is here referred to. The Pharisees who refused were, out of respect to Polio and Sameas, left unpunished. So, too, the Essenes. But all the others were punished. In the other passage it is told that when the whole Jewish people promised an oath of submission to the emperor and the king, more than 3000 Pharisees refused to swear (*Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4: παντὸς γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι' ὅρκων ἢ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέωσιν πράγμασι, οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ᾤμωσαν, ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι). Here the oath to the emperor seems to have been the chief thing. The Pharisees who refused were sentenced to pay a money fine, which was paid by the wife of Pheroras.—The latter passage is the earliest instance that I know of showing that in the days of the empire not only soldiers and officers, but also the people in Italy and in the provinces, had to take the oath of fidelity to the emperor. Later evidence of the practice we have from the time of Tiberius, Caligula, and Trajan. 1. On Tiberius entering upon his reign, the chief officials first swore *in verba Tiberii Caesaris*, then the *senatus, milesque et populus* (Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 7). In reference to the provinces, compare Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 34: *Germanicus . . . Sequanos, proximas et Belgarum civitates in verba ejus [Tiberii] adigit*. 2. On Caligula entering upon his reign, the oath of fidelity to the new emperor was administered to all the provincials. In Palestine this was done by the governor of Syria, Vitellius, who happened to be present in Jerusalem when the news of the death of Tiberius arrived (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3: ὥρκισε τὴν πλῆθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίῳ). The same zeal was displayed at the same time in far distant Spain. The formula of the oath which the citizens of the little town of Aritium in Lusitania had sworn to Caligula on 11th May A.D. 37, therefore scarcely two months after the death of Tiberius, is preserved on an iron tablet (*Corpus Inscript.* Lat. t. ii. n. 172. See Mommsen's remarks upon it in *Ephemeris epigr.* t. v. pp. 154–158). In essential agreement with this Latin oath formula is the Greek oath of the citizens of Assos in the Troad to Caligula,

seized, dragged before Herod, and immediately condemned to death.⁹⁵

In order to hold the revolting populace in check, Herod had recourse on his part to means of violence; and so his reign the longer it lasted the more despotic it became. The fortresses, which were partly new erections of his own, partly old places made stronger, served not only to protect him from foreign foes, but also for keeping down his own people. The most important were Herodium, Alexandrium, Hyrcania, Machärus, Masada, to which may also be added the military colonies at Gaba in Galilee and Esbon in Perea (compare above, pp. 435—437). Especially to Hyrcania many political offenders were deported in order there to disappear for ever.⁹⁶ As props of his government against foreign as well as home foes Herod had dependable mercenary troops, in which there were many Thracians, Germans, and Gauls.⁹⁷—But, finally, he sought by strict police regulations to nip in the bud every attempt at rebellion. All idle loitering about the streets, all common assemblies, yea, even meeting together on the street, was forbidden. And where anything of the kind was

which is known from an iron tablet found there in 1881. It also bears the date of the consuls of the first half of the year A.D. 37. The main body of this Greek formula runs as follows: "Ὁμνυμεν . . . εὐνοή-
σειν Γαίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ καὶ τῇ σύμπαντι οἰκῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ φίλους τε κρίνειν,
οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῇται, καὶ ἐχθροὺς οὓς αὐτὸς προβάλλῃται (*Ephemeris
epigr.* v. 154—158). 3. For the time of Trajan we learn explicitly from Pliny that then the provincials on the anniversary of the emperor's accession yearly renewed the oath of fidelity to the emperor (Pliny, *Epist. ad Trajan.* 52 [al. 60]: "diem, domine, quo servasti imperium, dum suscipis, quanta mereris laetitia celebravimus . . . praeivimus et commilitonibus jus jurandum more sollemni, eadem provincialibus certante pietate jurantibus." *Ibid.* 103 [al. 104] Traianus Plinio: "Diem imperii mei debita laetitia et religione commilitonibus et provincialibus praeunte te celebratum libenter cognovi litteris tuis").—Compare generally, Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 749.

⁹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 8. 3—4.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* xv. 10. 4.

⁹⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 9.

nevertheless done, the king had information about it immediately conveyed to him by his secret spies. He is said at times to have in his own person acted the part of the spy.⁹⁸

In order to be just, one must, however, admit that his government had also its good side. Among his buildings many were of a useful description. We need only mention the haven of Caesarea. By his strong hand were conditions created under the protection of which trade and travel became safe. He also for a time at least made attempts to win the hearts of his subjects by proofs of his magnanimity. Once, in the year B.C. 20, he remitted a third of the taxes;⁹⁹ at another time, in B.C. 14, he remitted a fourth of them.¹⁰⁰ Quite amazing was the energy with which he sought to put a stop to the famine which spread over the land in B.C. 25. He is said on that occasion to have converted into money even his own table plate.¹⁰¹

But the people in presence of prevailing evils had only a very feeble and transitory gratitude for such benefits. And so, while upon the whole his reign was undoubtedly glorious, it was by no means happy.

The chief glory of his reign lay in his foreign policy, and in this department he undeniably achieved great success. He had secured the confidence of Augustus to such a degree, that by imperial favour the extent of his territory was about doubled.

This is the place to estimate, according to its most essential and characteristic feature, the position in the eye of the law of a *rex socius* in the Roman empire of that day.¹⁰² The

⁹⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* xv. 10. 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 5.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* xv. 9. 1-2.

¹⁰² Compare upon this point, Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, Bd. ii. 1865, pp. 21-33; Bohn, *Qua conditione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint*, Berolini 1877; Mommsen,

dependence, in which all kings on this side of the Euphrates stood to the Roman power, was expressed most strikingly in this, that none could exercise royal authority and use the title of king without the express approval of the emperor, with or without confirmation by the senate.¹⁰³ The title was, as a rule, granted only to such princes as reigned over a territory of considerable extent; the smaller princes were obliged to be satisfied with the title of tetrarch or such like. The permission extended only to the person of the individual who then received it, and ceased with his death. Hereditary monarchies were not generally recognised within the domain of the Roman authority. Even the son appointed by his father as his successor could enter upon his government only after his nomination had been confirmed by the emperor. This confirmation was refused if there appeared reasons for so doing, and then the territorial domain of the father was either granted to the son with restricted boundaries and with an inferior title, or given to another, or even taken under direct Roman administration as a province. All this may indeed be learned from the history of the Herodian dynasty, but it is also confirmed by all other records.—The title *socius et amicus populi Romani* (φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων) seems as a special designation to have been granted only to individuals, so that not all who actually assumed this position had really formally received the title.¹⁰⁴ The possession of Roman citizenship is indeed expressly witnessed to only on behalf of a few, but is to be assumed in regard to all as probable.

Römisches Staatsrecht, iii. 1, 1887, pp. 645-715.—The work of W. T. Arnold, *Roman System of Provincial Administration*, London 1879, quoted by Marquardt in his *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i., 2 Aufl. p. 500, was not accessible to me.

¹⁰³ Herod had his kingdom δόσει Καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι Ῥωμαίων, Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7.

¹⁰⁴ Also in regard to Herod, who in *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 6 is called φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος, Bohn doubts whether the title officially belonged to him, *Qua condicione*, p. 14, note 29.

The family of Herod came into possession of it early through Antipater, the father of Herod.¹⁰⁵ From the time of Caligula, too, honorary senatorial rights (praetorian and consular rank) were for a time conferred upon confederate kings.¹⁰⁶—Their power was restricted especially in the following particulars: 1. They could neither conclude treaties with other States nor engage in a war on their own account, and so could exercise sovereign rights only within the boundaries of their own land. 2. They had the right of coining money only in a limited degree. The minting of gold coins seems to have been almost entirely forbidden; in many cases also the minting of silver coins. To the latter class belonged Herod and his successors; at least only copper coins have come down to us from the whole line of Herodian princes. This fact is particularly instructive, since it shows us that Herod by no means belonged to the most distinguished of those kings, as by many of his statements Josephus would lead us to suppose.¹⁰⁷ 3. A special obligation resting on them was the providing of auxiliary troops in case of a war, as well as the protection of the frontiers of the empire against foreign attacks. Also contributions in money were on special occasions demanded. But a regular tribute seems not to have been raised for the kings during the time of the empire.

¹⁰⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Agrippa I. obtained in the first place praetorian rank (Philo in *Flacc.* § 6, Mangey, ii. 523), subsequently consular rank (Dio Cassius, lx. 8). Herod of Chalcis obtained praetorian rank (Dio Cassius, *ibid.*), as also Agrippa II. (Dio Cassius, lxvi. 15).—The conferring of honorary senatorial rights (*ornamenta, τιμαί*) on those not senators, first came into vogue under Tiberius (Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. i. 375 f.). The interest of the question entirely centres on the point as to their right of taking their place on public occasions among the senators, and of wearing the insignia of their respective offices. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i. 373 f., 377 f.

¹⁰⁷ Compare on the right of *reges socii* to coin money, Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, 1860, pp. 661–736; *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1, pp. 709–714; Bohn, *Qua condicione juris*, pp. 42–49.

Only of Antony is it said that he appointed kings ἐπὶ φόροις τεταγμένοις.¹⁰⁸—The rights of sovereignty which were left to dependent kings embraced, under the reservations specified, the whole administration of home affairs and the execution of the laws. They had unlimited power of life and death over their subjects. Their whole territory was generally not regarded as belonging to the province. Within the bounds of their territory they could impose taxes at will, and they administered the revenue independently. Their army also was under their own control, and was organized by themselves.

The position thus described, which afforded such abundant scope to the energy of the individual, was taken advantage of by Herod with all his might. He availed himself, as others ought also to have done, of every opportunity of presenting himself to the emperor and proving his devotion to him.¹⁰⁹ Even in B.C. 30 he had several times visited Augustus.¹¹⁰ Ten years later, in B.C. 20, Augustus went again to Syria, and Herod did not lose the chance of paying him his respects.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Appian, *Civ.* v. 75. More details are given in the excursus on the taxing of Quirinius (§ 17, Appendix I.). For the hypothesis that the *reges socii* were obliged to pay a regular tribute, a special attempt to supply proof has been made by Huschke (*Ueber den zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi gehaltenen Census*, 1840, pp. 99-116). He is followed by Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, pp. 405-408, with reference to Judea. On the other hand, Bohn, *Qua condicione juris*, pp. 55-64.—Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 683, confines himself to the remark that the dependent principalities "even under the Republic" paid a fixed yearly tribute; but he admits that "according to the older Roman practice" the federation right excluded the payment of money (p. 681), and that even in later times the payment of tribute by those belonging to the league was determined "less by general rule than by enactments made in reference to the particular case in point" (p. 683).

¹⁰⁹ Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, 60: "Reges amici atque socii . . . sæpe regnis relictis, non Romae modo sed et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni, more clientium praestiterunt."

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 428.

¹¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3.—Augustus does not seem ever to have visited Judea.

In B.C. 18 or 17 Herod fetched home his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, who were in Rome for their education, and was on that occasion very graciously received by the emperor.¹¹² Subsequently he met with Augustus on two occasions, in the years B.C. 12 and 10–9.¹¹³ Herod was also on terms of friendly intercourse with Agrippa, the trusted friend and son-in-law of Augustus. While Agrippa was residing in Mytilene, B.C. 23–21, he there received a visit from Herod.¹¹⁴ And later still, in B.C. 15, Agrippa himself went to Judea and offered a hecatomb in the temple at Jerusalem. The people were so enthusiastic over the Roman who showed himself so friendly to the Jews, that they accompanied him amid shouts of good-will to his ship, strewing his way with flowers, and expressing admiration at his piety.¹¹⁵ In the spring of the following year, B.C. 14, Herod returned Agrippa's visit; and as he knew that Agrippa had planned an expedition to the Crimea, he took with him a fleet in order to afford him assistance. At Sinope he met his noble friend and then went with him, after the warlike operations were finished, over a great part of Asia Minor, dispensing everywhere lavish gifts and granting petitions.¹¹⁶—His relations with Augustus and Agrippa were so intimate that flatterers affirmed that Herod was dearest to Augustus next to Agrippa, and to Agrippa next to Augustus.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 1. 2.

¹¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 1–5, and 9. 1. Compare above, p. 411 f.

¹¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 2.

¹¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 1; Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 37 (ed. Mangey, ii. 589): εὐφρονηθεὶς μυρία παρεπέμφθη μέχρι λιμένων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μισῶς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης, φυλλοβολοῦμένός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ.—In reference to the hecatomb, compare Div. ii. vol. i. p. 302. On the sacrificing by heathens in Jerusalem generally, see same volume, pp. 299–305.

¹¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 2–5. Compare Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* iii. 350.

¹¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4.

These Roman friendships also bore their fruits. Even as early as B.C. 30, when Herod was with Augustus in Egypt, he had obtained from him important enlargement of territory (see above, p. 428). New gifts were added at a later period. Herod had in B.C. 25, in the campaign of Aelius Gallus against Arabia, supplied 500 men of select auxiliary troops.¹¹⁸ There may possibly be some connection between this and the fact that soon afterwards, in B.C. 23, at the time when Herod sent his sons Alexander and Aristobulus for their education to Rome, he received the districts of Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis, which previously had been occupied by nomad robber tribes, with whom the neighbouring tetrarch Zenodorus had made common cause.¹¹⁹ When some years later, in B.C. 20, Augustus visited Syria, he bestowed upon Herod the tetrarchy of Zenodorus, the districts of Ulatha and Panias, and the surrounding territories north and north-west of the lake of Gennesareth.¹²⁰ At the same time Herod obtained permission to appoint his brother Pheroras tetrarch of Perea.¹²¹ And the unbounded confidence which Augustus had in him is shown conspicuously in this, that he, perhaps only during the period of Agrippa's absence from the East (see above, p. 349 f.), gave orders to the procurators of Syria (Coele-Syria ?) to take counsel with Herod in regard to all important matters.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3; Strabo, xvi. 4. 23, p. 780. For further details, see above, p. 407.

¹¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4.—The districts named all lie west of the lake of Gennesareth. Compare in reference to them, § 17a; on Zenodorus, Appendix I.

¹²⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4; Dio Cassius, liv. 9.

¹²¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 5.

¹²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4. The somewhat obscure words in reference to the procurators are as follows, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3: ἐγκαταμίγνυσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτροπεύουσι τῆς Συρίας, ἐντελεόμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν; somewhat differently, *Wars of*

It is not left untold how Herod used his influence with the Roman governors to secure the Jews of the dispersion against all oppression and infringement of their rights on the part of their non-Jewish neighbours.¹²³ Thus the power of the Jewish king told in favour even of those Jews who were not immediately under his rule.

The period from B.C. 20 to B.C. 14 was decidedly the most brilliant in his reign. In spite of dependence upon Rome, his court, so far as outward grandeur was concerned, might bear comparison with the best times that the nation had seen. Internal affairs were indeed in a miserable state. Only by force could the people be brought to tolerate the semi-pagan rule of the Idumean; and only his despotic, iron hand prevented an uprising of the fermenting masses.

III.

The last nine years of Herod, B.C. 13-4, constitute the period of domestic misery. Especially his unhappy quarrels with the sons of Mariamme cast a deep, dark shadow over this period.¹²⁴

Herod had a numerous family. In all he had ten wives, *the Jews*, i. 20. 4: κατέστησε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον . . . ὥς μὴδὲν ἐξείη δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν.—From the nature of the thing it cannot refer to a formal subordination of the procurators of Syria under Herod, but, as even the expression *συμβουλίας* in the latter passage shows, only to the fact that the procurators as finance officers for the province were told to make use of the counsel of Herod. Also it is probable that for *Συρίας ὅλης* (resp. *Συρίας*) we should read *Συρίας κοίλης*. Compare Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 408.—One should not take the note too seriously, since it evidently comes from the glorifying pen of Nicolas of Damascus.

¹²³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 3-5. Compare also, *Antiq.* xvi. 6. 1-8; xii. 3. 2.

¹²⁴ Many things belong to this period that were treated of in the preceding section, for the boundaries of the periods cannot be always strictly observed. It is in general undoubtedly correct to say that the domestic quarrels reached their height between B.C. 13 and B.C. 4.

which was indeed, as Josephus points out, allowed by the law; but it affords a striking proof of his sensuality.¹²⁵ His first wife was Doris, by whom he had one son, Antipater.¹²⁶ Both were repudiated by Herod, and Antipater was allowed to appear at Jerusalem only at the great feasts.¹²⁷ In the year B.C. 37, Herod married Mariamme, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus (see above, p. 396), who bore him five children, three sons and two daughters. Of the sons, the youngest died at Rome; ¹²⁸ the two elder ones, Alexander and Aristobulus, are the heroes of the subsequent history.¹²⁹ The third wife, whom Herod married about B.C. 24, was also called Mariamme. She was daughter of a famous priest belonging to Alexandria, who was appointed high priest by Herod just at the time when he married his daughter.¹³⁰ By this wife he had a son called Herod.¹³¹ Of the other seven wives, carefully enumerated by Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3, and *Wars of the*

¹²⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 2, *fin.*; *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 2: *πάτριον γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ πλείοσιν ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν*. According to the Mishna, *Sanhedrin* ii. 4, eighteen wives were allowed to the king. How many a private man should have is not expressly stated in the Mishna, but it is assumed that he may have four or five (four: *Jebamoth* iv. 11; *Kethuboth* x. 1-6; five: *Kerithoth* iii. 7. Compare in general also: *Kiddushin* ii. 7; *Bechoroth* viii. 4). In agreement with this is Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 134: *βέλτιόν ἐστιν, ὑμᾶς τῷ θεῷ ἔπεσθαι ἢ τοῖς ἀσυνέτοις καὶ τυφλοῖς διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν, οἵτινες καὶ μέχρι νῦν καὶ τέσσαρας καὶ πέντε ἔχειν ὑμᾶς γυναῖκας ἕκαστον συγχωροῦσι*. Compare further, Otto's note on that passage, and Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, article "Vielweiberei."

¹²⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 1.—According to *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 2, Antipater was married to a daughter of the last Asmonean Antigonos.

¹²⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 3. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 1.

¹²⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 2.

¹²⁹ The two daughters were called Salampso and Cypros. Their descendants are enumerated by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.

¹³⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3. The name Mariamme: *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 4, and elsewhere. Josephus, in *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3, names her father Simon, her grandfather Boethos. In other places Boethos himself is called her father. See *Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, p. 599 f.; and below, § 23, iv. Div. ii. vol. i. p. 195.

¹³¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 2.

Jews, i. 28. 4, only the Samaritan Malthace, mother of Archelaus and Antipas, and Cleopatra of Jerusalem, the mother of Philip, are of interest to us.

About the year B.C. 23, Herod sent the sons of the first Mariamme, Alexander and Aristobulus, for their education to Rome, where they were hospitably entertained in the house of Asinius Pollio.¹³² Some five years later, in B.C. 18 or 17, he himself fetched them home again, and from that time onward kept them at the court in Jerusalem.¹³³ They would then be young men about seventeen or eighteen years of age. In accordance with the customs of the age and country, they were soon married. Alexander received a daughter of the Cappadocian king Archelaus, whose name was Glaphyra; Aristobulus had given him a daughter of Herod's sister Salome, called Berenice.¹³⁴ Although in this way the Asmonean and Idumean line of the Herodian family were connected together by affinity in the closest relationship, they still stood over against one another as two hostile camps. The sons of Mariamme, conscious of their royal blood, might well look down with a certain pride upon the Idumean relationship; and the Idumeans, pre-eminently the estimable Salome, returned the haughtiness of those Asmoneans by common abuse. And so even thus early, after the sons had no more than re-entered their father's house, the knots began to be tied, which afterwards became so twisted that they could not be loosed. For a time, however, Herod did not allow these janglings to interfere with the love he had for his sons.¹³⁵

¹³² Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1.

¹³³ *Ibid.* xvi. 1. 2.

¹³⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 1. 2. Berenice was a daughter of Salome and Costobar (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4). She is also spoken of by Strabo, xvi. 2. 46, p. 765.—King Archelaus of Cappadocia reigned from B.C. 36 to A.D. 17 (Dio Cassius, xlix. 32, lvii. 17; Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 42; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 448; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 1439 f.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 365 f.; Reinach, *Revue Numismatique*, 1886, pp. 462-466).

¹³⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 1. 2.

The evil conscience of the king, however, offered so fruitful a soil for such sowing of slanders, that they could not fail ultimately to take root and to bring forth fruit. He was obliged to admit to himself that the natural heritage of the sons was the desire to avenge the death of their mother. And as now Salome again and again pictured to him the danger which threatened from both, he at last began to believe it, and to look upon his sons with suspicion.¹⁸⁶

In order to provide what would counterbalance their aspiring projects, and to show them that there was still another in existence who might possibly be heir to the throne, he called back his exiled Antipater, and sent his sons for that reason to Rome, in company with Agrippa, who just then, in B.C. 13, was leaving the East, in order that he might present him to the emperor.¹⁸⁷ But by so doing he put the weapon into the hand of the bitterest foe of his domestic peace. For Antipater from this time forth laboured incessantly, by calumniating his step-brothers, to carve out his way to the throne. The change in their father's attitude was naturally not without effect upon Alexander and Aristobulus. They returned his suspicion with undisguised aversion, and already openly complained of the death of their mother, and of the injurious treatment to which they were subjected.¹⁸⁸ Thus was the rift between father and sons becoming always deeper, until at last Herod, in B.C. 12, came to the conclusion to accuse his sons before the emperor. Along with the two he started on his journey, and appeared before the emperor at Aquileia as complainant against his sons. The mild earnestness of Augustus succeeded for that time in reconciling the opposing parties, and restoring again domestic peace. With thanks to the emperor, father and sons returned home ;

¹⁸⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 3. 1-2.

¹⁸⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 3. 3 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 23. 1-2.

¹⁸⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 3. 3.

and Antipater also himself joined them, and pretended to rejoice in the reconciliation.¹³⁹

Scarcely had they reached home when the old game began afresh. Antipater, who now again was one of those in immediate attendance on the king, continued unweariedly the work of slander, and in this he was faithfully supported by the brother and sister of Herod, Pheroras and Salome. On the other hand, Alexander and Aristobulus assumed a more decidedly hostile attitude.¹⁴⁰ Thus the peace between father and sons was soon again broken. The suspicion of the king, which from day to day received new fuel, became more and more morbid, and by and by reached a climax in a superstitious fear of ghosts.¹⁴¹ He now caused the adherents of Alexander to be subjected to the torture, at first unsuccessfully, until at last one, under the agony of torture, made injurious admissions. On the ground of these, Alexander was committed to prison.¹⁴²—When the Cappadocian king, Alexander's father-in-law, heard of the unfortunate state of matters at the Jewish court, he began to fear for his daughter and son-in-law, and made a journey to Jerusalem in order, if at all possible, to bring about a reconciliation. He appeared before Herod very angry over his good-for-nothing son-in-law, threatened to take his daughter back again to his own house, and expressed himself so ferociously that Herod himself espoused the side of his son, and undertook his defence against Archelaus. By such a manœuvre the sly Cappadocian succeeded in bringing about the reconciliation which he desired, and was able to return home quite satisfied.¹⁴³ Thus once again the wild storm was broken by a short temporary lull.

¹³⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 1-6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 23. 3-5.

¹⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 2 ff. ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 1 ff.

¹⁴¹ Compare especially : Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 2, 5 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 8.

¹⁴² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 4 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 8.

¹⁴³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 25. 1-6.

In that excited period Herod had also to contend with foreign enemies, and even with imperial disfavour. The free-booting inhabitants of Trachonitis wished to rid themselves of his strict and severe government, and somewhere about forty of the worst disturbers of the peace found ready shelter in the neighbouring parts of Arabia, where ■ certain Sylleus carried on the government in the place of the weak King Obodas. When Sylleus refused to deliver up these robbers, Herod undertook, with consent of the governor of Syria, Saturninus, ■ warlike expedition against Arabia, and enforced his rights.¹⁴⁴ But now Sylleus agitated at Rome, represented the matter as an unlawful breach of national peace, and was able thereby to bring Herod seriously into disfavour with the emperor.¹⁴⁵ — In order to justify himself in regard to his conduct, Herod sent an embassy to Rome; and when this was not successful, he sent a second, under the leadership of Nicolas of Damascus.¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile the family discord was with rapid strides approaching its tragical end. The reconciliation, as might have been expected, was not of long duration. In order to make the unhappiness complete, there now arrived at the court a worthless Lacedæmonian, Eurykles, who inflamed the father against the sons and the sons against the father.¹⁴⁷ At the same time, all the other mischief-makers continued their work. At last matters came to such a pass that Herod cast Alexander and Aristobulus into prison, and laid a complaint against them before the emperor of being concerned in treasonable plots.¹⁴⁸

Nicolas of Damascus had meanwhile accomplished the

¹⁴⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 1-2.

¹⁴⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 3. Compare Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 351; Feder, *Excerpta Escorialensia*, p. 64

¹⁴⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 4.

¹⁴⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 26. 1-4.

¹⁴⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 5-7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 27. 1.

task of his mission, and had again won over the emperor to Herod.¹⁴⁹ When, therefore, the messengers bearing the accusation reached Rome, they found Augustus already in a favourable mood, and at once spread out before him their documents. Augustus gave to Herod absolute power to proceed in this matter as he thought best, but advised him to summon to Berytus a justiciary court consisting of Roman officials and his own friends, and to have the charges against his sons investigated by it.¹⁵⁰

Herod accepted the advice of the emperor. The court almost unanimously pronounced the sentence of death. Only

¹⁴⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 8-9. Nicolas of Damascus in Müller.

¹⁵⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 27. 1.—Berytus was probably fixed upon by Augustus because it was a Roman colony, and so a centre of Roman activity and officialdom in the neighbourhood of Palestine. According to Strabo, xvi. 2. 19, p. 755 sq., Agrippa placed two legions in Berytus, i.e. the veterans of those legions. This would be in B.C. 15, on the occasion of Agrippa's visit to that quarter (see above, p. 411). In fact, Eusebius gives the year of Abraham 2001, or B.C. 15, as the date of the founding of the colony of Berytus (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 142); and Augustus says, in *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iii. 22 sqq., that in the year B.C. 14, during the consulship of M. Crassus and Cn. Lentulus, he paid to the municipal authorities large sums for pieces of land which he assigned to the veterans (Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, pp. 62-65). The two legions were the Leg. V. Mac. and VIII. Aug. (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 356; Mommsen, *Res gestae*, p. 119). The full name of Berytus as a colony runs thus: "Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus" (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. iii. n. 161, 165, 166, 6041). Compare also, Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 20. 78; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 3. 1; *Digest.* L. 15. 1. 1, 7, 8. 3. The coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* iii. 354-359, and Mionnet, *Description de médailles ant.* v. 334-351; *Supplément*, viii. 238-250. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 436-447. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 62-64, 432-456. Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. i. 2. 2361 f. Zumpt, *Commentt. epigr.* i. 379. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i, 2 Aufl. p. 427 f.—In the later years of the empire, at least from the third century after Christ, there was in Berytus a highly celebrated seminary for Roman law (*Codex Justin.* i. 17. 2. 9, x. 49. 1. Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, iii. p. 442. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 436. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, p. 428). Its beginnings may quite well have been within the period of Augustus (Hitzig, *Geschichte der Volkes Israel*, ii. 554).

the governor of Syria, Saturninus, and his three sons were of another mind.—Still it was doubtful whether Herod would carry out the sentence. An old soldier, Teron, therefore ventured publicly to sue for favour to the condemned. But the old man and three hundred others, who were denounced as adherents of Alexander and Aristobulus, were put to death, and the sentence was now without delay carried into execution. At Sebaste (Samaria), where thirty years before Mariamme's marriage had been celebrated, her sons were executed upon the gibbet, probably in B.C. 7.¹⁵¹

But such proceedings failed utterly in restoring peace to Herod's household. Antipater was now indeed all-powerful at court, and enjoyed the unconditional confidence of his father. But this did not satisfy him. He wished to have the government wholly in his own hand, and held secret conferences with Herod's brother Pheroras, tetrarch of Perea, at which it was suspected that nothing good was done. Salome, the old serpent, had soon discovered these ongoings, and reported the matter to the king.¹⁵² And so the relations of Antipater and his father soon became strained. Antipater, in order to avoid a conflict, found it convenient to allow himself to be sent to Rome. That Herod did not meanwhile entertain any serious suspicion against him is shown by his will, in which even at that time he nominated Antipater his successor on the throne; only in the event of Antipater

¹⁵¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 11. 2-7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 27. 2-6. Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* iii. 351 sq. Feder, *Excerpta Escorialensia*, p. 65.—Compare generally, Delitzsch, *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*, 2 Aufl. 1875 (pp. 51-69: "Ein Junitag aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des vorchristlichen Jerusalems").—On the punishment by strangling among the Jews, Mishna, *Sanhedrin* vii. 1, 3; *Terumoth* vii. 2; *Kethuboth* iv. 3; *Sanhedrin* vi. 5, *fin.*, ix. 3, 6, xi. 1. Among the Romans, Rein, article "Laqueus," in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 771.

¹⁵² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 1, 2. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 1, 29. 1.

dying before himself was Herod, the son of Mariamme the high priest's daughter, named his successor.¹⁵³

While Antipater was in Rome, Pheroras died;¹⁵⁴ and by this also Antipater's fate was sealed. Some freedmen of Pheroras went to Herod and showed him that there was a suspicion that Pheroras had been poisoned, and that Herod should investigate the matter more closely. On examination it came out that poison certainly had been present, that it was sent by Antipater, but that it was intended, not for Pheroras, but was only given to him by Antipater in order that he might administer it to Herod. Herod also now learned from the female slaves of Pheroras' household all the utterances which had escaped Antipater at those secret conclaves, his complaining about the long life of the king, about the uncertainty of his prospects, and other such things.¹⁵⁵ Herod could now no longer entertain any doubt as to the deadly intentions of his favourite son. Under all sorts of false pretences, he recalled him from Rome in order to put him on trial at home. Antipater, who anticipated no trouble, returned, and to his great surprise—for although since the discovery of his plots seven months had passed, he had heard nothing of the matter—he was on his arrival committed to prison in the king's palace.¹⁵⁶ Next day he was brought forth to trial before Varus, the governor of Syria. As in face of the manifest proofs brought against him he could say nothing in defence of himself, Herod had him put in fetters, and made a report of the matter to the emperor.¹⁵⁷

Herod was now almost seventy years of age. His days

¹⁵³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 3. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 4.

¹⁵⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 4. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 30. 1-7.

¹⁵⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 4. 3, 5. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 31. 2-5.

¹⁵⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 3-7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 32. 1-5. Compare generally also, Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* iii. 352 sq.; Feder, *Excerpta Escorialensia*, p. 66 sq.

were indeed already numbered. He suffered from a disease from which he could not recover. In a new will, which he now executed, he named his youngest son Antipas, the son of the Samaritan Malthace, as his successor.¹⁵⁸

During his sickness he could not but perceive how anxiously the people longed to be delivered from his yoke, and yearned for the moment when they would be emancipated from his heathenish government. As soon as the news got abroad that his disease was incurable, two rabbis, Judas the son of Sariphäus, and Matthias the son of Margaloth, stirred up the people to tear down the offensive eagle from the temple gate.¹⁵⁹ Only too readily they found an audience, and amid great uproar the work pleasing to God was accomplished. Meanwhile Herod, in spite of his sickness, was still strong enough to pass sentences of death, and to have the principal leaders of the tumult burnt alive.¹⁶⁰

The days of the old king were now at an end. The disease was always becoming worse, and dissolution rapidly approached. The baths of Callirrhoë, on the other side of the Jordan, to which the king had gone, no longer benefited him.¹⁶¹ When he had returned to Jericho, he is said to have

¹⁵⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 1-4.

¹⁵⁹ The names of the rabbins in *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2: 'Ιούδας ὁ Σαριφαίου καὶ Ματθίας ὁ Μαργαλάθου; in *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 2: 'Ιούδας τε υἱὸς Σεπφωραίου καὶ Ματθίας ἑτέρος Μαργάλου.

¹⁶⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2-4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 1-4.

¹⁶¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 5.—Callirrhoë is also mentioned by Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 16. 72, and by Ptolemy, v. 16. 9. The Jewish tradition identifies Callirrhoë and the biblical עֲרֵי, Gen. x. 19 (*Targum Jerus.* on Gen. x. 19; *Bereshith rabba*, c. 37). On this point, see Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Genes.* x. 19 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, iii. 321): "hoc tantum adnotandum videtur, quod Lise ipsa sit quae nunc Callirrhoë dicitur, ubi aquae calidae prorumpentes in mare mortuum defluunt."—On its site, see especially, Dechent, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, pp. 196-201.

given orders that upon his death the most distinguished men of the nation, whom he had caused to be shut up in the arena of that place, should be cut down, so that there might be a great lamentation as he passed away.¹⁶² Amid all the pains which his disease caused him, he lived long enough to have the satisfaction of accomplishing the death of his son Antipater, the chief instigator of his domestic misery. Just in the last days of his life the permission of the emperor arrived for the execution of Antipater, which soon afterwards was carried out.¹⁶³

A few days before his death Herod once again altered his will, for he named Archelaus, the older son of Malthace, king, his brother Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Philip, the son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem, tetrarch of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Panias.¹⁶⁴

At last, five days after the execution of Antipater, Herod died at Jericho in B.C. 4, unwept by those of his own house, and hated by all the people.¹⁶⁵—A pompous funeral proces-

¹⁶² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 6. The order was not carried out (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8). Compare the similar rabbinical tradition in Derenbourg, p. 164 sq.

¹⁶³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 7; Nicolas of Damascus in Müller.

¹⁶⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 7-8.

¹⁶⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8.—On the date of his death, see Fréret, "Eclaircissement sur l'année et sur le temps précis de la mort d'Hérode le Grand, roi de Judée" (*Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, prem. série, t. xxi. 1754, pp. 278-298); Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*, 1793, pp. 307-394 (the classical work); Wurm in Bengel's *Archiv.* 2nd vol. 1st part, 1816, pp. 26-39 (worthy of being consulted for its astronomical computations); Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 389-393; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 46-51; Seyffarth, *Chronologia sacra*, pp. 80-85; Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender* (1848), pp. 236-238; Van der Chijs, *De Herode Magno*, p. 62 sq.; Lewin, *Fasti sacra* (1865), pp. ix., xxii.; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, pp. 28-34; Quandt, *Zeitordnung und Zeitbestimmungen in den Evangelien* (1872), pp. 4-12; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* (2 Aufl. 1874), pp. 54-

sion accompanied the royal corpse from Jericho, a distance of

70; Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi* (1880), pp. 6-57, 189-224; Schegg, *Das Todesjahr des Königs Herodes und das Todesjahr Jesu Christi*, 1882; Riess, *Nochmals das Geburtsjahr Jesu Christi* (1883), pp. 1-68; Sattler, *Das Jahr 749 nach Erbauung Roms das wahre Geburtsjahr Jesu* (*Allgem. Zeitung*, 1883, Beilage Nr. 72); Mémain, *La connaissance des temps évangéliques* (1886), pp. 53-59; Kellner in the *Katholik*, 1887, zweite Hälfte, pp. 75-82, 166-182.

Herod died shortly before a Passover (*Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 1. 3), therefore in March or April. Since Josephus says that he reigned thirty-seven years from the date of his appointment, thirty-four years from his conquest of Jerusalem (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 8), it would seem as if, counting thirty-seven years from the year B.C. 40, he must have died in B.C. 3. But we know that Josephus elsewhere counts a year too much, according to our reckoning. Thus he counts from the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey to that by Herod twenty-seven years (*Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4), whereas the true number is twenty-six (B.C. 63-B.C. 37). Again, from the conquest of Herod down to that by Titus he counts 107 years (*Antiq.* xx. 10), whereas there were only 106 (A.U.C. 717-A.U.C. 823). He reckons the spring of B.C. 31 the seventh year of Herod (*Antiq.* xv. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19. 3), whereas it was only the sixth year (his reign beginning with July B.C. 37). The reason of this is that he counts portions of a year as a year; and, indeed, he probably, according to the example of the Mishna (comp. *Rosh hashana*, i. 1: בְּאַחַד בְּיָמֵינוּ), reckons the years of the king's reign from Nisan

to Nisan. If this be so, the thirty-fourth year of Herod would begin on the 1st Nisan of the year B.C. 4, and Herod must in that case have died between 1st and 14th Nisan, since his death occurred before the Passover. That this is indeed the correct reckoning is confirmed by astronomical date, and by the chronology of the successors of Herod.

1. Shortly before Herod's death an eclipse of the moon occurred (*Antiq.* xvii. 6. 4). This only corresponds to the year B.C. 4, in which on the night of March 12-13 an eclipse of the moon took place; whereas in the years 3 and 2 B.C. in Palestine generally there was no such phenomenon (Wurm, p. 34 f.; Ideler, p. 391 f.).

2. The chronology of two successors of Herod, Archelaus and Antipas, requires B.C. 4 = A.U.C. 750, as the year of Herod's death.

(a) Archelaus. He was, according to Dio Cassius, lv. 27, deposed by Augustus in the year A.U.C. 759, during the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius, in the tenth year of his reign. So also says Josephus in *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2, and in *Life*, 1, where the earlier statement of the *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3, that this occurred "in the ninth year of his reign," is corrected. Hence his reign began in A.U.C. 750.

(b) *Antipas*. He was deposed by Caligula in the summer of A.D. 39 = A.U.C. 792 (see under § 17*b*). Since we still have coins of his bearing date the forty-third year of his reign, the year of the beginning of his reign must at latest have been A.U.C. 750.

All these facts therefore yield this result, that Herod died in the year B.C. 4 = A.U.C. 750, shortly before the Passover.—This result, at least so far as it relates to the year, is now accepted by most modern scholars (among whom may be named: Fréret, Sanclemente, Ideler, Wieseler, Gumpach, van der Chijs, Lewin, Sevin, Schegg, Sattler, Memain). Others approach nearly the same conclusion: Wurm (B.C. 4 or 3), Quandt, and Kellner (B.C. 3). The following diverge farther: Caspari, Riess (B.C. 1), and Seyffarth (A.D. 1).

In reference to matters of detail, the following points may be noted: 1. The custom of reckoning a portion of the calendar year in the beginning and end of a year, be it ever so small, as a full year in the reign, did undoubtedly exist in Egypt. Not only the years of the Ptolemies, but also the years of the Roman emperors, were in Egypt numbered in this manner (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 117 ff.; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 2, 758 ff.). At a later period this mode of reckoning the years of the emperors became common outside of Egypt (Mommsen, i. 501 f., ii. 2, 756 ff.). In reference to the similar style of reckoning the years of the Jewish kings by Josephus, see Gumpach, pp. 223–236.—2. Of the coins of Antipas of A.D. 43 (M Γ) there are at present three known examples (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 121 sq.; two according to Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 125, pl. LIX. n. 19 and 20; one according to de Saulcy, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, p. 92). Their existence is thus put beyond question. But great difficulties are caused by a coin with the supposed date of A.D. 44 (M Δ). It has been described not only by the little to be depended upon Vaillant, but also in a manuscript account of travels by Galand, who found it at Jericho in A.D. 1674 (communicated by Fréret, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscr. et belles-lettres*, t. xxi. 1754, pp. 292 sq.). Sanclemente, pp. 315–319, and Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* iii. 487, have both occupied themselves with this discussion. Both conjecture that the date has been incorrectly read (it may rather have been $\Delta\Delta = 34$). Compare *pro* and *contra* also: Ideler, p. 391; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 99; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 122; Riess, 1880, pp. 55–57; Sattler, *Das Jahr*. 749; Memain, p. 448 f.; Kellner, p. 176. Eckhel's reasons are very convincing; he points especially to this, that the coin described by Galand, according to its other peculiarities, corresponds to those of the year 34, but not to those of the year 43. The only point of difficulty arises from the statement made by Fréret at p. 293 in reference to Galand's description: "les lettres de l'époque M Δ sont très-nettement figurées dans son manuscrit et absolument séparées l'une de l'autre." The matter therefore continues undecided. But even if the date 44 be the correct reading, still the death of Herod cannot in any case be placed earlier than A.U.C. 750.

eight furlongs, in the direction of Herodium, where it was laid in its last resting-place.¹⁶⁶

The end of his reign was bloody as its beginning had been. The brighter portion lay in the middle. But even during his better days he was a despot, and upon the whole, with all the glory of his reign, "he was still only a common man" (Hitzig, ii. 559). The title of "the Great," by which we are accustomed to distinguish him from his more feeble descendants of the same name, is only justified when it is used in this relative sense.¹⁶⁷

Were we to accept an earlier date for Herod's death, we would be obliged to extend the period of the reign of Antipas down to A.U.C. 793.—3. The attempts that have been made to determine more exactly the day of Herod's death by the help of Jewish tradition have not been successful. In the old *Megillath Taanith*, the 7th Chisleu and the 2nd Shebat are always characterized as days of rejoicing (see text and translation in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, pp. 442-446, § 21 and § 25). But it is only the quite late commentary, which is unsupported by any Jewish tradition, that makes the remark that the 7th Chisleu was the day of Herod's death, and the 2nd Shebat the day of the death of Jannäus. On the worthlessness of this commentary, see Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, pp. 56-63; compare also above, p. 163. Kellner adopts the 7th Chisleu in the *Katholik*, 1887, zweite Hälfte, pp. 180-182. But since it is related of Jannäus that on the 2nd Shebat he had put in prison the most distinguished of the Jews, and ordered that after his death they should be executed, many Jewish scholars assume an interchange of this name for that of Herod, and put the death of Herod therefore on the 2nd Shebat. So Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii., 4 Aufl. p. 472 ff., note 1; Brann, *De Herodis qui dicitur Magni filius*, 1873, p. 8 sq. The one statement is of as little value as the other.

¹⁶⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 3, *fin.*: ἤσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρώδου σταδία οὕτως; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 9, *fin.*: σταδίου δὲ ἐκομίσθη τὸ σῶμα διακοσίους εἰς Ἡρώδειον.—The former passage states how far upon the way the funeral procession went; the latter passage gives the distance from Jericho to Herodium. It is undoubtedly the more important of the two fortresses that is intended (see above, p. 435), and its distance from Jericho is somewhere about 200 stadia or furlongs. Since Herod was buried there, the *μνημεῖον* of Herod at Jerusalem (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 3. 2, 12. 2) was only a memorial, not an erection over his tomb.

¹⁶⁷ In this sense is the title intended even in Josephus in the single passage in which he uses it (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4).

A HISTORY
OF
THE JEWISH PEOPLE
IN THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST

BY THE LATE
PROFESSOR EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D.

AUTHORISED ENGLISH TRANSLATION

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES
EACH COMPRISING ONE DIVISION
(INDEX VOLUME ADDITIONAL)

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(TWO VOLUMES IN ONE)

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§ 16. DISTURBANCES AFTER HEROD'S DEATH, B.C. 4.

SOURCES.

- JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xvii. 9-11 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 1-6. ZONARAS, *Annales*, vi. 1-2 (summary from Josephus).
NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS in Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecarum*, iii. 353 sq. ; Feder, *Excerpta Escorialensia*, p. 67 sq.

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GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 246-253.
HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 559-562.
SCHNECKENBURGER, *Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 200-203.
HAUSRATH, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. 275-283.
LEWIN, *Fasti sacri ad Ann.* 4.
BRANN, *De Herodis qui dicitur Magni filius patrem in imperio secutis*, pars 1, 1873 (treats only of the events of B.C. 4).
MENKE, *Bibelatlas*, Bl. V. "Judea and neighbouring countries in the time of Christ and the Apostles."

By the last will of Herod, Archelaus had been named his successor on the throne. Archelaus therefore made it his first business to secure the emperor's confirmation of his father's arrangement, and with this end in view he resolved to make a journey to Rome. But before he could start on such an expedition, he had to stamp out a rebellion in Jerusalem. The people could not so easily forget the execution of the two rabbis, Judas and Matthias, and violently insisted that Archelaus should bring to punishment the counsellors of Herod. Archelaus endeavoured at first in a conciliatory manner to dissuade the people from their purpose. But when he could not succeed in this way, the only result of his

proposals being the increase of the tumult, he resolved to crush the revolt by violence. He accordingly sent forth a detachment of soldiers against the people assembled in the temple, where the people who had flocked into Jerusalem in prospect of the approaching Passover festival were wont to gather at that season in great crowds. But the detachment sent was not strong enough to make way against the excited masses. A portion of the soldiers was stoned by the people; the rest, together with their leader, took to flight. Archelaus was now obliged to call out his whole fighting force; and only by the help of his entire army, amid great bloodshed, was he able to put down the rebellion.¹

After Archelaus had thus by the exercise of force secured quiet, he hastened to Rome, leaving his brother Philip to act as administrator of the kingdom. Scarcely had he gone, when Antipas also started for Rome in order to press his own claims there. He had by the third and last will of Herod received only Galilee and Perea, whereas in the second will he had been appointed successor to the throne. He therefore now wished to represent to the emperor that to him, and not to Archelaus, did the kingdom properly belong. Many other members of the Herodian family were also present in Rome at the same time as Archelaus and Antipas, and these now mostly appeared against Archelaus, and expressed a strong desire that Palestine should now be put under immediate Roman government; or if this could not be, then they would rather have Antipas than Archelaus.²

Hence the sons of Herod plotted and schemed against one another in Rome. Augustus, in whose hands the decision lay, meanwhile convoked at his palace a consultative assembly, at which the opposing brothers were called upon to make a

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 1-3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 1. 1-3.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3-4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 1-3. Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, iii. 353,

statement of their conflicting claims. A certain Antipater spoke on behalf of Antipas, while Nicolas of Damascus, formerly the minister of Herod, appeared on behalf of Archelaus. Each party sought to win over the emperor to his side, partly by advancing arguments, partly by insinuating suspicions against his opponent. When Augustus had heard both parties, he inclined more to the side of Archelaus, and made a statement to the effect that he was most fit to ascend the royal throne. Yet he did not wish immediately to decide the matter, and so dismissed the assembly without issuing a final and formal judgment.³

But before the question about the succession to the throne had been decided in Rome, new troubles had broken out in Judea. Soon after the departure of Archelaus the Jews had again risen in revolt, but had been restored to quiet by Varus, the governor of Syria. Varus had then returned to Antioch, leaving behind him in Jerusalem a legion to maintain order. But scarcely had he gone when the storm broke out afresh. After Herod's death, pending the settlement of the question of succession to the throne, the emperor had sent to Palestine a procurator, Sabinus. But he oppressed the people in every sort of way, and behaved in all directions in the most reckless manner. Hence it was that a revolt broke out again immediately after the withdrawal of Varus. It was now the season of the Passover festival, and therefore crowds of people were present in Jerusalem. They were divided into three great divisions, and attacked the Romans at the three different points: on the north of the temple, south beside the race-course, and on the west of the city beside the royal palace. The keenest struggle took place, first of all, at the temple. The Romans pressed forward successfully into the temple court, but the Jews offered a most stubborn resistance,—mounted upon the roofs of the buildings which surround the temple court,

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 5-7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 4-7.

and hurled down stones upon the soldiers. These were therefore obliged to have recourse to fire, set flames to the roofs, and in this way succeeded at last in reaching the temple mount. When the longed for booty of the treasury of the temple fell into their hands, Sabinus appropriated to himself 400 talents.⁴

But this first defeat of the rebels was only the signal for the further spread of the rebellion. In Jerusalem a portion of the soldiers of Herod joined the rebels, and consequently they were able to lay siege to Sabinus and his fighting force in the palace of Herod.⁵ In the neighbourhood of Sepphoris in Galilee, Judas, the son of that Hezekiah with whom Herod had once, to the great indignation of the Sanhedrim, made so short a process (see vol. i. p. 383), gathered a number about him, gained possession of the weapons stored up in the royal arsenal, distributed these among his followers, and was able then to make all Galilee unsafe. He is even said to have aimed at obtaining the royal crown.⁶ In Perea a certain Simon, formerly a slave of Herod, collected a band, and had himself proclaimed king by his followers; but was soon afterwards conquered by a Roman detachment, and put to death.⁷ Finally, it is reported of one termed Athronges, formerly a shepherd, that he had assumed the royal crown, and for a long time, along with his four brothers, kept the country in a ferment.⁸—It was a time of general upheaval, when every one sought to secure the greatest possible benefit for himself. On the part of the people there was agreement only on this one point, that every one wished at any cost to be freed from the power of the Romans.

When Varus was informed of these proceedings, he

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1-3.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 4.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 4. 1.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 4. 2.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 4. 3.

hastened from Antioch, with the two legions which he still had with him, in order to restore order in Palestine. On the way he also procured, in addition, Arabian auxiliary troops sent by King Aretas, as well as other auxiliaries. With this fighting force he first of all reduced Galilee. Sepphoris, where that Judas had been fermenting disorder, was consigned to the flames, and the inhabitants sold as slaves. Thence Varus proceeded to Samaria, which, however, he spared because it had not taken part in the revolt. He then directed his course toward Jerusalem, where the legion stationed there was still being besieged by the Jews in the royal palace. Varus had there an easy game to play; for when the besiegers saw the powerful Roman forces approach, they lost their courage and took to flight. In this way Varus became lord of city and country. But Sabinus, who in consequence of his robbing the temple and of other misdeeds had no good conscience, made off as quickly as possible. Varus then led his troops up and down through the country, apprehending the rebels who were now lurking here and there in small parties. He had two thousand of them crucified, while he granted pardon to the mass of the people. After he had then stamped out the rebellion, he returned to Antioch.⁹

While these things were going on in Judea, Archelaus and Antipas were still in Rome waiting for the decision of the

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 9-10, 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 5. 1-3.—This war of Varus is also referred to in *contra Apionem*, i. 7, as one of the most important between that of Pompey and that of Vespasian. The name Varus is therefore probably to be restored in a corrupt passage in *Seder olam*, s. fin., in which it is said that "from the war of Asveros down to the war of Vespasian there were eighty years," מפולמום של אסוירוס ועד פולמום של אספסיינוס שמנים שנה. Although the number eighty is somewhat too high, and although the best text exemplars give אסוירוס, it is yet highly probable that ורוס should be read, i.e. Varos (so Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 249, 714 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 194; Brann, *De Herodis qui dicitur Magni filiiis*, p. 24 sq.). In reference to the transmission of the text, compare especially, Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 1877, pp. 141-144.

emperor. Before this was issued an embassy from the people of Judea appeared before the emperor, asking that none of the Herodians should be appointed king, but that they should be permitted to live in accordance with their own laws. About the same time Philip also, the last of the three brothers, to whom territories had been bequeathed by Herod, made his appearance in Rome in order to press his claims, and likewise to support those of his brother Archelaus.¹⁰ In regard to these conflicting claims, Augustus was obliged at last to give a decision. In an assembly which he fixed precisely for this purpose in the temple of Apollo, he heard first of all the ambassadors from the Jewish people. These reported a long list of scandalous misdeeds which Herod had allowed and sought them to buttress, their demand that none of the Herodian race should any more govern in Palestine, but that it should be granted them to live according to their own laws under Roman suzerainty. When they had ended, Nicolas of Damascus arose and spoke on behalf of his master Archelaus.¹¹ When Augustus had thus heard both sides, he issued his decision after a few days. By it the will of Herod was in all essential points sustained. Archelaus obtained the territory assigned to him: Judea, Samaria, Idumea; only the cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were severed from these domains and attached to the province of Syria; and instead of

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 1.—The facts here related have unquestionably afforded the outward framework for the parable of the Pounds, Luke xix. 12 ff. Compare especially ver. 12: "A certain nobleman (Archelaus) went into a far country (Rome) to receive for himself a kingdom (Judea), and to return." Ver. 14: "But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying: We will not have this man to reign over us."—Sevin (*Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 1874, pp. 128–130) is wrong in thinking of the journey of Antipas reported by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1; for in it is wanting a main point, viz. the embassy and protest of the people. Indeed, we have no information at all as to the purpose of that journey.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2–3 *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 2.

the title of king, that of ethnarch was given him. Antipas obtained Galilee and Perea, with the title of tetrarch; Philip, also as tetrarch, received the districts of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. Archelaus was to derive from his territories an income of 600 talents, Antipas 200 talents, and Philip 100 talents. Also Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, obtained the portion assigned to her, the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and 500,000 pieces of silver, in addition to the palace at Ascalon.¹²—Salome lived in the enjoyment of

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4-5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3; generally also, Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragmenta*, iii. 354; Strabo, xvi. 2 46, p. 765.—On the cities named above, Gaza, Gadara, Hippos, Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, see § 23, I., Div. II. vol. i. pp. 68, 76, 78, 98, 100, 131.—The title *ἰθνάρχης* evidently signifies a rank somewhat higher than that of *τετράρχης*. The former had been conferred, e.g., by Caesar upon Hyrcanus II. (see vol. i. p. 378), but is otherwise rare. On the other hand, the title *τετράρχης* is very common. Herod the Great and his brother Phasael had it conferred upon them by Antony (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 5). In B.C. 20, Pheroras was made tetrarch of Perea (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 5).—The expression *τετταρχία* was first made use of by Euripides with reference to Thessaly. That country had been from early times divided into four districts (*Harpocration*, *Lex.* ed. Dindorf, s.v. *Τετταρχία* . . . καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ Θετταλῶν πολιτείᾳ ἐπὶ Ἀλεῦα τοῦ Πύρρου διηρῆσθαι φησιν εἰς ὃ μέρη τὴν Θετταλίαν. On the antiquity of the Aleuadae and on the constitutional history of Thessaly generally, see Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, Bd. ii. 1885, pp. 5-17). Euripides therefore, at the close of his *Alcestis*, makes Admetus say: "I now command the citizens and every tetrarchy (or: 'and the whole tetrarchy') to proceed with the dances and to bring forward the sacrifices," etc. (Euripides, *Alcestis* 1154: Ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσιν ἑνὲν πᾶσι τετταρχίᾳ, etc.). When King Philip of Macedon had reduced the whole of Thessaly under his rule, he set an ἄρχων over every τετράς (*Harpocration*, l.c.: ὅτι δὲ Φίλιππος καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν μοιρῶν ἄρχοντα κατέστησε διδηλώκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ μὲν). With reference to this proceeding, Demosthenes says that Philip instituted tetrarchies in Thessaly (Demosthenes, *Philipp.* iii. 26: ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετταρχίας κατέστησεν). While some doubt can be entertained as to the meaning of *τετταρχία* in Euripides, it clearly signifies in Demosthenes a province containing a fourth part of the kingdom (the government of a τετράς, whence also is derived τετραδαρχία). We also meet with the expression in this original sense in Galatia. Over this country, according

these possessions for some twelve or fourteen years. She died

to the description of Strabo, twelve tetrarchies ruled, that is, four over each of the three tribes of the Trocmi, Tolistoboi, and Tectosagae (Strabo, xii. 5. 1, p. 566 sq.; less correctly in Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, v. 146). When the most of them had been massacred by Mithridates (Appian, *Mithridat.* 46), Pompey rearranged matters, so that over each of the three tribes there was set one tetrarch. Subsequently the number was reduced to two, and finally to one, the Dejotarus (Strabo, xii. 5. 1, p. 567; compare, in addition, the complete exposition of these relations in Niese, *Rhein. Museum*, Bd. 38, 1883, pp. 583–600). But although the title of tetrarch had wholly lost its original meaning, it was still retained; for the title of king, which some assumed, applied, not to Galatia, but to other possessions (Strabo, xii. 3. 13, p. 547, xiii. 4. 3, p. 625; Niese, *Rhein. Museum*). The title of tetrarch, completely stripped of its original signification, is met with also elsewhere very frequently in the Roman times. It was then used simply to indicate a small dependent prince, whose rank and authority was less than that of a king. Such tetrarchs seem to have been very numerous, especially in Syria. Compare Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, v. 74: “intercursant cinguntque has urbes [Decapoleos] tetrarchiae, regnorum instar singulae; *ibid.* 77: Decapolitana regio praedictaeque cum ea tetrarchiae; *ibid.* 81: Nazerinorum tetrarchia; *ibid.*: tetrarchias duas quae Granucomatitae vocantur; *ibid.* 82: tetrarchiam quae Mam-misea appellatur; *ibid.*: tetrarchias in regna descriptas barbaris nominibus,” xvii. Josephus, *Vita*, 11: ἐκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Δίβανος τετραρχοῦντος. Antony made presents of “tetrarchies and kingdoms” (Plutarch, *Antony*, 36: πολλοῖς ἐχαρίζετο τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας ἐθνῶν μεγάλων). To the army of Varus in B.C. 4 belonged also auxiliaries which ἡ βασιλεὺς ἢ τινες τετράρχαι τότε παρείχον (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 9, *init.*). In the time of Nero the “tetrarch and kings” in Asia were instructed to obey the orders of Corbulo (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 25: “scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus . . . jussis *Corbulonis obsequi*”). And so generally during the Roman times besides the *reges*, the *tetrarchae* were very often referred to as minor princes of subordinate rank (e.g. Cicero, in *Vatinium*, 12. 29; *pro Balbo*, 5. 13; *pro Milone*, 28. 76; *Philipp.* xi. 12. 31; Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 3; *Bell. Alex.* 78; Horace, *Satires*, i. 3. 12. Further examples may be found in the literature quoted below). Besides the Galatian tetrarchs and the Herodian princes, we have particular information about the tetrarchs of Chalcis or Iturea: Ptolemy, Lysanias, Zenodorus (see about these in Appendix I.). When we consider the small importance of these minor princes, it is not to be wondered at that the title *τετράρχης* is comparatively seldom met with on inscriptions and coins. On inscriptions, compare *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4033, 4058; *Bullettino dell' Istituto di corrisp. archeol.* 1873, p. 365 sq. (both referring to Herod Antipas); *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4521, 4523 = Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 317–319 (dynasty of Chalcis). Of coins,

about A.D. 10, in the time of the procurator M. Ambivius, and bequeathed her property to the Empress Livia.¹³

What had been the empire of Herod was therefore now parted into three territories, each of which has for a while its own history.

besides those of Philip and Herod Antipas, we meet only with those of Ptolemy, Lysanias, and Zenodorus (see Appendix I.).—Compare generally: Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v. Τετράρχης and Τετράρχια; Forcellini, *Lexicon*, s.v. tetrarches and tetrarchia; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 593; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, v. 487–490; Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint* (1877), pp. 9–11; Niese, *Galatien und seine Tetrarchen* (*Rhein. Museum*, Bd. 38, 1883, pp. 583–600).

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2

§ 17. THE SONS OF HEROD.

a. PHILIP, B.C. 4—A.D. 34. HIS TERRITORY UNDER THE ROMANS, A.D. 34—37.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1, 4. 6, 6. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1–6.
On the coins, see below.

LITERATURE.¹

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vi. 71–74, 347.

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WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 250.

LEYRER in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xl. 618.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 258, 274; in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 40–42.

LEWIN, *Fasti Sacri* (see Index, p. 408).

BRANN, *Die Söhne des Herodes*, 1873 (reprint from the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), pp. 77–87.

THE extent of the territory which Philip received is variously stated in different places by Josephus.² Putting altogether, it embraced the districts of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Panias, and, according to Luke iii. 1, also Iturea.³

¹ The most thorough treatise on Herod's sons and grandsons is the article by Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*.—The older literature is given by Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften A. T.'s*, § 558.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, 11. 4, xviii. 4. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3. In the latter passage, undoubtedly, instead of Ἰάμνεια should be read Πανειάδα, in accordance with *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, 11. 4.

³ Batanea corresponds to the Old Testament Bashan (בָּשָׁן); Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 232: Βασάν . . . αὕτη Βασανίτις ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Βαταναία. Yet the ancient Bashan was of larger extent than the modern Batanea. By Bashan was understood the whole region on the other side of Jordan between Hermon on the north and the district of Gilead on the south, extending eastward as far as Salcha, on the southern

The districts named were not ancient tribal possessions of the Jewish people, but were in great part added to the Jewish

slope of the Hauran. See Deut. iii. 10, 13; Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 11, 30, xvii. 1, 5; 1 Chron. v. 23. But within this district lay the later provinces of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Gaulanitis; so that thus Batanea is only a part of the ancient Bashan. The expression, however, is sometimes used even by later writers in the wider sense; e.g. Josephus, *Life*, 11 *med.*: μετὰ τῶν ἐν Βαταναιᾷ Τραχωνιτῶν. Since the cities of Ashtaroth and Edrei are named as the chief cities of Bashan (Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 11, 30), it may be assumed that these also formed the centre of the modern Batanea. Edrei, later Adraa, the modern Der'a, lies almost exactly in the middle between the southern point of the lake of Gennezaret and the southern end of the mountains of Hauran. That Ashtaroth and Adraa lay in Batanea is stated by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, pp. 209, 213, 268, articles Ἀσταρώθ Καρναεῖν, Ἀσταρώθ, and Καρναεῖμ Ἀσταρώθ). The Greek Βαταναία of Polybius, xvi., also corresponds to that of Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3, and Ptolemy, v. 15. 26.

Trachonitis or ὁ Τράχων (so Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 5, xv. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3; and the inscription of Mismie) is the rugged plateau south of Damascus, stretching on to Bostra, which is now called the Lejâh. It lies, therefore, north-east of Batanea proper. Proof of this is afforded by the following data. On an inscription at Mismie, the ancient Phäna, in the north of the Lejâh, this place is characterized as μητροκαμία -οῦ Τράχωνος (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4551 = Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2524). Strabo speaks of the Τράχωνες as two hills in the neighbourhood of Damascus (Strabo, xvi. 2. 20, p. 756: ὑπέρκεινται δ αὐτῆς δύο λεγόμενοι λόφοι Τράχωνες; compare also xvi. 2. 16, p. 755). Eusebius places Trachonitis in the immediate neighbourhood of Bostra (*Onomasticon*, s.v. Ἰτουραία, ed. Lagarde, p. 268: Τραχωνίτις δὲ καλεῖται ἡ παρακειμένη χώρα τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ κατὰ Βόστραν τῆς Ἀραβίας. *Ibid.* s.v. Καννάθ, p. 269: κεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τραχῶνι πλησίον Βοστρῶν. *Ibid.* s.v. Τραχωνίτις, p. 298: ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐπέκεινα Βοστρῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐρημον πρὸς νότον ὡς ἐπὶ Δαμασκόν). Also in a rabbinical treatise on the boundaries of Palestine the statement occurs: "Trachon, in the neighbourhood of Bostra" (*jer. Shebiith* vi. 1, fol. 36c; *Tosephta Shebiith* iv. ed. Zuckermann, p. 66, 10; *Siphre*, section *Ekeb*, at the end. The Jerusalem Talmud has לְבוֹרָה דְּמַתְחָה טְרַכּוֹנָה, "Trachon, which borders on Bostra." Compare on the whole subject: Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 10–21; and, especially, Hildesheimer, *Beiträge zur Géographie Palästinas*, Berlin 1886 [on Trachon, pp. 55–57]. The Targums identify טְרַכּוֹנָה with the biblical Argob (*Onkelos*, Deut. iii. 4, 13 f.). Pliny speaks of Trachonitis as in the neighbourhood of Panias (Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, v. 74); Ptolemy (v. 15. 26) speaks of the Τραχωνῖται Ἀραβες as dwelling to the east of Batanea. The latter passage is indeed explained by Waddington, *Comptes*

territory in later times. The population was a mixed one ; and

rendus de l'Academie des inscr. 1865, p. 102 sq., as meaning rather the reverse, namely, that Batanea proper lay to the east of Trachonitis ; but his exposition hardly commends itself.—In determining the meaning of Luke iii. 1, it is of interest to note that Philo, or rather Agrippa in the letter communicated by Philo, uses the abbreviated expression : τὴν Τραχανίτιν λεγομένην, to describe the whole territory of Philip, just as for the territories of Herod Antipas he uses the phrase : τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ; both *a parte potiori*, as in Luke. See Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 41, ed. Mangey, ii. 593 *fin.*

Auranitis is the הורן mentioned by Ezekiel, xlvii. 16, 18 ; which also in the Mishna, *Rosh hashana* ii. 4, is spoken of as one of the stations for the five signals from Judea to Babylon. Some manuscripts of the Mishna have הורן, others חברן. Since the Hauran, according to the context of the Mishna, must be a mountain, Auranitis is undoubtedly the country round about the mountain peak, which now is called Jebel Hauran.

Gaulanitis has its name from the town Golan, which in the Bible is reckoned in Bashan (Deut. iv. 43 ; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 27 ; 1 Chron. vi. 56 ; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 242). Josephus distinguishes Upper and Lower Gaulanitis, and remarks that in the latter lies the city Gamala (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1 ; according to the same passage, Gamala lay on the eastern bank of the lake of Gennezaret). According to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 1, Gaulanitis formed the eastern boundary of Galilee. Hence Gaulanitis is practically within the same lines as what is now called Djaulan, embracing the lowlands east of the Jordan from its source down to the southern point of the lake of Gennezaret. A detailed description of it is given by Schumacher in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ix. 1886.

The district of Panias, at the sources of the Jordan (see on the town Panias, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 132–135), had in earlier times belonged to Zenodorus, and before that to the kingdom of the Itureans (see Appendix I. at the close of this volume). So far the statement of Luke is not altogether incorrect, that Philip also ruled over Iturea. But that district formed, indeed, only a small portion of what had been the kingdom of the Itureans. The Itureans proper had their dwelling in the Lebanon (see Appendix I.), and during the period A.D. 38–49 were under the sovereignty of a certain Soemus (Dio Cassius, lix. 12 ; Tacitus, xii. 23), while at that same time Agrippa I. had in his possession the whole tetrarchy of Philip (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10, xix. 8. 2). Iturea proper cannot therefore have belonged to the domain of Philip (see Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 41). Wetzstein's idea is certainly wrong, that Iturea is to be placed upon the eastern slope of the Hauran.

Compare generally on the districts above named : Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 106–110, 193–203 ; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 249 sq., 458 sq., 285 sq. ; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 800–1001 ; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 226 ff. ; the articles

the non-Jewish, i.e. Syrian and Greek, element prevailed.⁴ Philip himself was certainly a real exception among the sons and on Basan, Trachonitis, Havran or Hauran, and Golan in the Biblical Dictionaries of Smith, Kitto, Fairbairn, Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm; F. W. Schultz in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. ii. 112-116 (article "Basan"); Cless in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2, 2038 f., art. "Trachonitis;" Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 381 f., 384 f.; Porter, "Historico-Geographical History of Bashan" (in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, new series, vol. vi. 1854, pp. 281-313); *Five Years in Damascus*, 1855, ii. 250-275; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860, pp. 36 f., 82-92; Wetzstein's *Excursus to Delitzsch's Commentary on Job*; Waddington, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1865, pp. 82-89, 102-109. The treatise of Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1875, p. 419 ff., deals with the sixth century after Christ.

With reference to the southern limits of the tetrarchy of Philip this much may be accepted with confidence, that the region round about the cities now called Bosra and Salkhat, south of the Hauran, did not belong to his domain, as is proved by inscriptions discovered in these cities bearing the names of the Arabian kings Malchus and Aretas. See de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques* (1868), pp. 103, 107. On the other hand, Hebran, on the southern slope of the Hauran, still belonged to his territory; for an Aramaic inscription found there is dated not according to the years of the reign of an Arabian king, but according to the years of Claudius: "In the month Tizri in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius" = A.D. 46. See de Vogüé, p. 100. From this, therefore, one may conclude that Hebran belonged to the domain of Philip, and that in A.D. 37 it was given over to Agrippa I., and was after his death placed under Roman administration. Compare the remarks of Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2286.

⁴ In Batanea, Herod the Great, in the last years of his reign, had settled a Jewish colony from Babylon, under the leadership of a certain Zamaris, and conferred on them the privilege of complete freedom from taxation, which was also, in all essential points, respected by Philip. See *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 1-3. For the history of this colony, compare also Josephus, *Life*, 11; De Saulcy, "Monnaies des Zamarides" (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, pp. 157-181). These "coins of the Zamaridae" are in the highest degree problematical.—In Trachonitis, Herod the Great had settled 3000 Idumeans, to whom he assigned the task of maintaining the peace of the district against the robber bands which inhabited it. See *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 2.—The majority of the inhabitants, however, was pagan, as is proved by the large proportion of the Greek inscriptions of that region which are still preserved. Compare also, in general, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5: οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν μυριάδες Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ Σύροι; and, in addition, *Div. II* vol. i p. 4.

grandson* of Herod. While all the others, copying fathers and grandfathers, were ambitious, imperious, harsh, and tyrannical toward their subjects, nothing but what is honourable is told of Philip. His reign was mild, just, and peaceful. To the traditions of his father he remained faithful only in this, that he also sought renown in the construction of great buildings. The building of two cities by him is expressly reported. The ancient Panias, at the sources of the Jordan, north of the lake of Gennezaret, he rebuilt, with larger dimensions, and gave it, in honour of the emperor, the name of Caesarea. To distinguish it from the well-known Caesarea by the sea, it was called Caesarea Philippi, under which name we are familiar with it in the Gospel history (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27). The other city which he rebuilt was the Bethsaida⁵ situated at the point where the Jordan enters into the lake of Gennezaret, which, in honour of the daughter of Augustus, he named Julias.⁶ Josephus tells of him, incidentally, that he first discovered and proved that the supposed sources of the Jordan at Panias obtained their water by a subterranean passage from the so-called Phiala. Philip demonstrated this by throwing in chaff into the Phiala, which came out again at Panias.⁷

We know, however, nothing more about his reign beyond what Josephus tells us in reporting his death:⁸ "He had

⁵ To be distinguished, probably, from the New Testament town of that name. See, however, Div. II. vol. i. p. 136.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1.—On both cities, the time of their building and their subsequent history, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 133–136.

⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 10. 7. According to the description of Josephus, the "Phiala" can scarcely be anything else than the present Birket Ram. But then the story told by him is not possible, owing to the relative levels. See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 174–177; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 400; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 394; Guérin, *Galilee*, ii. 329–331; Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ix. 1886, p. 256 f. (with map).

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6: Τελευτᾷ . . . μέτριον ἐν ᾧ ἤρχε παρασχᾶν τῶν τρόπων καὶ ἀπράγμονα. Διαιτᾷ μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ

shown himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government. He constantly lived in that country which was subject to him. He used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal, also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it and heard his complaint; he then ordered the guilty, that were convicted, to be punished, and absolved those that were accused unjustly." — Of his private life we know only that he was married to Salome, daughter of Herodias, and that there were no children by this marriage.⁹ — According to his political principles, he was a consistent friend of the Romans, and laid great value upon the favour of the emperor. This is shown not only in his giving to his cities the names of Caesarea and Julias, but also in his impressing upon his coins the images of Augustus and Tiberius,—this being the first instance in which any likeness was engraven on the coins of a Jewish prince.¹⁰

ἑποιεῖτο πρόδοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃ κρίνει καθιζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπομένον, ὅποτε τις ὑπαντιάσας ἐν χρεῖᾳ γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβουθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὅξιος ἰδρύσας τοῦ θρόνου ἢ καὶ τύχοι γενομένης καθιζόμενος ἡκροᾷτο, καὶ τιμαρίας τε ἐπιτίμα τοῖς ἀλοῦσι καὶ ἡφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους. — The judge's sitting upon the *sella* was a necessary formality, without which the decision would have no legal effect. Examples: Matt. xxvii. 19; John xix. 13; Acts xxv. 6; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 3 (Pilate), ii. 14. 8 (Florus), iii. 10. 10 (Vespasian). Generally on the *sella curulis* and the sitting of the magistrate, Rein in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 960; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i. 315 ff.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.

¹⁰ In explanation of this, it should be remembered that Philip's domain was predominantly pagan.—Compare on the coins: Eckhel, iii. 490 sq.; Mionnet, v. 566 sq.; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 126, pl. lx. n. 1–2; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 100–102; De Saulcy, "Notes sur les monnaies de Philippe le tétrarque" (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. iii. 1868–1873, pp. 262–265);

Philip died, after a reign of thirty-seven years, in the 20th year of Tiberius, A.D. 33-34, and was buried in the tomb built by himself.¹¹ His territory was then added to that of Syria, but retained the right of administering its own revenues;¹² and was again, after a few years, made over to a prince of the Herodian family. The Emperor Caligula, immediately after his succession to the throne, in March A.D. 37, gifted the tetrarchy of Philip to Agrippa, a son of that Aristobolus who had been executed by his father Herod, and so a grandson of Herod and Mariamme.¹³

Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 123-127 (this is the most complete exposition); De Saulcy, "Monnaie inédite de Philippe le tétrarque" (*Annuaire de la Société fr. de Num. et d'Arch.* t. v., or, seconde série, t. i. fasc. 3, 1879, p. 181 sq.).—The coins have on the one side the name of Philip, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ, with the image of a temple and the number of the year 12, 16, 19, 33, 37 (the number of the year IB = 12 in Madden, *Coins*, p. 125, and on an example in de Saulcy, *Annuaire*, v. 3. 181 sq., not given by Madden). The year numbers 26 and 29, given by Mionnet, are regarded by de Saulcy as false readings. The coins of the year 37 (first communicated by Madden, *History*, p. 102) belong to the last year of Philip, A.D. 33-34. The coins of the year 12 and 16 = A.D. 8-9 or 12-13, have on the obverse the head of Augustus and the inscription KAICAPI CEBACTO (fragmentary); those of the years 19, 33, 37 have the head of Tiberius, with a similar inscription: those of 37 have the full name TIBEPIOC CEBACTOC KAICAP.—The temple engraved on all the coins is indeed the temple of Augustus at Panias which Herod the Great had built (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 3). The type is therefore wholly pagan.—The image and name of the emperor are also found on the coins of many other dependent kings, from the time of Augustus onward; yet there are still instances in which all allusion to the supreme imperial authority is wanting. See Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint*, 1877, pp. 45-49.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6.—The 20th year of Tiberius began on the 19th August A.D. 33. The 37th year of Philip ended, if we reckon from Nisan to Nisan (compare vol. i. p. 465), in spring A.U.C. 787 = A.D. 34. Philip therefore died in the winter of A.D. 33-34.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6.

b. HEROD ANTIPAS, B.C. 4—A.D. 39.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1 and 3, 4. 5, 5. 1-3, 7. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1, 6.

In the New Testament: Matt. xiv. 1-11; Mark vi. 14-28; Luke iii. 19 f., ix. 7-9, xiii. 31, xxiii. 7-12.

On the coins, see below.

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In the partition of their father's possessions, a larger slice than that given to Philip fell to the lot of his half-brother Antipas, or, as he is frequently called by Josephus, on the coins, and in the New Testament, Herod, to whom, as well as to Philip, was given the title of tetrarch.¹ His territory,

¹ Thus is he correctly named in Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19; on the other hand, he is incorrectly called βασιλεύς in Mark vi. 14.—Since Herod Antipas is the only Herod who bore the title of tetrarch, the two following inscriptions are undoubtedly to be referred to him. They give evidence, at the same time, of his foreign travels:—

(a) On the island of Cos (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 2502):

Ἡρώδην
Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱόν,
τετράρχην,
Φίλων Ἀγλάου, φύσει δὲ Νίκανος
τὸν αὐτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον.

embracing Galilee and Perea, was indeed broken up into two parts by the so-called Decapolis, which came in like a wedge between Galilee and Perea.² But for this he was amply indemnified by the fact that the half of his domains consisted of the beautiful, fertile, and thickly-populated Galilee, with its vigorous and brave, though freedom-loving inhabitants.³ In point of character, Antipas was a genuine son of old Herod,—sly, ambitious, and luxurious, only not so able as his father.⁴ In regard to his slyness we have unmistakable evidence from the life of Jesus, who, on a memorable occasion, attached to him the designation of “that fox.”⁵ It was always necessary to have recourse to craft in order to keep the Galileans in order, and to guard the frontiers of Perea against the robber raids of the Arabians. For the defence of Galilee he rebuilt Sepphoris, that had been destroyed by fire by the soldiers of Varus (see above, p. 4), and surrounded it with strong walls. And for the defence of Perea he fortified Betharamphtha, and named it after the emperor’s wife Livias

(b) On the island of Delos (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. iii. 1879, p. 365 sq.):

‘Ο δῆμος ὁ Ἀ[θηναίων καὶ οἱ]
κατοικο[ῦντες τὴν νῆσον]
‘Ηρώδην βασιλέ[ως Ἡρώδου υἱὸν]
τετράρχην ἀρετῇ[ς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-]
ας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ[ς . . . ἀνέθηκαν].

² Compare the map in Menke’s *Bibelatlas*.—On the Decapolis (*Matt.* iv. 25 ; *Mark* v. 20, vii. 31), see *Div. II.* vol. i. pp. 94–121.

³ Compare the description of Galilee in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 2–3, 10. 8.

⁴ Josephus in *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2, characterizes him as ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν.

⁵ Luke xiii. 32.—Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. 315 ; Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, p. 36 ; and Volkmar, *Die Evangelien*, 1870, p. 499 f., explain the use of the phrase “that fox,” not as a symbol of craftiness, but as that of open robbery and rapacity. See, on the other hand, Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 344 ; and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. i. (1870) art. “Fuchs.” In the Talmud the fox is expressly designated as “being regarded as the sliest among the beasts,” שאומרין עליו פקה שבחיות (*b. Berachoth* 61b).

or Julias.⁶ He was also undoubtedly induced by political motives to marry the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas.⁷ He thought that in this way he would be better able than by all fortifications to secure the country against the inroads of the Arabians; and perhaps it was Augustus himself who persuaded him to enter on this marriage.⁸

Like all the Herods, Herod Antipas delighted in magnificent buildings. In this direction he was particularly taken up with the idea of building a splendid capital, which he undertook during the time of Tiberius.⁹ He selected, as the site for his city, the most beautiful spot in Galilee, the western bank of the lake of Gennezaret, in the neighbourhood of the warm springs of Emmaus. The choice of this spot was in one respect not a happy one. For just on that spot on which the city was built, as became apparent from the sepulchral monuments, was an ancient burying-ground, and the inhabiting of such a place was impossible to the Jews who strictly observed the law, since every contact with a grave occasioned ceremonial impurity of seven days.¹⁰ Herod was therefore obliged, in order to secure inhabitants for his city, to settle there by force many foreigners, adventurers, and beggars, so that the population was of a very mixed description. But in regard to the beauty of the buildings nothing more perfect could be desired. It had, among other public structures, a

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1.—On both cities, and on the change of the names Livias and Julias, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 141–143.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.—On Aretas and the Nabatean kings generally, see Appendix II.

⁸ Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, c. 48: “Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis junxit, promptissimus affinitatis cujusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor.”

⁹ On the time of the building of Tiberias, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 143, 144.

¹⁰ Num. xix. 16; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3. More detailed particulars about impurity caused by graves are given in *Mishna Ohaloth* xvii., xviii.

σταδιον¹¹ and a royal palace, which, indeed, by its figures of animals gave offence, and during the war with the Romans was sacrificed to the fanaticism of the Jews.¹² Also there was not wanting a Jewish προσευχή, ■ μέγιστον οἶκημα.¹³ The constitution of the city was wholly modelled upon the Hellenistic pattern. It had a council, βουλή, of 600 members, with an ἄρχων, and a committee of the δέκα πρόωτοι; also Hyparchs and an Agoranomos. In honour of the emperor the new capital was named Tiberias.¹⁴

During the time of Pilate, A.D. 26–36, Antipas, together with his brother, successfully made complaints against Pilate on account of his having set up an offensive votive shield in the palace at Jerusalem.¹⁵ And as he was in this instance the representation of the Jewish claims, he also did not venture otherwise, notwithstanding his paganish buildings at Tiberias, to break away completely from the traditions of Judaism, and even in this respect showed himself a true son of Herod. From the Gospel we know that he went up to the feast at Jerusalem (Luke xxiii. 7); and his coins, just like those of old Herod, have upon them no image.¹⁶

¹¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 6, iii. 10. 10; *Life*, 17, 64.

¹² Josephus, *Life*, 12.

¹³ Josephus, *Life*, 54.

¹⁴ Compare on the building of Tiberias generally: Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1; *Life*, 9. For further details about the city and the nature of its institution, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 143–147.

¹⁵ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 30 (ed. Mangey, ii. 589 sq.).—Philo indeed does not mention the name of Antipas, but states that “οἱ βασιλείας [Ἡρώδου] υἱεῖς τέτταρες οὐκ ἀποδέοντες τό τε ἀξίωμα καὶ τὰς τύχας τῶν βασιλείων” made themselves specially prominent in the business. Philip and Antipas were first of all intended by this statement. Archelaus was no longer resident in Palestine after A.D. 6. But it remains questionable who the other two are. We know expressly from *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 4, that there were still three sons of Herod who might be named in this connection: 1. Herod, son of Mariamme; 2. Herod, son of Cleopatra; and 3. Phasael, son of Pallas.

¹⁶ On the coins of Herod Antipas, compare Eckhel, iii. 486–490; Mionnet, v. 566; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 125, pl. lix. n. 16–20; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53, 58–60; Levy, *Geschichte*

The complaint against Pilate was probably not made before A.D. 36.¹⁷ Also what we otherwise know of Herod Antipas belongs to the later period, somewhere in the last ten years of his reign. During that period he was almost wholly under the influence of a woman, who occasioned to him a whole series of misfortunes. When once he made a journey to Rome, we know not for what purpose, nor exactly at what time, he started before the departure of his half-brother Herod, the son of Mariamme the high priest's daughter, who had been designated eventual successor to the throne in the first will of Herod (see vol. i. p. 462). That Herod was married to

der jüd. Münzen, p. 80; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 95–99; De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 254; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 47–49; De Saulcy, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, p. 92; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 118–122 (this gives the most complete list).—The coins fall into two classes: 1. The one class has the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ, with the number of the year, 33, 34, 37, 38; on the other side the name of the city, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑΣ. 2. The other class has the inscription ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ; on the other side, ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ. Of this second class there are only three examples which can be with certainty identified, all with the year number ΜΓ or 43=A.D. 39–40. Since this was most probably the last year of Herod Antipas, the existence of the year number 44, which some prefer to read, is extremely questionable. One of the two who contend for this date, Vaillant, is generally not to be depended on; the other, Freret, describes a coin (in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, alte serie, t. xxi. 1754, p. 293, according to a manuscript by Erland) which had on one side the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ (*sic*), while the inscription on the other side was quite illegible. The coin seems therefore to have belonged to the first class, and it may be reasonably conjectured that instead of ΜΔ, 44, should be read ΔΔ, 34. Compare, however, what is said in vol. i. p. 465.—The coins of Antipas, with the name of the emperor, without his image, occupy a middle position between those of Herod the Great, which have neither name nor image of the emperor, and those of Philip, which have both.

¹⁷ This conclusion may be drawn from Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 24 (ed. Mangey, ii. 569), according to which Tiberius, during the lifetime of Sejanus (who died A.D. 31), was unfavourably disposed toward the Jews, whereas after his death he became decidedly favourable to their religious peculiarities.

Herodias, ■ daughter of Aristobulus, executed in B.C. 7.¹⁸ The issue of this marriage was Salome, the wife of the tetrarch Philip, who was then not the first husband, as the Gospels tell us, but the son-in-law of Herodias.¹⁹ When now Antipas paid a visit to the house of his brother, he was fascinated by Herodias, and made his proposals of marriage, to which the ambitious woman readily assented. It was arranged that Herod on his return from Rome should divorce his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and should be married to Herodias. With this promise he proceeded on his journey to Rome. On his return, his wife, who had meanwhile obtained information about the proposed procedure, entreated him that he would have her sent to Machärus, the strong fortress east of the Dead Sea, which then belonged to Aretas. Since Antipas

¹⁸ Compare on Herodias, Winer, *RWB.* i. 486; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 46-49.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.—Philip is named as first husband of Herodias in Mark vi. 17. The parallel passage, Matt. xiv. 3, omits the name in cod. D, and is put in brackets by Tischendorf (ed. 8), but is inclined, owing to the unanimous testimony of all the other manuscripts, to hold it as genuine. In Luke iii. 19, on the other hand, where it is inserted in the *textus receptus*, it ought certainly to be struck out.—Since, according to Josephus, not the tetrarch Philip, but the above-named Herod, was the first husband of Herodias, the statement of Mark and Matthew is evidently a mistake. Many, indeed (among them Winer, *RWB.* art. "Philippus"), seek to explain away this mistake by assuming that they gave to this Herod the name Herod Philip, who therefore, distinct indeed from the tetrarch Philip, was meant by Mark and Matthew. But it must be admitted as very remarkable that the one name should be chosen by Josephus and the other by the New Testament writers; and yet more peculiar would it have been had the old Herod two sons with the name of Philip. If we are to reason analogically from the use of the name Herod, which several of his sons had, such reasoning will not apply here: for that was the family name. And just as little to the purpose is the analogy of the two brothers, Antipater and Antipas, for these are actually quite different names. We can therefore come to no other conclusion than this, that it must be admitted that the two evangelists made a mistake. Compare Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1846, pp. 363-383; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vi. 77; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 390; Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 47.

did not desire that his wife should know about his secret plans, he granted her wish. But scarcely had the daughter of Aretas reached Machärus, when she fled thence to her father, and let him know what friendly intentions her husband entertained regarding her. From that moment the Arabian king took up an attitude of direct opposition to Herod Antipas.²⁰ Nevertheless Antipas seems to have proceeded immediately with his marriage with Herodias.

At the time of this marriage, or soon thereafter, John the Baptist and Jesus Christ made their appearance, both of them carrying on their labours in the domains of Antipas, the Baptist in Perea,²¹ Jesus in Galilee. Of John the Baptist, Josephus gives the following account:²² "He was a good man,

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.—On Machärus, see vol. i. p. 436, and § 20 toward the end. Machärus at all other periods, before and after, formed part of the Jewish territory. Alexander Jannæus fortified it, as did also Herod the Great (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). Herod Antipas put John the Baptist in prison there. In the Vespasian war it was one of the best places of refuge for the rebels (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6, vii. 6). It is therefore very remarkable that it should then have belonged to the Arabian king. The words of Josephus are as follows: εἰς τὸν Μαχαίρουτα τότε [*al. τῷ τε, Bekker, conj. τὸν τῷ*] πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ. It is equally remarkable that Antipas should have guilelessly allowed his wife to go to this fortress belonging to the Arabian king. Or did he consciously agree to it in order to smooth the way for her flight, wishing thus to be rid of her? Josephus did not so conceive of the matter, for according to his representation Herod Antipas knew nothing of the meditated flight. Hitzig (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 567) for these reasons regards the statement that Machärus then belonged to Aretas as an interpolation. It may be, however, that, on the contrary, some words have dropped out, or that Josephus himself made a misstatement through carelessness.

²¹ The scene of the Baptist's activity may have been, as Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 231–235) supposes, for the most part on this side of Jordan, therefore in Judea. But in any case he did actually work on the other bank in Perea is proved, not only by the fourth evangelist (i. 2, 8, iii. 26, x. 40), but also by the fact of the imprisonment by Antipas. This is admitted even by Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 265, 266.

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2: Κτείνει τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασχοῦντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖα χρωμένους, βεπτισμῷ συνιέναι· οὗτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ

and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. For the washing would be acceptable to Him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins only, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when many others came to crowd about him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise), thought it best by putting him to death to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machärus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death."—This account by Josephus, if it really belongs originally to him, and the accounts of the New Testament about the Baptist and his relation with the tetrarch Herod, mutually supplement one another. What Josephus says about the contents of the Baptist's preaching of repentance has indeed very much of the style of the cultured Græco-Roman world. In this respect the short statements of the synoptic Gospels are truer and more reliable.²³ On the

τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἀμαρτάνων παραιτήσεϊ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθαρμένης. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων (καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων) δέσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι (πάντα γὰρ ἐφύκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες), πολὺ κρείττον ἡγεῖται, πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμτεσὼν μετανοεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαίρουντα πεμφθεὶς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίννυται.

²³ Compare, in explanation of the passage in Josephus: Volkmar, *Jesus Nazarenus* (1882). pp. 332-334; Klöpper, "Ein paar Bemerkungen

other hand, it is highly probable that the real occasion of the imprisonment of the Baptist by Antipas was, just as Josephus states, fear of political trouble. The powerful popular preacher did undoubtedly produce a great excitement, which was indeed first of all of a religious kind, but certainly not without the mingling of a political element. For the masses of the people were not then able to keep separate their religious and political hopes. It is therefore quite credible that Antipas feared political troubles from the labours of the Baptist, and so, when he extended his activity to Perea, cast him into prison. Nevertheless the evangelists may be right (Matt. xiv. 3 f.; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19 f.) when they say that he did this because John blamed him for his marriage with Herodias. The two statements are not inconsistent with one another.²⁴—The place where John was imprisoned is not named by the evangelists. From Josephus we learn that it was Machärus, the strong fortress on the east of the Dead Sea. It must then have been no longer in the possession of the Arabian king Aretas, as it was at the time of the flight

zu dem Urtheil des Josephus über Johannes den Täufer" (*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1865, pp. 1–28).—Also in the almost unlimited literature on John the Baptist some notice is, as a rule, taken of this passage in Josephus. See especially Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 201–266. The earlier literature is given in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Johannes der Täufer;" Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 42; Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften Alten Testaments* (1881), § 561.

²⁴ The genuineness of the passage in Josephus is but rarely vindicated (even Volkmar sets aside without more ado; against this decision: J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heil. Schrift Neuen Testaments*, 7 Thl. 3 Abth. *Der Brief Jakobi*, 1876, p. 4 f.). This, however, may be alleged in its favour, that the motive for imprisoning and executing the Baptist are there reported in a manner so entirely different from the account in the Gospels. But since Josephus in other passages has been certainly interpolated by a Christian hand, we cannot be here perfectly confident regarding its genuineness. Suspicion is awakened by the favourable estimate of John, who could have been viewed sympathetically by Josephus only upon one side, as an ascetic and moral preacher, but not as the prophet of the coming Messiah who powerfully moved the people.

of the first wife of Antipas, but in the possession of Herod Antipas himself. We do not indeed know in what way it had meanwhile come into his hands.²⁵—According to Josephus, it would seem as if the execution of the Baptist followed immediately upon his arrestment and imprisonment. But from the Gospel narrative we see that Herod kept the Baptist a longer time in prison, being undecided as to what he should do with him.²⁶ At last the decision was brought about by Herodias, the chief foe of the rigid preacher of repentance. When on the occasion of the celebration of Antipas' birthday²⁷ in the palace of Machärus, for there it was that the

²⁵ Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 382; *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, Nr. 51, col. 1218 f., conjectures that Antipas had gained possession of the fortress in the beginning of the war against Aretas. But even apart from the fact that this supposition is possible only if one places, as Keim does, the apprehension of the Baptist close upon the outbreak of the war with Aretas, i.e. in A.D. 34, it is not still probable that Herod should have confined a political prisoner in a fortress that had been taken from the enemy. The word of Wieseler therefore in the *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 216–217; *Beiträge*, pp. 5, 13; *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 166, that Aretas has been compelled at the bidding of Tiberius to surrender the fortress to Herod, is more forcible.—Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 49–51, believes that the fortress had never really been in the possession of Aretas, but that it was only the city of Machärus that for a long time lay under tribute to him. In this form the hypothesis is clearly impossible, since the one thing without the other is inconceivable. On the other hand, the supposition is well grounded, that the city and fortress of Machärus never belonged to Aretas, and that the statement we have been discussing originated in an error of Josephus or a corruption of our text of Josephus. See above, p. 22.—The most extraordinary of all is the idea of Sevin, that Machärus was still in the hands of Aretas when Herod Antipas imprisoned the Baptist, and had him executed in that stronghold of his father-in-law. Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. p. 96; generally, pp. 90–96.

²⁶ Matt. xiv. 5; Mark vi. 20; Matt. xi. 2–6; compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 340–343; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 331; Weiss, *Marcusevangelium*, p. 217 f.

²⁷ The signification of γενέσια (Matt. xiv. 6; Mark vi. 21) is matter of controversy. See Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 266; *Beiträge*, p. 182 f.; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 223; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 334; and the commentators on Matt. xiv. 6; Mark

whole business was carried out,²⁸ a great banquet was given, the daughter of Herodias, Salome (she was still ■ κοράσιον,

vi. 21. Instead of the ordinary morning "birthday," many expositors understand it to mean the anniversary day of his accession to the throne." But an instance of this meaning cannot with certainty be got in the whole range of Greek literature; and even the rabbinical material, from which they seek support, is very weak. The principal passage in *Mishna Aboda sara* i. 3: "The following are the festivals of the heathen: The *Calendae* and the *Saturnalia* and the *κράτῃσεις* (קרטיסים), and the day of the *γενέσις* of the king (יום נניסיא של מלכים), and the day of birth and the day of death. So R. Meir. The learned say: Only a case of death, wherein there evidently appears the scorching of fire, is accompanied by an idolatrous sacrifice; but where this is not the case there is no idol sacrifice." An explanation of the expressions used is not given in the *Mishna*. In the *Palestinian Talmud* (*Jer. Aboda sara* i. fol. 39c), יום נניסיא is interpreted by יום הלידה, "birthday." In the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Bab. Aboda sara* 10^a) there is a regular discussion over the meaning of the phrase, in which the reasons in favour of the meaning "birthday" are brought forward, but finally preference is given to the interpretation: יום שמעמדין בו מלך, "the day on which the king ascended the throne" (see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, i. 394^a, and the literal production of the whole discussion in the German translation in *Abodah Sarah*, translated by Ferd. Chr. Ewald, 2 Ausg. 1868, p. 70 f.). Upon this only is grounded the interpretation, "the anniversary of the accession to the throne," adopted by many modern scholars. But since the Palestinians undoubtedly knew better about such matters than the Babylonians, who for the most part only guessed without accurately knowing, the interpretation of the Babylonians should not be accepted when it is in opposition to all other instances. So also Dalman, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1889, 172, in his review of Strack's *Aboda sara*. Also the connection of the context of the *Mishna* is in favour of the interpretation "birthday." For קרטיסים is most probably the anniversary of the obtaining of the government. Therefore נניסיא must be distinguished from it. But alongside of it is mentioned "the day of birth," as further investigation of the *Mishna* shows, not the anniversary of the birth, but only that particular day on which a child is born. On the custom of celebrating the birthday anniversary in general, see Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Natalis dies;" Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Bd. i. 1879, p. 244 f.

²⁸ The Gospels of Matthew and Mark evidently assume that the banquet was given in the same place where the Baptist lay a prisoner. See Meyer on Matt. xiv. 10 ff. But that was Machärus. And there the banquet may, in fact, have been given. For Machärus had a beautiful palace, which had been built by Herod the Great (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). There is therefore no reason for transferring the scene to Julius, as is done by Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 220, 221;

Matt. xiv. 11; Mark vi. 22, 28; therefore not yet married to Philip), by her dancing so delighted the tetrarch, that he promised to fulfil to her any wish she might express. At the instigation of her mother, she demanded the head of the Baptist. Herod was weak enough to gratify the wish immediately, and to give orders that the Baptist should be beheaded in the prison at Machärus.²⁹

Beiträge, p. 5. The Gospels are silent in regard to the place; for from Mark vi. 21 it is not necessarily to be concluded, as Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 217; *Bibellexikon*, iii. 48; and Volkmar, *Die Evangelien*, p. 369, think, that Mark assumes Galilee, that is, Tiberius, as the scene of the transaction.

²⁹ Matt. xiv. 6-11; Mark vi. 21-28; Luke ix. 9.—In Mark vi. 22 some very important and authoritative texts, accepted by Westcott and Hort and Volkmar, read: τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος. According to this reading the maiden herself was called Herodias, and may have been a daughter of Herod Antipas, and not merely the daughter of Herodias. But a child of the marriage of Antipas with Herodias could not then have been more than two years old; whereas, on the other hand, we know from Josephus that Herodias by her first marriage had a daughter called Salome (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4). Also in the Gospel narrative itself the maiden appears only as a daughter of Herodias. The statement, therefore, that would result from that reading of Mark, cannot in any case be regarded as historically correct, be that reading ever so old.—On the imprisonment and execution of the Baptist generally, compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 329 ff., iv. 215 ff.; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, pp. 124-128.—The narrative of the Gospels contains much that arouses suspicion; especially that Salome is still designated a κοράσιον, whereas we are informed by Josephus that she had been married long before A.D. 28-30 to the tetrarch Philip, who had begun his reign in B.C. 4, and had died in A.D. 34 (see above, p. 16). But just the weakest point in the Gospel story is proved on more careful examination to be not improbable. The facts derived from Josephus are gathered together in the following summary by Gutschmid (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, p. 522, in his review of Brann's, *Die Söhne des Herodes*): "Aristobulus, Salome's second husband, was a son of Herod of Chalcis, by Mariam, the daughter of Joseph and Olympias, a sister of Archelaus, who had married after B.C. 7, but before B.C. 4. Therefore, at the earliest, Miriam's son Aristobulus could not have been born before B.C. 5, and not likely before A.D. 14. This affords us incidentally dates for determining the age of Salome, whom we should not without necessity regard as much older than Aristobulus, since her second marriage, by which she was mother of three sons, was evidently one in which the partners were of similar age. Philip, her first husband, had in B.C. 4 or 3

Even before John had been removed from the scene, the "*Mightier*," to whom he had pointed, had already made His appearance, and had begun to preach the gospel in Galilee. He, too, could not remain unnoticed by the nobles of the land. Yet Antipas first heard of the deeds of Jesus after the Baptist had been put to death. Hence, tormented by his evil conscience, he felt convinced that the Baptist had risen again, and was continuing his dangerous and revolutionary work.³⁰ In order to make sure whether this was so, he desired to see the miracle-worker who preached in Capernaum, and attracted all the people.³¹ He meant in time to get rid of Him, not, however, by violence, but by craft. He won over to him the Pharisees, and got them to undertake the attempt to induce Jesus voluntarily to quit the country by representing to Him that Herod sought His life.³² The plan was indeed very craftily conceived; but it failed in execution, because Jesus saw through it. Subsequently, indeed, Jesus did quit Galilee in order to take His death journey to Jerusalem. There also Antipas, who was at that time living at Jerusalem that he might keep the Passover, had the satisfaction of meeting with his mysterious subject. Pilate sent the prisoner to him, in order that he, as ruler of the province, might pronounce the

reached such an age as to be capable of assuming the reins of government, and so must have been born at latest in B.C. 21. Though a great disparity of age between the two undoubtedly existed, we cannot, without making a most improbable hypothesis, suppose the difference to have been more than thirty years; this would give as the latest date for the birth of Salome, A.D. 10." Gutschmid therefore assumes that Salome was born in A.D. 10, and regards it as quite possible that she was still a *κοράσιον* in A.D. 28, and that in her nineteenth year she married Philip, who was in his forty-ninth year.

³⁰ Matt. xiv. 1 f.; Mark vi. 14-16; Luke ix. 7-9.

³¹ Luke ix. 9.—Among the female followers of Christ there is mentioned the wife of an officer of Antipas (Luke viii. 3: *Ἰωάννα γυναὶ Κουζᾶ ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρώδου*).

³² So at least is Luke xiii. 31, 32 understood by many expositors. This interpretation, too, is correct; compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 344.

death sentence clamoured for by the Jewish hierarchy. Antipas, however, would not lend himself to this scheme, but contented himself with pouring contempt upon Jesus, and sending Him back again to Pilate.⁸³

The chronology of the public ministry of the Baptist and of Jesus Christ, which has hitherto been based for the most part on Luke iii. 1 and John ii. 20, has been in recent times completely turned upside down by Keim.⁸⁴ Whereas previously almost the only subject of contention had been whether the year 30 or the year 31 was the year of Christ's death, Keim sets down the execution of the Baptist in the end of A.D. 34 (*Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 226, 232), the death of Christ at Easter of A.D. 35 (*Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 232). His chief argument is the following. Josephus remarked (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2) that the defeat which Herod Antipas sustained in the war with the Arabian king Aretas in A.D. 36, was considered by the people as a judgment for the execution of John the Baptist. Accordingly, says Keim, the execution must be placed as near as possible to the year 36; and since, in view of the deposition of Pilate before Easter A.D. 36, Jesus must have been put to death not later than Easter A.D. 35, and the execution of the Baptist must be put down as occurring in the end of the year 34. There is also one other reason for insisting upon this late dating of these events. The attack of Aretas upon Antipas was an act of vengeance on the part of Aretas, because his daughter had been divorced by Antipas. Hence both events must have occurred very nearly about the same time. And, seeing that the execution of the Baptist could not have occurred until after the divorce of the daughter of Aretas and the marriage with Herodias, the death of the Baptist and of Christ could not for this reason have occurred in A.D. 29 and 30 respectively.

Against this theory Wieseler particularly has urged a series

⁸³ Luke xxiii. 7-12. Compare Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 40-42; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 103-105.

⁸⁴ See *Der geschichtliche Christus* (3 Aufl. 1866), pp. 224-240; *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 381, vi. 220; *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, Nr. 49 and 51.—Keim is supported by Holtzmann, Hausrath, Sevin, Schenkel, and in all essential points by Hitzig, who reckons indeed A.D. 36 as the year of Jesus' death. See the summary of conclusions in Keim, vi. 226, 240; also in Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. 1874.—Against Keim, see especially: Wieseler, *Beiträge* (1869), pp. 3-16; *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, pp. 163-173.

of arguments which indeed are not all of a convincing character. He seeks especially as the ground of Agrippa's residence with Antipas (see under § 18) to prove that the marriage with Herodias occurred at an earlier date. When Agrippa had been appointed by Antipas agoranomos of Tiberius, Antipas was already married to Herodias. Afterwards Agrippa was sent away by Antipas, and then stayed for a long time with Flaccus, the legate of Syria, and then went to Rome, where he, or rather his freedman Eutyclus, became intimate with the city prefect Piso (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2-5). Seeing then—so argues Wieseler—that Flaccus died in A.D. 33, Piso having previously died in A.D. 32, the marriage with Herodias must have taken place before A.D. 32, Wieseler thinks in A.D. 29. But we saw already that that Piso was not the man who died in A.D. 32, but a later one, and that Flaccus possibly, indeed probably, did not die till A.D. 35 (see vol. i. pp. 360-364). By these arguments, therefore, nothing can be proved.

But the rock upon which Keim's chronology suffered shipwreck is the definite statement of Luke iii. 1, that the Baptist made his appearance before the public in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* between August A.D. 28 and August A.D. 29; which statement indeed Keim rejects as unworthy of belief. The tendency now is not to overestimate the trustworthiness of Luke, and certainly in reference to the tracing of Quirinius he has erred grievously. But it is surely impossible that in this case an error of five full years should have been made. Evidently Luke took great care in examining into this particular date. We have here therefore before us, not so much his opinion, as that of the entire Christendom of his time.³⁵ Can it be thought possible that all Christendom was wrong to the extent of five full years about the date of their Lord's death? More powerful reasons must be given than those brought forward from Josephus before we can feel justified in adopting such a view.

The reasons advanced by Josephus are indeed nothing less than convincing. This is at least correct, and also generally

³⁵ Probably the result of Luke's investigations was this, that Christ died at Easter A.D. 30. From this datum he then reckons back one year; for he only allows one year for the public ministry (Luke iv. 19-21), and so reaches the 15th year of Tiberius as the date of the public appearance of the Baptist and Christ.—In any case it is the year 30 that John, ii. 20, points out as the date of Christ's death; only that John, who assumes a two years' activity of Christ, places the beginning of His ministry in A.D. 28. Compare vol. i. p. 410.

admitted, that the defeat of Antipas in A.D. 36 took place somewhere about half a year before the death of Tiberius, in March A.D. 37. But that the people could not have regarded it as a divine judgment for the execution of the Baptist, seeing that that event was now seven years past, cannot be maintained. A couple of years more would in this matter make no difference. For Pharisaism was wont to discover such causal connections after the expiry of very long periods indeed. Further, that the divorce of the daughter of Aretas, followed by the marriage with Herodias, and the war with the Arabian king, must have followed immediately upon one another, still remains a point that cannot be proved. Josephus says expressly, that only from the divorce is to be dated the beginning of the hostility between Antipas and Aretas (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1: ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος), and that after additional reasons arose, such as contentions about boundaries. Even Keim himself admits the possibility of setting down the marriage to A.D. 32-33 (*Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 397). Why then not to the year 29, if once an interval of several years has to be admitted? Hausrath, who in other respects agrees with Keim, put it back as far as the year 27, and in this way deprives himself of the main ground upon which he had supported his position (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 326, 328).

Upon the whole, therefore, we feel entitled to hold by the statements of the New Testament, and to place the death of Christ at Easter A.D. 30, that of the Baptist in A.D. 29, and the marriage of Herodias somewhat earlier, perhaps in A.D. 29, perhaps even some years earlier (Gutschmid, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, Sp. 523, places it about A.D. 26).

The connection with Herodias brought little good to Antipas. The Arabian king Aretas could not forget that Antipas on her account had repudiated his daughter. The feud arising from this cause was increased through boundary disputes about Galaaditis,—for so we should read the name rather than Gamalitis.³⁶ Finally, in A.D. 36 the misunder-

³⁶ The district of Gamala belonged to what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, and cannot therefore have been a subject of contention between Antipas and Aretas. On the other hand, the province of Galaaditis (Gilead) lay on the borders of their territories. But from ΓΑΛΑΔΙΤΙΣ the other word ΓΑΜΑΔΙΤΙΣ might easily be made. Undoubtedly the text of the passage in question (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1) is defective. Compare Keim in the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, Nr. 51, col. 1218.

standing between the two neighbours broke out into the war which ended in the utter destruction of the army of Antipas.³⁷ The conquered monarch had now no other resource but to complain of his victorious opponent to the Emperor Tiberius.³⁸

When Tiberius heard of the bold proceedings of the Arabian prince, he gave Vitellius, governor of Syria, express orders to gain possession of Aretas, dead or alive. Vitellius had indeed little heart to enter on the expedition, for he was not greatly drawn toward Antipas. But he could not oppose the imperial command, and so he prepared himself for the war against Aretas. After he had ordered his army to march round about Judea to Petra, he himself went on a visit to Jerusalem, where a feast was then being celebrated, probably that of the Passover.³⁹ He waited in that city three days. On the fourth, he received news of the death of Tiberius, which had taken place on 16th March A.D. 37. He considered himself thereby released from his undertaking, and turned back with his army to Antioch.⁴⁰ Thus the defeat of Antipas remained unavenged.

About this time we find our Jewish tetrarch present on one occasion at the Euphrates during important negotiations between Vitellius and the king of the Parthians. But it seems that the account of this affair in Josephus is not free from error. We know, for instance, that in the years 35 and 36 the Parthian king Artabanus had to do repeatedly with the Romans. His affairs seemed to be taking a favourable

³⁷ The date is derived from this, that the defeat of Antipas, as what follows shows, took place not long—somewhere about half a year—before the death of Tiberius in March A.D. 37.

³⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.

³⁹ Compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 227; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. pp. 75–77.

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1–3. Since the imperial legates had their office only at the personal will of the emperor, so, strictly taken, every command ceased with the death of the emperor. See Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1. 235, ii. 2. 873.

turn when, by the threats of Vitellius and the revolt of his own subjects, he was obliged to betake himself to flight into the remoter provinces. In consequence of this, Vitellius, in the summer of A.D. 36, went to the Euphrates along with the pretender Tiridates, supported by the Romans, and established him as king over the Parthians. Nevertheless, before the end of that same year, Artabanus returned, drove out Tiridates, and secured the government again to himself.⁴¹ Subsequently Vitellius arranged a meeting with Artabanus at the Euphrates, at which Artabanus concluded a peace with the Romans, and in pledge thereof, sent his son Darius to Rome as a hostage.⁴² At this meeting, according to Josephus, Herod Antipas was also present. He entertained Vitellius and Artabanus in a magnificent tent erected upon the Euphrates bridge, and hastened, as soon as the negotiations were concluded, to communicate the favourable result to the emperor,—a piece of officiousness which annoyed Vitellius at him exceedingly, since he had thereby completely anticipated his official report.⁴³—Thus Josephus places this meeting in the time of Tiberius, and considers that the quarrel arising out of this between Vitellius and Herod Antipas was the reason why Vitellius, after the death of Tiberius, immediately abandoned the campaign against Aretas. But Suetonius and Dio Cassius say expressly, and the silence of Tacitus, in the sixth book of his *Annals*, indirectly proves, that the meeting between Vitellius and Artabanus took place under Caligula. Josephus therefore is certainly in one particular in error. The only question is, in what particular. If it is correct that Herod

⁴¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 31–37, 41–44. With respect to the date, compare also: *Annals*, vi. 38; Dio Cassius, lvi. 26; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 4. —The fixing of the date results from the statement of Tacitus.

⁴² Suetonius, *Caligula*, 14, *Vitellius*, 2; Dio Cassius, lix. 27; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 5. Besides Josephus, Dio Cassius, lix. 17, and Suetonius, *Caligula*, 19, speak of Darius as present in Rome in A.D. 39

⁴³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 5.

Antipas took part in the Parthian negotiations on the Euphrates in the time of Tiberius, then these must have been the negotiations between Vitellius and Tiridates in the summer of A.D. 36 (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 37). But if it is correct that he took part in the negotiations between Vitellius and Artabanus, it cannot have been before the time of Caligula. The latter supposition is most probably the true account of the matter. For in summer A.D. 36 Herod was engaged in the war against Aretas.⁴⁴

If Antipas had his passion for Herodias to thank as the real occasion of his defeat and damage at the hand of Aretas, the ambition of this wife of his brought about at last the loss of his government and of his freedom. One of the first acts of the new Emperor Caligula on his taking the reins of government into his hands was to assign to Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, together with the title of king. Agrippa at first remained still at Rome. But in the second year of Caligula, March A.D. 38 to March A.D. 39, he went to Palestine, and made his appearance there as king. The success of the adventurer, whose fortunes had once been at so low an ebb, and who had even himself sought aid at the hand of Antipas, excited the envy of Herodias, who therefore insisted upon her husband seeking also from the emperor the royal title. Herod Antipas was not very much disposed to go forth on such an errand. At last, however, he was obliged to yield to the persistent entreaty of his wife, and proceeded to Rome, accompanied by Herodias, to prosecute

⁴⁴ Compare Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 568; Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 209–211. Also Ussher and Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. i. Venise 1732, p. 139 sq., and note 4 on Caligula) express the same opinion. Compare on the Parthian history generally: Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer*, 1888, and the literature referred to there on p. 171 f. A list of original documents is given in Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, ii. 1850, pp. 243–263. On the relations between the Romans and Parthians, see also Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, Bd. i.; and Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, Bd. v. p. 330 ff.

his suit. But they were immediately followed by a representative of Agrippa, Fortunatus, with a document containing charges against Herod Antipas, in which he was accused of old and recent offences, of having made a compact with Sejanus (who died in A.D. 31), and with the Parthian king Artabanus. In proof of these charges, his accuser pointed to the accumulation of arms made by Antipas. Both parties came at the same time before Caligula at Baiae. When the emperor had heard the petition of Antipas and the accusations against him, he asked Antipas how it was that he had made such a collection of arms. And when Antipas could give no proper account of this, Caligula credited also the other charges, deposed Antipas from his tetrarchy, and banished him to Lyons in Gaul. He wished to allow Herodias, as the sister of Agrippa, to live on her private estate. But the proud woman scorned the imperial favour, and followed her husband into his exile. As a new proof of imperial favour, the tetrarchy was conferred upon the accuser Agrippa.⁴⁵ Herod

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6. The latter passage contains some inaccuracies, which are corrected in the *Antiquities*, namely: (1) According to the *Wars of the Jews*, Agrippa himself immediately followed Antipas to Rome, where, according to the *Antiquities*, he sent Fortunatus; (2) According to the *Wars of the Jews*, Antipas was banished to Spain; but, according to the *Antiquities*, to Lugdunum in Gaul. The difference in reference to the place is not to be explained away, whether one understands by Lugdunum the modern Lyons (which is certainly correct), or *Lugdunum Convenarum*, on the northern slope of the Pyrenees, which also belonged to Gaul (so, e.g., Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 383). Lewin (*Fasti Sacri*, n. 1561) conjectures that the definite judgment of Caligula had not been given forth before his visit to Lyons in A.D. 40, and that Josephus confounded the place where the sentence was given with the place of banishment,—an artificial hypothesis which only burdens Josephus with a more grievous error in order to exonerate him from a less serious one. The time of the deposition of Antipas is determined partly from *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 1-2 compared with 6. 11, partly from xix. 8. 2. In the latter passage it is said of Agrippa: *Τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτούς, τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἀρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς.* Seeing then that Caligula reigned from March A.D. 37 till January A.D. 41,

Antipas died in banishment. A confused statement in Dio

Agrippa obtained the tetrarchy of Antipas in the beginning of A.D. 40.— But, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11, Agrippa had returned to Palestine in the second year of Caligula, between March A.D. 38 and March A.D. 39, and had the benefit of the trade winds (*εἰρηλαί*, Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521), which from the 20th July blew for thirty days (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 47). Consequently he may, since he had on his way paid a visit to Alexandria (Philo, *l.c.*), have arrived in Palestine about the end of September A.D. 38. Seeing then that the deposition of Antipas was closely connected with the appearance of Agrippa, it would seem that it must have taken place, if not in A.D. 38, at least in A.D. 39. In fact, it can be proved that it actually occurred not earlier and not later than the summer of A.D. 39. Not earlier: for the forty-third year of Antipas, of which we have coins extant, only began with 1st Nisan 792 A.U.C., A.D. 39. But also not later. Caligula was absent from Rome from autumn A.D. 39 till 31st August A.D. 40 on an expedition to Gaul, Germany, and Britain (Dio Cassius, lix. 21–25; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 17, 43–49: his entry into Rome “*natali suo*,” i.e. 31st August, see Suetonius, *Caligula*, 8). Seeing then that the deposition of Antipas took place while Caligula was at Baiae, and seeing also, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2, that it cannot have occurred after the German campaign, it must have happened before that campaign, i.e. before autumn A.D. 39. It is indeed impossible that it should have taken place only after the German campaign, for Agrippa, from autumn A.D. 40 till Caligula’s death, resided again near to the emperor (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 35 ff., ed. Mangey, ii. 584 ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7 ff.; Dio Cassius, lix. 24; compare also § 17 c. and § 18 of the present work), whereas at the time of the deposition of Antipas he was in Palestine. It is also shown to be impossible by this other fact, that, according to Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 41, ed. Mangey, ii. 593, Agrippa was in autumn A.D. 40 already in possession of Galilee. Compare also Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 4, from which it may be concluded that Tiberias then no longer belonged to Herod Antipas. In A.D. 39 Caligula was twice in Campania (at Baiae and Puteoli). The one visit is referred to in Dio Cassius, lix. 13; the other, in Dio Cassius, lix. 17. See also Suetonius, *Caligula*, 19. After his second absence, however, he was again at Rome on the occasion of his birthday, 31st August (Dio Cassius, lix. 20; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 26), after which he went forth on the German expedition. The deposition of Antipas took place at Baiae therefore before the 31st August A.D. 39. But, seeing that Agrippa only obtained the tetrarchy of Antipas in the beginning of A.D. 40 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2), we may fairly assume, with Noris (*Opp.* ii. 622 sq.) and Wieseler (*Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 130), an interval of several months to have occurred between the deposition of Antipas and the conferring of his tetrarchy upon Agrippa, and that this latter event did not take place until the time of the Gallo-German campaign of

Cassius seems to imply that he was put to death by Caligula.⁴⁶

c. ARCHELAUS, B.C. 4—A.D. 6. HIS TERRITORY UNDER ROMAN PROCURATORS, A.D. 6—A.D. 41.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xvii. 13, xviii. 1-4. 8 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7-10.

PHILO, *De legatione ad Cajum* (*Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 545-600).

On the coins, see below.

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 449-457, vii. 235-257.

GEIKIE, *Life and Words of Christ*, i. 263-272.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 253-271, 315-317, 341-344.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 562 f., 573-583.

HAUSRATH, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. 287-308, ii. 199-270.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 253-262, ii. 223, vi. 79, 183, 227 ; and art.

"Archelaus" in Schenkel's *Bibelleikon*, iii. 38-40.

Caligula.—Compare generally : Noris, *De nummo Herodis Antipae* (*Opera*, ii. col. 646-665) ; Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*, pp. 307-315. —On the coins of Herod bearing what is supposed to be the year number 44, which would require an extension of his reign down to A.D. 40, see above, vol. i. p. 466, and the present vol. pp. 20, 21. Were the existence of this coin well established, we should be obliged, with Lewin, to assign the deposition of Antipas, not to the period of Caligula's residence at Baiae, but to the period of his Gallic campaign, and so to assume a serious error in Josephus.

⁴⁶ Dio Cassius, lix. 8 (*Caligula*): Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἑγγονοῦ λύσας τε . . . καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προσάξαε, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῶων ἀπειστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. Although the relationship is not very clearly expressed, the reference can only be to Herod Antipas. To execute those whom he banished was a common custom with Caligula, Suetonius, *Caligula*, 28 ; Dio Cassius, lix. 18 ; Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 21, ed. Mangey, ii. 543 ; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1562.—According to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6, Antipas died in banishment in Spain. Instead of Spain we are to read, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2, Lugdunum in Gaul. For one has no right so to combine contradictory statements of Josephus that a later removal of the banished one from Lyons to Spain may be assumed.

GERLACH, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 30–32; *Die römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa*, pp. 44–48, 53–65.

WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 82 f. (Archelaus), and ii. 261–263 (Pilatus).

BRANN, *Die Söhne des Herodes*, 1873 (reprint from the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), pp. 1–16.

LEWIN, *Fasti Sacra, ad ann.*, 4 B.C.–41 A.D.

MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 508 ff.

KELLNER, *Die römische Statthalter von Syrien und Judäa*. 2. Art. *Die kaiserlichen Procuratoren von Judäa* (*Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, 1888, p. 630 ff.).

KELLNER, *Politische und administrative Zustände von Palästina zur Zeit Christi* (*Der Katholik*, 1888, i. pp. 47–63). A summary of the history during the time of Pompey.

MENKE, *Bibelatlas*, Bl. V. Special map of Judea and neighbouring countries in the time of Pontius Pilate.

Judea proper with Samaria and Idumea (including the large cities of Caesarea, Samaria, Joppa, and Jerusalem, but excluding Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos) was in the partition assigned to Archelaus, the elder¹ brother of Antipas, not indeed, as Herod had intended, with the title of king, but only with that of an ethnarch.² Yet Augustus promised him the kingdom if he should prove himself to be worthy of it.³ Archelaus also, like Antipas, named himself on the coins and elsewhere by the family name of Herod.⁴

¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 32. 7, 33. 7.

² He is inaccurately styled βασιλεύς in Matt. ii. 22, and in Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3.

⁴ By Josephus he is never indeed called Herod, but he is so called by Dio Cassius, iv. 27. That the coins with the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ belong to him cannot be doubted, for no other Herodian besides him bore the title of ethnarch. This was first of all recognised by Scipio Maffei, *Antt. Gall.* p. 113 (quoted by Eckhel, iii. 484). Eckhel is at least inclined to agree with him ("Forte verior est conjectura Scipionis Maffei," etc.). It is now admitted by all scholars. Compare on these coins generally: Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53, 57 f., ii. 32 f.; De Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 133 sq.; Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, p. 73 f.; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 91–95; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 25 f.; De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*,

Among the sons of Herod he procured for himself the worst reputation. His rule was violent and tyrannical.⁵ He set up and removed the high priests at his pleasure.⁶ He gave special offence by his marriage with Glaphyra, daughter of the Cappadocian king Archelaus. She had been married first to Alexander, the half-brother of Archelaus, executed in B.C. 7. See vol. i. p. 456 of this work. After his death she was married to Juba, king of Mauritania.⁷ Upon the

1871, pp. 248-250; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, 45 sq.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 114-118.

⁵ Ὀμότης καὶ τυραννίς are charged against him in *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2. Compare also *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1.

⁷ It is this same one who made himself known as a writer. Reports about him and the fragments of his writings are collected by Müller, *Fragmenta Histor. Graec.* iii. 465-484. Compare also Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2 ed. iii. 578 sq.; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 345; Nicolai, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, ii. 185 f.; La Blanchère, *De rege Juba regis Jubae filio*, Paris 1883, and the literature referred to there.—Juba as a child (βρέφος, App.; κομίδῃ νήπιος, Plut.) was led in triumph by Caesar in B.C. 46 (Appian, ii. 101; Plutarch, *Caesar*, c. 55). In B.C. 29 he obtained from Augustus his father's kingdom of Numidia (Dio Cassius, li. 15). Four years later, in B.C. 25, Augustus gave him instead of that the lands of Bocchus and Boguass (Mauritania Tingitana and Caesariensis), and a part of Gätulia (Dio Cassius, liii. 26). He was still living in A.D. 18 (Müller, iii. 466), and, as is proved by the evidence of the coins, did not die before A.D. 23 (Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* i. 278; Marquardt, *Römisches Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 482; Rühl, *Jahrb. für class. Philol.* 117 Bd. 1878, pp. 542-544. Rühl succeeds in proving, in opposition to Niese in *Hermes*, xiii. 1878, p. 35 f., Anm., that Juba died in A.D. 23. Schiller in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xv. 497 f.; Paul Meyer, *Leipziger Studien zur class. Philol.* ii. 1879, p. 72; Vogel, *Philologus*, Bd. 41, 1882, p. 517; La Blanchère, *De rege Juba*, p. 85 [all in favour of A.D. 23].—The marriage with Glaphyra occurred probably between B.C. 1 and A.D. 4, if the conjecture of Müller is correct that Juba accompanied C. Caesar on his Oriental expedition, and on that occasion became acquainted with Glaphyra.—An inscription at Athens, filled up as follows by Mommsen, probably refer to Glaphyra (*Ephemeris epigr.* i. 277 sq. = *Corp. Inscr. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 549):—

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
 βασίλισσαν [Γλαφύραν]
 Ἀρχελάου θυγ[ατέρα, Ἰόβαν]
 γυναῖκα [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα].

dissolution of this marriage,⁸ Glaphyra lived in her father's house. There Archelaus became acquainted with her, fell in love with her, and took her to be his wife, for he divorced his own wife Mariamme. Seeing that Glaphyra had children by Alexander, the marriage was unlawful, and therefore gave great offence.⁹ The marriage was not indeed of long duration, for Glaphyra died soon after her arrival in Judea,¹⁰ after having had a remarkable dream, in which her first husband, Alexander, appeared to her, and made known to her her approaching death.¹¹

It will almost go without saying that Archelaus as son of Herod engaged upon great building enterprises. The palace at Jericho was restored in the most magnificent style. An aqueduct was built to lead the water necessary for the palm-groves, which he had laid out anew in the plain north of Jericho, from the village of Neara. He also founded a city, and called it in honour of himself Archelais.¹²

But these beautiful and useful undertakings could not reconcile his subjects to his misgovernment. After tolerating his

⁸ Josephus says "after the death of Juba," which, however, is wrong. See previous note.

⁹ Compare generally *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1 and 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 4.

¹⁰ Μετ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀφίξεως χρόνον, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 4.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 4.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1.—On the palm-groves near Jericho, see vol. i. p. 423; on the village of Archelais, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 122. It lay, according to the *tabula Peutinger*. (ed. Konr. Miller, 1888), on the road from Jericho to Scythopolis, 12 Roman miles north of Jericho, 12+12 Roman miles south of Scythopolis. Seeing that the actual distance between was somewhere about 15 Roman miles, an error has somewhere crept into the figures. If we assume that the statement of the distance between Jericho and Archelais as 12 Roman miles is correct, then Archelais must have been a little south of Phasaelis, not north, as is generally supposed. The following fact is in favour of such a view. Archelais, like Phasaelis, was celebrated for its palm-groves (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 4. 44). We may therefore actually seek the palm-groves anew laid out by Archelaus, for which he

rule for more than nine years, a deputation of the Jewish and Samaritan aristocracy set out for Rome, in order to lay their complaints against him before Augustus. The points in their accusation must have been very serious; for the emperor felt himself obliged to summon Archelaus to Rome, and, after having heard him, to depose him from his government, and banish him to Vienne in Gaul in A.D. 6. To him also, as to his wife, his fate had been foretold by a remarkable dream.¹³

The territory of Archelaus was taken under immediate Roman rule, for it was attached to the province of Syria, but received a governor of its own from the equestrian order.¹⁴ In consequence of this arrangement the condition of Judea became essentially changed. Herod the Great and his sons had in spite of all their friendship for the Romans considerable respect for and understanding of the national traditions and peculiarities of the Jews, so that they, apart from individual exceptions, did not wantonly wound the most sacred sensibilities of the people. Common prudence demanded in regard to such matters care and consideration. The Romans, on the

brought water from Neara, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Archelais founded by him. But Neara is most probably identical with the place called by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 283) Νοοράθ, which was only 5 Roman miles distant from Jericho. Therefore also Archelias would not be too far from it.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2-3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3; Dio Cassius, lv. 27. Without mentioning the name of Archelaus, Strabo, xvi. 2. 46, p. 765, says that a son of Herod ἐν φυγῇ διέτελει παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξιν Γαλάταις λαβῶν οἰκισιν. Vienne, south of Lyons, was the capital of the Allobrogi.—As regards the chronology, Dio Cassius, lv. 27, places the banishment of Archelaus in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, A.D. 6. With this agree the statements of Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2, that it occurred in the tenth year, or, according to the *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3, in the ninth year of Archelaus.—According to a statement of Jerome, the grave of Archelaus was pointed out near Bethlehem (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 101: “sed et propter eandem Bethlehem regis quondam Judaeae Archelai tumulus ostenditur”). If this be correct, he must have died in Palestine.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5, xviii. 1. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1

other hand, had scarcely any appreciation of what was peculiar to the Jewish nationality. As the religious views of the Pharisees and the accumulation of traditions which encompassed the daily life of the people like a net were altogether unknown to the Romans, they could not at all understand how a whole people would offer the most persistent resistance even unto death, and would suffer annihilation on account of merely ceremonial rites and what seemed matters of indifference. The Jews again saw in the simplest rules of administration, such as the proposal of a census made at the very beginning, an encroachment upon the most sacred rights of the people, and from day to day the feeling more and more gained ground that the immediate government of the Romans, which at the death of Herod they had wished for,¹⁵ was irreconcilable with the principles of the theocracy. Thus, even had there been the best of intentions on both sides, the relations inevitably became strained and ultimately hostile. But this good-will was only partially exhibited. Those at the head of the government, with the exception of the times of Caligula, were indeed ready on their part to make concessions and to exercise forbearance in a very large measure. But their good intentions were always rendered nugatory by the perversity of the procurators, not infrequently also by gross miscarriage of justice on the part of these officials. Those subordinate officers, like all petty governors, were usually puffed up by a consciousness of their absolute authority, and by their insolent demeanour at last drove the oppressed and burdened people to such a pitch of excitement that they rushed headlong with wild fanaticism into a war that plainly involved annihilation.

Seeing that the political affairs of Judea during the period

¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 2,

A.D. 6–41 were in all essential respects the same as those of Palestine generally during the period A.D. 44–66, in the following exposition we take the two periods together, and make use of materials from the one period as well as from the other.¹⁶

Judea, and subsequently all Palestine, was not in the strict sense of the term incorporated with the province of Syria, but had a governor of its own of equestrian rank, who stood only to a certain extent in dependence upon the imperial legate of Syria.¹⁷ It therefore belonged to the third class of imperial provinces, according to Strabo's classification.¹⁸ And this third class is to be regarded as an exception to the rule; for most of the imperial provinces were, just like the senatorial provinces, administered by men of senatorial rank; the greater provinces, like that of Syria, by men who had been consuls, the smaller ones, by those who had been praetors.¹⁹ Only a few particular provinces were in an exceptional manner placed under governors of equestrian rank, namely, those in which, on account of special tenacity in adhering to peculiar national customs, or on account of the rudeness and

¹⁶ Compare Sibranda, *De statu Judaeae provinciae sub procuratoribus*, Francq. 1698 (also in *Thesaurus novus theol.-philol.*, edd. Hase et Iken, ii. 529 sqq.).—Krenkel, art. "Verwaltung" in Schenkel's *Bibellesikon*, v. 601 f.; Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Römer;" Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 509 ff.; and generally the literature referred to on p. 38 of this volume.

¹⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1: τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελαίου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης ἐπίτροπός τις [l. τῆς] ἱππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξεως Κοπώνιος πέμπεται.—*Antt.* xviii. 1. 1: Κοπώνιος . . . τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ.

¹⁸ Strabo, xvii. 3. 25, p. 840: εἰς ᾧ μὲν πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους Ἰπατικὸὺς ἀνδρας, εἰς ᾧ δὲ στρατηγικοὺς, εἰς ᾧ δὲ καὶ ἱππικοὺς.

¹⁹ For further details, see vol. i. p. 347 of this work.—The designation of the imperial governor of Syria as "proconsul," as is done by many theologians (e.g. Gerlach, Hausrath, Krenkel), is an offence against the very rudiments of Roman antiquities. Only during the time of Pompey, down to B.C. 48, was Syria governed by "proconsuls."

savage state of the country, the government could not be carried on by the usual methods. The best known example is that of Egypt. Elsewhere there were also territories inhabited by a still semi-barbarous people which were administered in this manner.²⁰

The usual title for such an equestrian governor was *procurator*, ἐπίτροπος.²¹ It seems indeed that Augustus, not only in Egypt, but elsewhere as well, preferred the title *praefectus*, ἑπαρχος.²² Very soon, however, at farthest in the time of Claudius, except in the case of Egypt, the title *procurator* had become the prevailing one. Josephus, as a rule, designates the governor of Judea ἐπίτροπος, sometimes ἑπαρχος or ἡγεμών.²³ In the New Testament, ἡγεμών = *praeses*, is the term usually employed.²⁴ That ἐπίτροπος (*procurator*) is the correct title may be also proved by

²⁰ The most important, besides Egypt, are mentioned by Tacitus, *History*, i. 11: "duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur." A complete list is given by Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 419-423.—Compare also, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 554 f.; Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. 1886, pp. 26-30.

²¹ Compare generally on the Praesidial-Procurators: Mascovius, *De procuratore Caesaris*, Altorf. 1724 (also in his *Opuscula jurid. et philol.* 1776, pp. 1-30); Rein, art. "Procurator Caesaris" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 88-90; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, ii. 276 ff. (art. "Procuratoren"); Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. 1, 1881, p. 554 ff.—The most comprehensive treatment of the subject is given by Hirschfeld, *Die ritterlichen Provinzialstatthalter* (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 417-442).

²² See with reference to this matter, Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1889, pp. 425-427.

²³ Ἐπίτροπος in the following passages: *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, 9. 2, 11. 6 (in the parallel passage, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2: ἑπαρχος); *Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8. ἐπιτροπέων, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1. ἐπιτροπή, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1 *fin.*, 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1, 14. 1.—ἑπαρχος, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2, xix. 9. 2 (in parallel passage, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6: ἐπίτροπος).—ἡγεμόμενος, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1. ἡγεμών, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1. προστηγόμενος, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1.—ἐπιμελητής, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2.—ἐπαρχος, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10 *fin.*

²⁴ Matt. xxvii. 2, 11, 14, 15, 21, 27, xxviii. 14; Luke iii. 1, xx. 20;

witnesses of another kind.²⁵ In general this title was used for all imperial finance officers, while *praefactus* was more of a military title. Such finance procurators were found also in all other provinces, in the imperial as well as the senatorial provinces.²⁶ They were chosen not only from the equestrian order, but even from among the freedmen of the emperor.²⁷ Those procurators, on the other hand, who had to administer a province, on account of the military command that was necessarily connected with such an appointment, were chosen exclusively from the ranks of the equestrians. It was an unheard of novelty when under Claudius the office of procurator of Judea was given to a freedman, Felix (see below under § 19).

The procurators of Judea seem to have been subordinate to the governor of Syria only to this extent, that it was the right and duty of the governor to interfere in the exercise of

Acts xxiii. 24, 26, 33, xxiv. 1, 10, xxvi. 30.—*ἡλεμών* means generally *praeses*, and is therefore used of governors of other orders.

²⁵ The decree of the Emperor Claudius in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 2: *Κουσιπὶ Φάδῳ τῷ ἐμῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ*.—Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44: "Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat." *Ibid.* xii. 54: "praedas ad procuratores referre . . . jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus." Cumanus and Felix are intended.—The material brought together by Hirschfeld in *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 425 f., seems to me insufficient to ground upon it the conclusion "that in Judea also in the earlier days of the empire the title of *praefactus* was used," although this may be admitted as possible.

²⁶ Marquardt, i. 555 f.

²⁷ Compare on these finance procurators (besides the literature given in note 21): Eichhorst, *Quaestionum epigraphicarum de procuratoribus imperatorum Romanorum specimen*, 1861; Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Bd. 1, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 1887 (a well-informing treatise); Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*, i., *Die Laufbahn der Procuratoren bis auf die Zeit Diocletians*, 1886.—Much material is supplied in the Indices to the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, Index, p. 36 (*s.v.* ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ). Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, Index, *s.v.* procurator; Dirksen, *Manuale latinistis fontium iuris civ. Rom.* (1837), *s.v.* procurator.

his supreme power in cases of necessity.²⁸ Writers have indeed sometimes expressed themselves as if Judea had been incorporated into the province of Syria. But they do not continue consistent to such a view.²⁹ The investing the procurator with a military command, and with independent jurisdiction, of itself conferred upon him a position, in virtue of which he was, in regard to ordinary transactions within the limits of his province, as independent as the governors of other provinces. On the other hand, the governor of Syria had the right, according to his own discretion, to interfere if he had reason to fear revolutionary uprisings or the appearance of other serious difficulties. He would then take command in Judea as the superior of the procurator.³⁰

²⁸ Compare Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 509, Anm.; Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 440–442.

²⁹ Josephus says, *Antiq.* xvii. *fin.*: τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελαίου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσεμεμβείσης τῇ Σύρων. But when he also, in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1, calls Judea a προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας, he evidently does not mean to describe it as a properly integral part, but only as an appendix or annex to the province of Syria. According to the *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, the territory of Archelaus had been made into a province, therefore with the privilege of independence, τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελαίου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης. In reference also to the state of matters after Agrippa's death, Josephus affirms distinctly that the governor of Syria was not set over the kingdom of Agrippa (*Antiq.* xix. 9. 2), while he immediately afterwards states that this governor had interfered in the affairs of that country (*Antiq.* xx. 1. 1).—Tacitus refers, in A.D. 17, to Syria and Judea as two provinces alongside of one another (*Annals*, ii. 42: "provinciae Suria atque Judaea), and says of the arrangements after the death of King Agrippa, *History*, v. 9: "Claudius . . . Judaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit." When, therefore, he reports this same fact in another place (*Annals*, xii. 23) in these words: "Ituraeique et Judaei defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, provinciae Suriae additi," that word *additi* is to be understood in the same way as the προσθήκη of Josephus. In no case should any one conclude, as Bormann (see under § 18 *fin.*) has done, because Tacitus introduces this statement first in A.D. 49, when he should have previously brought it forward in A.D. 44, that affairs had undergone a change in A.D. 49.—Suetonius also wrongly designates Judea a province (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28: "Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Judaeae praeposuit").

³⁰ Examples: Petronius (*Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2–9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii

Whether this superior authority went so far that he might even call the procurator to account seems questionable, since, in the two cases in which this happened, the governor concerned had been probably entrusted with a special commission.³¹

The residence of the procurator of Judea was not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea.³² Since the dwelling of the commander-in-chief or governor was called *praetorium*, the *πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου* in Caesarea (Acts xxiii. 35) was nothing else than a palace built by Herod, which served as a residence for the procurator.—On special occasions, especially during the chief Jewish feasts, when, on account of the crowds of people that streamed into Jerusalem, particularly careful oversight was necessary, the procurator went up to Jerusalem, and resided then in what had been the palace of Herod.³³ The *praetorium* at Jerusalem, in which Pilate was staying at the time of the trial and condemnation of Jesus Christ (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 33, xix. 9), is therefore just the well-known palace of Herod, on the west side of the city.³⁴ It was not only a princely dwelling, but at the same time a strong castle, in which at

10. 1-5), Cassius Longinus (*Antiq.* xx. 1. 1), Cestius Gallus (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 3, 16. 1, 18. 9 ff.).

³¹ Of Vitellius, who deposed Pilate (*Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2), Tacitus (*Annals*, vi. 32) says: "Cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit." Of Ummidius Quadratus, who sent Cumanus to Rome (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 6), it is expressly said in Tacitus (*Annals*, xii. 54): "Claudius . . . jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat."

³² Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 2 (Pilate); *Antiq.* xx. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 2 (Cumanus); Acts xxiii. 23-33 (Felix); Acts xxv. 1-13 (Festus); Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4 *fin.*, 15. 6 *fin.*, 17. 1 (Florus). Tacitus, *History*, ii. 78: "Caesaream . . . Judaeae caput."

³³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 8, 15. 5; Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 38 (ed. Mangey, ii. 589 sq.).

³⁴ Compare the art. "Richthaus" in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, and Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*.

times (during the rebellion in B.C. 4, and again in A.D. 66) large detachments of troops could maintain their position against the assaults of the whole mass of the people.³⁵ Hence, also, during the residence there of the procurator, the detachment of troops accompanying him had their quarters within its walls (Mark xv. 16).

With reference to the military arrangements, it deserves specially to be remembered that the Roman army of the days of the empire was divided into two divisions of a thoroughly distinct kind: the legions and the auxiliaries.³⁶ The legions formed the proper core of the troops, and consisted only of Roman citizens, for those provincials who served in the legions had obtained citizen rights. Each legion formed a compact whole of ten cohorts, or sixty centuries, altogether embracing from 5000 to 6000 men.³⁷ The auxiliary troops consisted of provincials who, at least in the early days of the empire, did not as a rule possess the right of citizenship. Their arms were lighter and less harmonious than those of the legions; often in this they were allowed to follow their own national usages. Their infantry was formed into cohorts, whose strength varied from 500 to 1000 men; the cavalry was formed into *alae*, of similarly varying strength.³⁸ Cohorts and *alae* were named after the nation from which they had been recruited.³⁹

In regard to the provinces administered by procurators, it may, as a rule, be assumed that in them, and under the

³⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 2-3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1-4, 17. 7-8. Compare the description, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 3-4.

³⁶ Compare on the composition and nature of the Roman army generally, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 307-591.

³⁷ Marquardt, ii. 359, 441.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 453-457.

³⁹ So, to give only a few examples from Palestine and Syria, "Cohors Ascalonitarum, Canathenorum, Damascenorum, Ituraeorum, Sebastenorum, Tyrionum. Other examples in rich abundance are given in the indices to *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* A collection of materials is given by Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* v. 164-200.

command of the procurator, there would be only auxiliary troops.⁴⁰ This rule is also confirmed by the history of Judea. There were legions only in Syria; in the time of Augustus three, from the time of Tiberius four.⁴¹ But in Judea, down to the time of Vespasian, there were only auxiliary troops, and, indeed, mostly such as had been raised in the country itself.⁴² The honour and burden of this levy lay only on the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. The Jews were exempted from military service. This is abundantly proved to have been the state of matters, at least, from the time of Caesar,⁴³ and, from all that we positively know about the

⁴⁰ Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 431–437; Marquardt, ii. 518.

⁴¹ Three legions under Augustus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 10. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1, 5. 1); four under Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 5). Seeing that in Egypt under Augustus there were three legions, and under Tiberius only two, see Strabo, xvii. 1. 12, p. 797; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 5, there was meanwhile one of the Egyptian legions transferred to Syria (Pfitzner, p. 24, conjectures that it was the *Legio XII. Fulm.*).—Of the four Syrian legions only two are known with certainty: the *Legio VI. Ferrata* (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 79, 81, xiii. 38, 40, xv. 6, 26) and the *Legio X. Fretensis* (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 57, xiii. 40, xv. 6). The other two were probably the *Legio III. Gallica* (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 40, xv. 6, 26; it had, according to Tacitus, *History*, iii. 24, already fought under Mark Antony against the Parthians) and the *Legio XII. Fulminata* (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 6, 7, 10, 26).—See especially Mommsen, *Res gestae div. Augusti*, 2 ed. 1883, p. 68, note 2. Generally: Grotefend, art. “Legio” in Pauly’s *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 868–901; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 430 ff.; Stille, *Historia legionum auxiliorumque inde ab excessu divi Augusti usque ad Vespasiani tempora*, Kiliae 1877; Pfitzner, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen von Augustus bis Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1881.

⁴² Compare in reference to the garrisoning of Judea down to the time of Vespasian, Schürer, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xviii. 1875, pp. 413–425; Egli, *Zeitschrift*, xxvii. 1884, pp. 10–22; Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 1884, p. 217, Anm.; Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 433 f.

⁴³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6: καὶ ὅπως μὴδὲις μῆτε ἀρχῶν μῆτε στρατηγῶς ἢ πρεσβευτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνιστά [codd. ἀνιστά] συμμαχίαν. Also Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 501, Anm.—The Jews of Asia Minor were freed from the conscription for military service of the Pompeians in B.C. 49 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19),

Palestinian troops down to the days of Vespasian, may also be assumed as certain throughout the imperial period. Remarkable as this unequal treatment of the population may appear to us, it is in thorough correspondence with what is otherwise known regarding the Roman procedure in the conscription. Indeed, in regard to the use made of the inhabitants and the confidence reposed in them, the provinces were treated in very diverse ways and varying measures in the matter of military service.⁴⁴

For the period A.D. 6–41 we are without any direct information about the troops stationed in Judea. But it is highly probable that the *Sebastians*, *i.e.* the soldiers drafted in the region of Sebaste or Samaria, whom we meet with subsequently, constituted even then a considerable portion of the garrison. In the struggles which followed the death of Herod in B.C. 4, the best equipped part of the troops of Herod fought on the side of the Romans, namely, the *Σεβαστηνοὶ τρισχίλιοι*, under the command of Rufus and Gratus, the former of whom commanded the cavalry, the latter the infantry.⁴⁵ The troops thus proved would be undoubtedly retained by Archelaus, and it is highly probable that, after his deposition in A.D. 6, they would be taken over by the Romans, then, from A.D. 41 to A.D. 44, by Agrippa, and after his death again by the Romans. The following also speaks in favour of this supposition. At the death of Agrippa in A.D. 44, the troops of the king stationed in Caesarea, which were *Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοί*, gave expression in a very unseemly manner to their joy at the death of the ruler that

and this remission was confirmed to them six years later, in B.C. 43, by Dolabella (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 11–12). Compare Div. II. vol. ii. 264.

⁴⁴ Compare Mommsen, "Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit" (*Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, pp. 1–79, 210–234).

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 4, 4. 2–3. Compare *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 3 ff.

had shown himself friendly to the Jews. In order to show respect to the memory of Agrippa, the emperor ordered these troops, namely, τὴν ἰλὴν τῶν Καίσαρέων καὶ τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας (therefore an *ala* of cavalry and five cohorts), to be sent by way of punishment to Pontus. On their presenting a petition, however, it was agreed that they should remain in Judea, from which they were first removed by Vespasian.⁴⁶ From this it appears that the troops of Agrippa were certainly taken over by the Romans.⁴⁷ From this it may be inferred that in the same way they were taken over after the deposition of Archelaus. It is also somewhat remarkable that the one *ala* of cavalry and five cohorts of infantry, if we reckon the latter at 500 men, would make together a force of 3000 men, which is the same number as is ascribed to the Sebastian troops of B.C. 4.—During the period A.D. 44–66 these troops are often referred to. The procurator Cumanus led the *ala Sebastenorum* and four cohorts of infantry from Caesarea against the Jews.⁴⁸ During the struggles between the Jewish and Gentile inhabitants of Caesarea, the latter boasted of the fact that the Roman troops in Caesarea consisted in great part of Caesareans and Sebastians.⁴⁹ Finally, in A.D. 67, Vespasian was able to draft into his army from Caesarea five cohorts and one *alà* of cavalry; ⁵⁰ therefore the same detachments as were there in A.D. 44. Probably also the Sebasteni so often referred to on the

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1–2.

⁴⁷ Analogous cases are also known elsewhere. See Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 51, 217 f.

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1 : τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἰλὴν καὶ πεζῶν τέσσαρα τάγματα ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 5 : μίαν ἰλὴν ἱππέων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν.

⁴⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 7 : μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐκείσε στρατευομένων Καίσαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνοὺς. In the parallel passage, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 7, "Syrians" is the word in the received text.

⁵⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2.

inscriptions are identical with our Sebastian troops.⁵¹ Also the *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή*, which at the time of the imprisonment of Paul, about A.D. 60, lay in Caesarea (Acts xxvii. 1), is undoubtedly one of the five cohorts which we hear about from Josephus. Many theologians, however, have erroneously come to the conclusion that the expression *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή* is synonymous with *σπεῖρα Σεβαστηνῶν*. This is not possible. *Σεβαστή* is rather an exact translation of *Augusta*, a title of honour very frequently bestowed upon auxiliary troops. The cohort in question was therefore probably called *cohors Augusta Sebastenorum*. In Caesarea it was called simply *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή*, since this sufficed to distinguish it from others.⁵²—It is, on the other hand, remarkable, after other results we have reached, that in Caesarea, about A.D. 40, a *σπεῖρα Ἰταλική* should have been stationed (Acts x. 1), by which probably a cohort of Roman citizens of Italy is to

⁵¹ We meet with : *ala I. Flavia Sabastenorum* (*Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 390, n. 699), *ala gemina Sebastenorum* (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 9358, 9359), *ala Sebastenorum* (*Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 469, n. 1000), *cohors I. Sabastenorum* (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2916, whether the figure I. is the correct reading is, according to another copy, doubtful ; see *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. p. 113, n. 370).—Although the name of Sebaste was given to other cities, it is yet probable, on account of the material afforded by Josephus, that these troops were drawn from the Palestinian city. So also Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 217. The conjecture there ventured upon by Mommsen, that among the five cohorts in Caesarea there were a *cohors Ascalonitarum* and a *cohors Canathenorum* is, however, impossible, since these five cohorts for the most part consisted of Caesareans and Sebastians.

⁵² Further details on these matters will be found in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 416–419. — The title of honour, *Augusta*, which was borne by three legions, is rendered by the geographer Ptolemy by the word *Σεβαστή* (Ptolemy, ii. 3. 30, iv. 3. 30, ii. 9. 18). It is therefore not to be wondered at that this same title should have been similarly rendered in the case of an auxiliary cohort.—When the *ala* referred to by Josephus, although it consisted of Caesareans and Sebastians (*Antiq.* xix. 9. 2), is yet only called *ala Sebastenorum* (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 5), so likewise with the cohorts of similar composition the same meaning may be assumed, therefore *cohortes Sebastenorum*. The inscriptions also favour this view

be understood.⁵³ Such a band would naturally not have served in Caesarea during the period A.D. 41–44 under the Jewish king Agrippa. But even in reference to a later period, it is after the above made investigations not probable. The story of the centurion Cornelius lies, therefore, in this respect under suspicion, the circumstances of a later period having been transferred back to an earlier period. That at some time or other a *cohors Italica* was in Syria is made perfectly clear by the evidence of an inscription (see note 53).

We have hitherto become acquainted only with the state of the garrison of Caesarea. In other cities and towns of Palestine there were also small garrisons. At the outbreak of the Jewish war in A.D. 66, we find, for example, a Roman garrison in the fortified castle of Jericho and in Machärus.⁵⁴ Throughout Samaria such detachments were stationed.⁵⁵ In the Great Plain there was a *decurio*; ⁵⁶ in Ascalon (which, however, did not belong to the domains of the procurator) there were a cohort and an *ala*.⁵⁷ Vespasian, in the winter of A.D. 67–68, placed garrisons in all conquered villages and towns; those in the former under the command of Decurions, those in the latter under the command of Centurions.⁵⁸ This

⁵³ Compare *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 422–425. —On inscriptions we meet with (see proofs in Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 249): “Cohors I. Italica civium Romanorum voluntariorum” (*Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. xiv. n. 181*); “Cohors miliaria Italica voluntariorum quae est in Syria” (Gruter, *Corp. Inscr.* p. 434, n. 1); “Cohors II. Italica” (*Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. vi. n. 3528*). —In a passage in Arrian (“Acies contra Alonas” in *Arriani Scripta minora*, ed. Hercher, 1854) the expression ἡ σπειρα ἡ Ἰταλική is interchanged with οἱ Ἰταλοί (ed. Blancard, pp. 102 and 99). According to this and according to the first-named inscription, it is probable that a *cohors Italica* consisted of Roman citizens of Italy.

⁵⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6.

⁵⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 32: φρουραῖς ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ὅλη διέληπτο.

⁵⁶ Josephus, *Life*, 24: Αἰβούτιος ὁ δεκάδρχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τῆς προστασίας πεπιστευμένος.

⁵⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 8. 1.

was indeed an extraordinary proceeding, which we are not to regard as the rule in time of peace.

In Jerusalem there was stationed only one cohort. For the *χιλίαρχος*, so often referred to in the Acts of the Apostles (more exactly, Acts xxi. 31: *χιλίαρχος τῆς σπείρης*, "One having command of the cohort"), appears throughout as the officer holding the chief command in Jerusalem.⁵⁹ With this also Josephus' statement agrees, that in the fortress of Antonia a *τάγμα* of the Romans regularly lay,⁶⁰ for the *τάγμα* there means, not as it often does, a legion, but, as in the passage quoted in note 48, a cohort. The fort of Antonia, which Josephus describes as the regular quarters of the detachment, lay to the north of the temple. At two points, stairs (*καταβάσεις*) led down from the fort Antonia to the court of the temple.⁶¹ This is just the position given it in the Acts of the Apostles. For when Paul, during the tumult in the temple, had been taken by the soldiers for his own safety and was being carried thence into the barracks (*παρεμβολή*), he was on account of the pressure of the crowd borne by the soldiers up the steps (*τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς*), and then, with the permission of the chiliarch, he made from these steps a speech to the people (Acts xxi. 31–40).⁶² The officer in command at fort Antonia, who is certainly identical with the chiliarch, is also called by Josephus *φρούραρχος*.⁶³ The direct connection between the fort and the court of the temple was of importance, since the latter required to be under constant supervision. At the chief feasts, guards were

⁵⁹ Acts xxi. 31–37; chaps. xxii. 24–29, xxiii. 10, 15–22, xxiv. 7. 22.

⁶⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8: *καθῆστο γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων*.

⁶¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8.

⁶² The *παρεμβολή*, barracks or "castle," as in the English version, is referred to in Acts xxi. 34, 37, xxii. 24, xxiii. 10, 16, 32.

⁶³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 4, xviii. 4. 2

stationed in the corridors which surrounded the temple.⁶⁴ —From one passage in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xxiii. 23) we see that there was a detachment of cavalry along with the Jerusalem cohort, an arrangement that very frequently existed.⁶⁵ The precise character and position of the δεξιολάβοι (from λαβή, "the grip," therefore: "those who grasped their weapons by the right hand"), mentioned in that passage (xxiii. 23) as accompanying the regular soldiers and cavalry, are somewhat obscure. Seeing that the expression occurs elsewhere in Greek literature only twice, and even then appears without explanation, we are no longer in a position to explain it. This much only is certain, that it designated a special class of light-armed soldiers (javelin-throwers or slingers).⁶⁶

After the great war of A.D. 66–73 the garrison arrangements of Palestine were essentially changed. The governor was then no longer a procurator of the equestrian order, but a legate of senatorial rank (in the earlier period, one who had been praetor; in the later period, one who had been consul). On the site of the destroyed Jerusalem a legion, the *legio X. Fretensis*, had its headquarters (see under § 20, toward the end). The native troops, which for decades had formed the garrison of Caesarea, were drafted by Vespasian to other provinces.⁶⁷ In their place were put auxiliary troops of foreign origin, drawn in part from the farthest lands of the West.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8; *Antiq.* xx. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11.

⁶⁵ Accordingly *cohortes peditatae* and *equitatae* ought to be distinguished. See Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 455.

⁶⁶ What is known on these matters, or either is not known, is well treated by Meyer in his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. A fanciful explanation is attempted by Egli, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1884, p. 21.

⁶⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2.

⁶⁸ On a military order of A.D. 86 (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 857, Dipl. xiv.) the veterans are referred to who had served in Judea, and that "in alis duabus quae appellantur veterana Gaetulorum et I. Thracum

Besides the troops forming the standing army, the provincial governors sometimes organized a militia, *i.e.* in special cases of need those of the people capable of bearing arms were drafted into military service, without being permanently organized as a part of the army. An instance of this sort occurred in the arming of the Samaritans by Cumanus on the occasion of the war against the Jews.⁶⁹

Like the governors of senatorial rank, the procurators also had, besides the supreme military command, supreme judicial authority within their province.⁷⁰ This authority was exercised by the procurators of Judea only in extraordinary cases; for the ordinary administration of the law, both in criminal and in civil matters, was left in the hands of the native and local courts (see Div. II. vol. i. 184–190).^{70a}—The range of the procurator's judicial jurisdiction extended also to the right of deciding matters of life and death, *jus gladii* or *potestas gladii*.⁷¹ That this also is true of the

Mauretana et cohortibus quattuor I. Augusta Lusitanorum et I. et II. Thracum et II. Cantabrorum.”—Even Herod the Great had called in the aid of Thracian troops (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 9).

⁶⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1: ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἰλὴν καὶ πεζῶν πίσσαρα τάγματα, τοὺς τε Σαμαρείτας καθολίσας. Other examples in Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 520 f.—With these temporary organizations the provincial militia, met with especially in the later days of the empire, which formed a third class of the standing army alongside of the legionaries and the auxiliaries, should not be confounded. See with reference to that militia: Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 1884, p. 219 ff., xxii. 1887, p. 547 ff.

⁷⁰ See with reference to the procurators: Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 437–439.

^{70a} On the question as to how far what has been said applies also to the administration of law in the provinces, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1, p. 244: “The ordinary criminal jurisdiction was in the provinces left in the hands of the particular communities; whereas the courts of the governor, like the consular courts in Italy, are to be regarded, at least formally, as extraordinary.”

⁷¹ Digest. i. 18. 6. 8 (from Ulpian, beginning of the third century after Christ): “Qui universas provincias regunt, *jus gladii* habent et in metallum dandi potestas eis permissa est.”—The technical expression

governors is proved by several inscriptions.⁷² With reference to Judea, Josephus says expressly that the procurator had μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν ἐξουσίαν.⁷³ This right of the governor over life and death down to the third century after Christ extended even to the case of Roman citizens, with this restriction, however, that such a one had the right of appealing against the sentence of the governor to the emperor.⁷⁴

jus gladii is also used in Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri Severi*, c. 49 (*honores juris gladii*); Firmicus Maternus *Mathesius*, iii. 5. 5 (ed. Basil. 1533, p. 55: "in magnis administrationibus juris gladii decernit potestatem"), and in the passages quoted in the next note. Something will also be found in Forcellini, *Lexicon*, s.v. *gladius*. Elsewhere also *potestas gladii* occurs in *Digest*. i. 16. 6 pr.=L. 17. 70; ii. 1. 3 (all from Ulpian).—The technical use of both expressions previous to the beginning of the third century after Christ does not seem capable of proof. The *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* belong to A.D. 201–209. See article "Perpetua" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*. Also the inscriptions scarcely reach farther back than this.—Literature on the *jus gladii* may be found in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, articles, "gladius" and "imperium merum."

⁷² See the collection of passages in Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* i. 1881, p. 557, Anm. 3; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1, 1874, p. 246; Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 438.—Only two inscriptions can properly be referred to here: Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 3888=*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ix. n. 5439: "proc. Alpium Atractianar(um) et Poeninar(um) jur(e) glad(ii);" and *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* viii. n. 9367; compare *Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 461, n. 968: "praeses (scil. Mauretaniae Caesariensis) jure gla(dii)."—Of another kind are the two following instances: Orelli, n. 3664=*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ii. n. 484: "proc. prov. M[oe]siae inferioris, ejusdem provinciae jus gladii;" and *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. n. 1919: "proc. centenarius provinciae Li[burniae] jure ?] gladii." Seeing that elsewhere a governor of superior rank is assigned to the Moerians and Liburnians, the procurators here referred to "must undoubtedly have exercised the right of inflicting capital sentence only as quite exceptional authority" (Hirschfeld). This at least is perfectly plain in regard to the finance procurator of Africa, who at the time of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas exercised the *jus gladii* as interim occupant of the office of the deceased proconsul. See *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas*, c. 6 (in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, ed. 2, 1713, p. 95; also in Münter, *Primordia ecclesiae Africanae*, 1829, p. 234): "Hilarianus procurator, qui tunc loco proconsulis Minuci Timiniani defuncti jus gladii acceperat."

⁷³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1.

⁷⁴ Compare Div. II. vol. ii. p. 278, and the literature quoted in note

In the earlier days of the empire, it would seem that a Roman citizen accused of an offence constituting a capital charge had the important privilege of appealing to the emperor, even at the beginning of the proceedings and any subsequent stage of the trial, claiming that the investigation be carried on at Rome and the judgment pronounced by the emperor himself.⁷⁵ The governor's absolute penal jurisdiction

196, to which may be also added, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 2, pp. 908-910; Merkel, *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete des römischen Rechts*, 2 Heft: *Ueber die Geschichte der klassischen Appellation*, 1883 (pp. 76-81 treats of the proceedings against Paul).

⁷⁵ Acts xxv. 10 ff., 21, xxvi. 32. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96 (*al.* 97): "Fuerunt alii similis amentiae, quos quia cives Romani erant adnotavi in urbem remittendos." Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1. 244-246.—Notwithstanding the small number of examples, the above statement (which, in Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 278, 279, I characterized as not quite certain) ought to admit of no doubt. The most important case is that of the Apostle Paul. From it we may conclude that the governor was not obliged in all circumstances to send accused Roman citizens to Rome for judgment; for the procurator by his own authority takes up the case of Paul though he was aware of his Roman citizenship (according to Acts xxii. 25 ff., xxiii. 27); and Paul allows matters to proceed without protesting against this. Only after two years Paul speaks the word that determines his future course: Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι (Acts xxv. 11). We must therefore suppose that the procurator could judge even a Roman citizen, unless his prisoner lodged a protest. Only if the accused himself made the claim to be judged in Rome, was the governor obliged to give effect to his claim. But that the governor could himself do that is perfectly conceivable. For he was in every respect the representative of the emperor; even his tribunal was called "Caesar's judgment-seat" (Acts xxv. 10: ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος εἶμι). It is therefore quite conceivable that an accused Roman citizen might voluntarily submit himself to such a tribunal as Paul at first did; for the imperial tribunal of the governor afforded in ordinary circumstances the same protection as the imperial tribunal at Rome, and there could be no pleasure in merely lengthening out the proceedings by a journey to Rome. Only if the accused did not trust the impartiality of the governor, had he any interest in claiming the transference of the trial to Rome. Paul makes use of this privilege, when he sees that the procurator is going to judge him in accordance with Jewish ideas.—That this privilege extended only to Roman citizens and not to all provincials may be held as certain, although Paul in his appeal does not make mention of his citizenship (Acts xxv. 10 ff.). Provincials were judged by the procurator without any right of appeal (Josephus,

therefore applied only to provincials. It was a gross violation of the law when Florus in Jerusalem, in A.D. 66, had the Jews crucified who were in possession of equestrian rank.⁷⁶ But even provincials might be sent by the governor for trial to Rome, if he wished on account of the difficulty of the case to have the decision of the emperor.⁷⁷—The fact known from the Gospels, that the procurator of Judea at the feast of the Passover set free a prisoner, was grounded indeed on a special authorization of the emperor; for the right of remitting a sentence was not otherwise given to the governors.⁷⁸

Although the governor, as sole judge, had to give the decision, he frequently availed himself of the advice of his *comites*. These were partly the higher officials of his court, partly the younger people, who, for the sake of their own training, accompanied the governor. They supported him, not only in administrative matters, but also assisted him in the execution of the law as *consilium*, συμβούλιον (Acts xxv. 12).⁷⁹

Antiq. xx. 1. 1, 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2). This appears also in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ by Pilate.

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 9.

⁷⁷ Examples: Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 6 (Ummidius Quadratus sent the most distinguished of the Jews and the Samaritans to Rome); *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2 (Felix sent Eleasar and other Zealots); Josephus, *Life*, 3 (Felix sent some of the Jewish priests).

⁷⁸ See Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 439. On the right of granting pardon generally: Merkel, *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete des römischen Rechts*, 1 Heft, 1881.

⁷⁹ Caesar's decree nominating Hyrcanus begins (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2): 'Ιούλιος Καῖσαρ . . . μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινεα.—Sueton. *Tiber.* 33: "magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium."—The details of a consultation which Petronius, as governor of Syria, held with his *assessores* are described by Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 582 sq. (sec. 33 = ii. 582: ἐπεξάναστας δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ πρακτέα . . . τινες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι . . . sec. 34 *init.* = ii. 583 *fin.*: ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν συνέδρων κελεύει γράφεσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς).—Lamprid. *Vita Alexandri Severi*, c. 46: "Adessoribus salaria instituit."—*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. ii. n.

The execution of the death sentence was, as a rule, carried out by soldiers. Le Blant has, indeed, in a learned dissertation, sought to prove that those appointed to this duty were not soldiers, but belonging to the class of *apparitores*, i.e. the non-military servants of the governor.⁸⁰ But the opposite opinion, at least with regard to capital sentences pronounced by the imperial governors, must be considered as absolutely certain.⁸¹ The imperial governors were military administrators; their judicial power therefore the outcome of their military authority.⁸² It is, however, unquestionable, and is not disputed even by Le Blant, that the death sentences on soldiers were 2129: "comes et adsector legati ad [census accip. ?], comes et adsector procos. provinciae Galliae [Narbon.]."—The most distinct account of the meeting of such a council is given us in a judgment decree; the proconsul of Sardinia of A.D. 68 (contained in a bronze tablet inscription, communicated by Mommsen, *Hermes* ii. 1867, pp. 102-127). It also contains the following statement in the form of a protocol: "In consilio fuerunt M. Julius Romulus leg. pro pr., T. Atilius Sabinus q. pro pr., M. Stertinus Rufus f., Sex. Aelius Modestus, P. Lucretius Clemens, M. Domitius Vitalis, M. Lusius Fidus, M. Stertinus Rufus." Therefore, besides the legate and quaestor, there were other six advisers. Compare generally: Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses* (1842), p. 243 ff.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv. 1870, p. 123; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 531 ff.; the commentators on Acts xxv. 12; and the Lexicons to the New Testament on the word *συμβούλιον*.

⁸⁰ Le Blant, "Recherches sur les bourreaux du Christ et sur les agents chargés des exécutions capitales chez les Romains" (*Mémoires de l'Académie des inscr. et belles-lettres*, xxvi. 2, 1870, pp. 137-150).—On the *apparitores* generally, see Mommsen, "De apparitoribus magistratuum Romanorum" (*Rhein. Museum*, vi. 1848, pp. 1-57); Pauley's *Real-Encyclopaedia*, article "apparitores;" Naudet, "Mémoire sur la cohorte du préteur et le personnel administratif dans les provinces romaines" (*Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr.* xxvi. 2, pp. 499-555); Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. i. 250-293; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 533.—To the class of these *apparitores* belong the *scribae*, *lictores*, *accensi*, *nomenclatores*, *viatores*, *praecones*.

⁸¹ Against Le Blant, see Naudet, "Mémoire sur cette double question: 1. thèse particulière, Sont-ce des soldats qui ont crucifié Jesus-Christ? 2. thèse générale, Les soldats romains prenaient-ils une part active dans les supplices?" *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr.* xxvi. 2, 1870, pp. 151-187).—Also Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses*, p. 671 f.; Rein in Pauley's *Real-Encyclopaedia*, vi. l. 1046, article "sententia."

⁸² Dio Cassius, liii. 13; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. l. 245.

executed by soldiers.⁸³ According to Le Blant's view, this inference should be drawn from that fact, namely, that the governor carried out the death sentences on soldiers by different parties than those employed upon civilians. This, in view of the military character of his judicial authority, is extremely improbable, and it even forms a positive proof for the opposite theory. The many executions of distinguished men and women in the times of Claudius and Nero were carried out by military men, some of them officers of high rank.⁸⁴ Numerous examples of a similar kind might be cited from the history of the following emperors.⁸⁵ Although these cases might not apply to ordinary courts, yet this much is clear, that the carrying out of executions by soldiers was not opposed to Roman sentiment. But further, not infrequently *speculatores* are spoken of as executing the condemned.⁸⁶ These were certainly soldiers; for (1) the *specu-*

⁸³ See, e.g., Suetonius, *Caligula*, 32: "Saepe in conspectu prandentis vel comissantis . . . miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat."—Tertullian asks in his treatise, *De corona militis*, c. 11, in order to show the incompatibility of military service with the faith of a Christian: "et vincula et carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit, nec suarum ultor injuriarum?" The passage proves at least that soldiers were employed at the carrying out of death sentences, even if we should here with Le Blant refuse to believe that this implies more than their employment at soldiers' executions.

⁸⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 37 f., xii. 22, xiv. 8, 59, xv. 59 ff., 64, 67, 69.

⁸⁵ Naudet, *l.c.* p. 171.

⁸⁶ Mark vi. 27: ἀποστείλας ὁ βασιλεὺς σπεκουλάτορα ἐπέταξεν ἐνέγκαι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.—Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 18. 4: "Tunc centurio supplicio praepositus condere gladium speculatorem jubet."—Idem, *De beneficiis*, iii. 25: "speculatoribus occurrit nihilque se deprecari, quominus imperata peragerent, dixit et deinde cervicem porrexit."—*Firmicus Maternus Mathes.* viii. 26 (ed. Basil. 1533, p. 234): "speculatores faciet, qui nudato gladio hominum amputent cervices."—*Digest.* xlviii. 20. 6 (aus Ulpian): "neque speculatores ultro sibi vindicent neque optiones [optio in military language = the servant of a Centurio oder Decurio] ea desiderent, quibus spoliatur, quo momento quis punitus est." The soldiers engaged at the executions were therefore in later times no longer allowed, as in the times of Christ, to part the garments of the executed person among them.—Jerome, *Epist.* 1 ad *Innocentium*, c. 8:

latores are frequently described as holding a military office; ⁸⁷ and (2) in several of the passages quoted the *speculatores*

"jam spiculator exterritus et non credens ferro, mucromen aptabat in jugulum," etc.—*Acta Cypriani*, c. 5 (see Ruinart, *Acta martyrum*, ed. 2, 1713, p. 218: "cum venisset autem spiculator," etc.—*Acta Claudii, Asterii et alior.* c. 4 (Ruinart, p. 268): "Euthalius commentariensis dixit . . . Archelaus spiculator dixit." See also c. 5 s. *fin.* (Ruinart, p. 269).—*Acta Rogatiani et Donatiani*, c. 6 (Ruinart, p. 282): "adhuc ministris imperans, ut post expensa supplicia a spiculatore capite truncarentur. Tunc lictoris insania . . . lancea militari perfossas cervices beatissimorum gladio vibrante praecidit."—Linus, *De passione Petri et Pauli*, lib. ii. s. *fin.* (*Bibliotheca maxima patrum Lugd.* t. ii. p. 73): "Spiculator vero in altum brachia elevans eum tota vi percussit et caput ejus abscidit . . . statimque de corpore ejus unda lactis in vestimenta militis exiluit."—*Vita Bacchi junioris martyris*, ed. Combefis. p. 114 (I give the quotation according to Du Cange, *Glossar.*): Αὐστηρότερόν τε τὸν σπεκουλάτορα ὑποβλεψάμενος ἔφη. Τέμνε τρικατάρατε.—In rabbinical literature also we often meet with ספּקלָטוּר in the sense of "executioner." See especially the passages quoted *in extenso* in Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 573; Schoettgen, *Horae hebr. ad Marc.* vi. 27; Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.; also Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, s.v.—In some glossaries σπεκουλάτωρ is interpreted by ἀποκεφαλίζων, ἀποκεφαλιστής (Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum* on Mark vi. 27; Schleusner, *Lexicon in N.T.* s.v.).—The form *spiculator* is a corruption from *speculator*, which is proved by many inscriptions having the correct form. It cannot be derived from *spiculum*, for then we should have expected *spiculatus*, according to the analogy of *pilatus*, *lornicatus*, *hastatus* (Fritzsche, *Evangel. Marc.* p. 232 sq.).

⁸⁷ *Speculator* means indeed generally "spy, watcher" (e.g. Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* ii. 25: "speculatorem vineae vel horti tui; also in Jerome's translation of Isa. lvi. 10; Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. xxxiii. 7; Hos. ix. 8). But most frequently we meet with *speculatores* in connection with military matters, as spies (Livy, xxii. 33; Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* ii. 11; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 27) and swift messengers (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 44; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 73). The coalescing of the two meanings is best illustrated from Livy, xxxi. 24: "ni speculator—hemerodromos vocant Graeci, ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium—contemplatus regium agmen ex specula quadam praegressus nocte media Athenas pervenisset." It also means the bodyguard of the emperor (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 35; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 11. 33, and is hence rendered by Suidas, δορυφόρος. In the latter capacity they formed, down to Vespasian's time, a distinct corps alongside of the other praetorian cohorts (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 11. 33; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 853, Dipl. x.). In later times each praetorian cohort seems to have had a number of *speculatores* (Cauer, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. 464), as then each legion had ten *speculatores*. On inscriptions we frequently meet with *speculatores*, who served either in legions or in the

referred to are distinctly characterized as soldiers;⁸⁸ and so those elsewhere spoken of under the same title, and as discharging the same functions, will have been also soldiers. When Le Blant expressly refers to the fact that in many passages the term *speculator* is interchanged with the expression *victor*, and with other words which designate non-military offices,⁸⁹ this may be said in the first place to result from a certain laxity in the use of language. On the contrary, one would be equally justified in saying that those expressions are now also used for designating military persons.⁹⁰ In the New Testament the agents entrusted with the carrying out the

praetorian cohorts (collected by Cauer, *Ephemeris Epigr.* iv. 459-466). Their employment as executioners (see the previous note) seems to have resulted from their being bodyguards or generally custodiers of the peace. Compare generally: Laur. Lundii *Diss. de speculatore*, Hafn. 1703; Joh. Wilh. Gollingii *Diss. de speculatoribus veterum Romanorum praeside Chr. Gottl. Schwartzio*, Altorfii 1726 (also in *Thesaurus novus theol.-philol.* edd. Hase et Iken, ii. 485-412). Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et infin. Lat.*, and Forcellini, *Lex. Lat. s.v.*; Scheffele in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 1364 f.; Schleusner, *Lexicon in Nov. Test. s.v.* The commentators on the Gospel of Mark vi. 27 (especially Wetstein, *Nov. Test.*; Wolf, *Curae philol. in N. T.*; Kuinoel, Fritzsche); Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 560, ii. 530.

⁸⁸ So not only Seneca, *De ira*, i. 18. 4 (where reference is made to the execution of a soldier), but also *Acta Rogatiani et Donatiani*, c. 6 (*lancea militari*), and Linus, *De passione Petri et Pauli*, s. fin. (*vestimenta militis*). The *optiones* and *commentarienses*, referred to alongside of the *speculatores* as the agents employed in carrying out executions, were also not exclusively but yet most frequently military appointments (*optiones*, *Digest.* xlviii. 20. 6; *commentariensis*, *Acta Claudii, Asterii et aliorum*, c. 4-5). See Marquardt, ii. 527, 529 f.; Cauer, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. 441-452, 424 sq.—Theophylact in his commentary on Mark vi. 27 explains *speculator* by στρατιώτης ὃς πρὸς τὸ φονεῖν τίταται.

⁸⁹ *Speculator* and *victor* are synonymous in Jerome, *Epist. 1 ad innocentium*, c. 7-8; also in *Acta Rogatiani et Donatiani*, c. 6 (Ruinart, p. 282).

⁹⁰ The *victor* was in no case a soldier, but belonged to the class of *apparitores* (see the literature referred to in note 80). But he had in the earliest times to carry out death-sentences only upon Roman citizens; and in the days of the empire his duties in this direction did not probably extend farther. See Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, s.v.; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. i. 301 f.

sentence, both at the crucifixion of Christ and at the imprisonment of Paul, are named *στρατιῶται*, and are also plainly described as such.⁹¹

The third chief function of the procurator-governor, in addition to the command of the troops and judicial authority, was the administration of the finance department. From this, indeed, those equestrian governors got their title; for the imperial finance officials generally were called "procurators." Since everything that is of consequence about the different sorts of revenue and methods of taxation will be considered in the Excursus on the Census of Quirinius (§ 17, Excursus 1), it is not necessary here to say more than this, that the revenue of Judea as imperial province went, not into the treasury of the Senate, the *aerarium*, but into the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*.⁹² Judea therefore, in the strict sense of the word, paid its taxes "to Caesar" (Matt. xxii. 17 ff.; Mark xii. 14 ff.; Luke xx. 22 ff.), which could only in a certain degree be said of the senatorial provinces.—It was probably for the purposes of tax collection that Judea was divided into eleven toparchies (see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 157–161). In the gathering of the revenue the Romans seem to have made use of the Jewish courts, as was their custom in other places (see Div. II. vol. i. p. 162).—That the

⁹¹ *στρατιῶται*: Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 2, 23 sq., 32, 34; Acts xxi. 35, xxiii. 23, xxvii. 31, 42, xxviii. 16.—Jesus was pierced with a spear (John xix. 34).—A centurion was present at the crucifixion of Jesus (Mark xv. 39, 44 f.; Matt. xxvii. 54; Luke xxiii. 47); also at the scourging of Paul (Acts xx. 25). Everything connected with the imprisonment of Paul was of a military character. Hence centurions had immediate charge of him (Acts xxiii. 17, xxiv. 23, xxvii. 1 f.).

⁹² On the difference between the two, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 292 ff.—The distinction from the beginning undoubtedly did exist, even although, as Hirschfeld conjectures, the centralizing of the imperial treasuries, therefore the establishment of one central *fiscus*, may first have been carried out by Claudius (Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen*, etc., Bd. 1, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, 1877, p. 1 ff.).

taxes were oppressive, is seen from the complaints made by the provinces of Syria and Judea in A.D. 17.⁹³

From the taxes in the proper sense are to be distinguished the customs, *i.e.* duties upon articles on their being exported from the country.⁹⁴ These were imposed in all the provinces of the Roman empire. The great trade emporium which yielded the largest returns in this direction was Egypt. From the days of the Ptolemies it had taken advantage of its geographical position in order to secure the flourishing traffic between India and Europe. But even in Palestine they were acquainted with the "custom" as early as the Persian era (Ezra iv. 13, 20, vii. 24).—The range to which the "custom" applied, varied certainly according to circumstances. In general it may be assumed that every province of the Roman empire formed a customs district by itself.⁹⁵ But also the States and Communes recognised by the Romans as autonomous, and the number of these was very large, had the right of independently levying duties within their own

⁹³ Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 42: "provinciae Syria atque Judaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant."

⁹⁴ Compare in regard to this: Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* i. 314–316 (on Matt. v. 46).—Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Portorium, publicani, vectigal;" Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 261 ff., 289 ff.; Winer, *Real-wörterbuch*, art. "Zoll;" Leyrer in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Zoll" (1 Aufl. xviii. 652 f.; 2 Aufl. xvii. 551 f.); Herzfeld, *Handels-geschichte der Juden des Alterthums* (1879), pp. 159–162; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, 2 Abth. art. "Zoll;" Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 113–115 (art. מכס, מכמא, etc.); Naquet, *Des impôts indirects chez les Romains sous la république et sous l'empire*. Paris 1875 (Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, Bd. 19, p. 466 ff.); Cagnat, *Étude historique sur les impôts indirects chez les Romains jusqu' aux invasions des barbares*, Paris 1882 (Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, Bd. 36, p. 245 ff.); Vigie, *Études sur les impôts indirects romains; des douanes dans l'empire romain*, 1884; Thibaut, *Les douanes chez les Romains*, Paris 1888 (*Revue critique*, 1889, Nr. 7).—Inscription material with reference to the *vectigalia* is given in the *Indices to Corp. Inscr. Lat.* Other materials in Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, Index, p. 271.

⁹⁵ At least in regard to many of these this can be proved. See Marquardt, ii. 263 ff.

boundaries.⁹⁶ To the proofs in regard to these matters already in earlier times acknowledged, there has now to be added: a long inscription in Greek and Aramaic, which contains the customs-tariff of the city of Palmyra in the time of Hadrian.⁹⁷ From this inscription it appears that Palmyra, although it was at that time a Roman city in the same sense as many other autonomous communes within the Roman empire, administered independently its own customs, and enjoyed the revenues thereof. It is therefore perfectly evident that the kings and tetrarchs "confederate" with Rome within their own territories could levy their customs for their own behoof, only with this restriction, that the Roman citizens (*Romani ac socii nominis Latini*, as it is phrased by Livy) should be exempted from them.⁹⁸ The customs raised at Capernaum, within the borders of Galilee, in the

⁹⁶ Marquardt, i. (1881) p. 79; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 691.—See especially Livy, xxxviii. 41: "senatus consultum factum est, ut Ambraciensibus suae res omnes redderentur; in libertate essent ac legibus suis uterentur; portoria quae vellent terra marique caperent, dum eorum immunes Romani ac socii nominis Latini essent."—Plebiscite for Termessus in Pisidia of B.C. 71 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. 1, n. 104, col. ii. lin. 31 sqq.): "Quam legem portorieis terrestribus maritumeisque Termenses majores Phisidae capiundeis intra suos fineis deixserint, ea lex iis portorieis capiundeis esto, dum nequid portori ab iis capiatur, qui publica populi Romani vectigalia redempta habebunt."

⁹⁷ The inscription was discovered in 1881 by Prince Lazarew.—The best edition of the Aramaic text is that of Schroeder (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1884, pp. 417–436). The best edition of the Greek text is that of Dessau, with a comprehensive and informing commentary (*Hermes*, xix. 1884, pp. 486–533): Both are copied from castings made by Euting.—Both texts, with German translation and explanation of the Aramaic text, have also been edited by Reckendorf (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 1888, pp. 370–415).—Less correct are the earlier publications of De Vogüé (*Journal asiatique*, VIII^{me} série, t. i. 1883, pp. 231–245; t. ii. 1883, pp. 149–183); and Sachau (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 1883, pp. 562–571).

⁹⁸ See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 691, and the passages quoted in note 96.—The Romans sometimes made also arbitrary exceptions in favour of others. Thus in the decree of Senate given in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 22 (applying probably to Hyrcanus I., see vol. i. p. 278), the Jews were

times of Christ (Matt. ix. 9 ; Mark ii. 14 ; Luke v. 27) went therefore, undoubtedly, not into the imperial *fiscus*, but into the treasury of Herod Antipas. On the other hand, in Judea at that time, the customs were raised in the interests of the imperial *fiscus*. We know from the Gospels that in Jericho, on the eastern borders of Judea, there was an ἀρχιτελώνης (Luke xix. 1, 2). In the seaport town of Caesarea in A.D. 66, among the influential men of the Jewish community, there John, a τελώνης, is mentioned.⁹⁹ It is stated by Pliny that the merchants who exported incense from Central Arabia through Gaza had to pay a high duty, not only to the Arabians on passing through their territory, but also to the Roman customs officers, who, it may be supposed, were stationed at Gaza.¹⁰⁰—Besides the import and export duties, it would seem as if in Judea, as well as elsewhere, indirect duties of another sort had also to be paid, *e.g.* a market toll in Jerusalem, introduced by Herod, but abolished in A.D. 36 by Vitellius.^{100a}

The collecting of the customs was not done by officers of the State, but by lessees, the so-called *publicani*, who leased the customs of a particular district for a fixed annual sum ; so

allowed to raise customs within their own borders, but on condition that they should hold the king of Egypt exempt.

⁹⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, xii. 63–65 : “Evehi non potest nisi per Gebanitas, itaque et horum regi penditur vectigal. . . . Iam quacumque iter est aliubi pro aqua aliubi pro pabulo aut pro mansionibus variisque portoriis pendunt, ut sumptus in singulos camelos X. DCLXXXVIII. ad nostrum litus (*i.e.* as far as Gaza) colligat, iterumque imperi nostri publicanis penditur.—We also elsewhere heard of duties being levied by uncivilised tribes. Thus the merchants who carried on trade between Syria and Babylon were obliged to pay customs to the tribes through whose country they passed, and indeed the σκηνῖται, *i.e.* the dwellers in tents in the desert, were more reasonable in their demands than were the φύλαρχοι on both sides of the Euphrates (Strabo, p. 748).

^{100a} Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 4 *fm.*, xviii. 4. 3 : Οὐτέλλιος τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀνωμαμένων καρπῶν ἀνίστην εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτῃ κατοικοῦσι.

that whatever in excess of that sum the revenue yielded was their gain; whereas, if the revenue fell below it, they had to bear the loss.¹⁰¹ This system was widely prevalent throughout ancient times, and came often to be applied, not only to the customs, but also to the taxes properly so called. Thus, *e.g.* during the Ptolemaic government of Palestine the taxes of each city were annually leased out to the highest bidder.¹⁰² In the days of the Roman empire the system of leasing was no longer applied to the taxes, *i.e.* the land-tax and poll-tax. These were now collected by officers of State: in senatorial provinces, by the quaestor; in imperial provinces, by an imperial procurator, assistants to the governor;¹⁰³ in provinces like Judea, administered by an equestrian, the governor was himself at the same time procurator. The customs, on the other hand, were, even in the days of the empire, still commonly leased out to *publicani*.¹⁰⁴ So, undoubtedly, it was in Judea. The contrary opinion of Wieseler rests manifestly on a misunderstanding.¹⁰⁵ In the passage cited from Pliny, in

¹⁰¹ Compare Rein, art. "Publicani," in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 289 ff.; Conr. Gottfr. Dietrich, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des römischen Staatspächtersystems*, 1877; Prax, *Essai sur les sociétés vectigaliennes précédé d'un exposé sommaire du système fiscal des Romains*, Montauban 1884; Rémondière, *De la levée des impôts en droit romain*, Paris 1886.

¹⁰² Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 3: ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ὁρμήν· κατ' ἔτος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἢ ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. — *Ibid.* xii. 4. 4: ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε τὰ τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων. — Compare also xii. 4. 5. From the latter passage it seems plain that we have here to do, not with customs, but with taxes (φόροι). The most important of these was the poll-tax (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 1: τὰς ἰδίας ἑκάστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ὠνοῦντο πατριδας φορολογεῖν, καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προστεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐτέλουν). But there was also yet another class of taxes; for the Jerusalem priesthood had been freed by Antiochus the Great (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3): ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσι καὶ τοῦ στεφανίτου φόρου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων.

¹⁰³ Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 303.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 302.

¹⁰⁵ Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869,

note 100, it is expressly said, that for the incense exported from Arabia by way of Gaza a duty had also to be paid to the Roman *publicani*. From the universality of the system, it may be assumed that territorial princes like Herod Antipas would also make use of it. Even city communes like Palmyra did not have their customs collected by municipal officials, but rented them out to lessees.¹⁰⁶ — The lessees again, as may be readily supposed, had their subordinate officials, who would usually be chosen from the native population. But even the principal lessees were by no means necessarily Romans. The tax-gatherers of Jericho (Luke xix. 1, 2) and of Caesarea—Zaccheus and John—were therefore Jews. Since they are described as well-to-do and respectable people, they certainly cannot have belonged to the lowest class of publicans.¹⁰⁷ — The extent to which custom might be charged was indeed prescribed by the court; but since these tariffs, as we see

p. 78 f., seeks support for his theory from Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5: μήτε εργολαβῶσι τινες. But here the matters referred to are not the customs, but the revenue derived from the land-tax. Besides, these enactments of Caesar had long been antiquated in the days of the empire by the convulsions that had meanwhile occurred.

¹⁰⁶ In the decree of the Council of Palmyra with reference to the customs-tariff in the time of Hadrian (*Hermes*, xix. 490, compare note 97), it is said: In the older customs-tariff very many subjects were not introduced; and so, in making the bargain with the lessee (τῇ μισθώσει), the amount of custom which the tax-gatherer (τὸν τελωνοῦντα) ought to levy has to be determined by tariff and use and wont. But over these questions disputes constantly arose between the merchants and the lessees of the customs. Therefore did the council then conclude that the courts of the city should make a list of articles omitted, and in the next lease-contract (τῇ ἔνυγιστα μισθώσει) should have them inserted, in addition to the consuetudinary tax (so that it would thus become a fixed sum). If this tariff be accepted by the lessee (τῷ μισθομένῳ), then should it, as well as the older tariff, be made generally known by being engraved on stone tablets. But the authorities should take care that the lessee (τὸν μισθοῦμενον) should exact nothing beyond the requirements of the law.

¹⁰⁷ The assertion of Tertullian, that all tax-gatherers were heathens (*de pudicitia*, c. 9), was rightly contested as early as by Jerome (*Epist.* 21 *ad Damasum*, c. 3, *Opera*, ed. Valarsi, i. 72).

from the case of Palmyra, were in early times often very indefinite, abundant room was left for the arbitrariness and rapacity of the tax-gatherer. The advantage taken of such opportunities, and the not infrequent overcharges that were made by these officials, made them as a class hated by the people. Not only in the New Testament are the terms "publican and sinner" almost synonymous, but also in rabbinical literature tax-gatherers (מוכסין) appear in an even less favourable light.¹⁰⁸ — On the other hand, the people generally then, just as in the present day, were inventive of contrivances of ways and means for defrauding the revenue.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ According to *Baba kamma* x. 1, one should not take payment in money from the cash-box of the tax-gatherers—should not even receive alms from them (because their money has been gained by robbery). If, however, tax-gatherers have taken away one ass and given another in exchange for it, or robbers have robbed him of his garment and given him another for it, he ought to keep what is given, because it has already ceased to be his property (*Baba kamma*, x. 2). — According to *Nedarim* iii. 4, should one promise, in consequence of a vow, to robbers and tax-gatherers, he may declare the thing the property of the priests or of the king, though it be not so! — Throughout, therefore, tax-gatherers (מוכסין) are placed in the same category as robbers. Compare also Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evv.* 1878, p. 71 f.; Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, p. 161 ff.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Zoll;" Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 114. — That by מוכסין tax-gatherers in the proper sense are to be understood, is seen from the usage of that word (מכסא, מכסא) in the customs-tariff of Palmyra.

¹⁰⁹ *Kelim* xvii. 16, speaks of "a walking-stick with a secret place for pearls," i.e. for the purpose of defrauding the revenue. — In treating of the prohibition against wearing garments made of a mixture of linen and wool (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11), *Kilajim* ix. 2, remarks, that this is allowed under no circumstances, "not even in order to defraud the revenue" (לגנוב המכס). — In this connection, also, may be quoted the passage *Shabbath* viii. 2, where, as an example of a small piece of paper which, on the Sabbath, ought not to be carried from one place to another, a קשר of the tax-gatherer's is mentioned. The expositors understand by the word, a receipt which has been given at one customs office so that the party might pass free at the next, say on the other side of the river. The philological explanation is certainly beset with difficulty, since קשר elsewhere means "binding" (e.g. a knot on a string, or a joint in a human

Within the limits, which were stated in the very regulations themselves, the Jewish people enjoyed even yet a very considerable measure of freedom in home affairs and self-administration.¹¹⁰ — The oath of allegiance which the people had to take to the emperor, presumably on every change of government, was, if we may judge from analogous cases, more an oath of confederates than one of subjects, such as had been given even so early as the times of Herod.¹¹¹ — The constitution as regards home affairs, during the age of the procurators, is characterized by Josephus, in opposition to the monarchial rule of Herod and Archelaus, in the words: ¹¹² ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο. He sees, therefore, in the change which took place after the deposition of Archelaus, a transition from monarchy to aristocracy, because he, and that not incorrectly, considers the Roman procurator only as an overseer, but the aristocratic Sanhedrim as the real governing body. He who held the office of high priest for the time, who also held the presidency of the Sanhedrim, is called by Josephus *προστάτης τοῦ ἔθνους*. Yet certainly these very high priests were set up and removed at the arbitrary pleasure of the overseer. But even in this matter the Romans restrained themselves within certain limits. Whereas during the period A.D. 6–41 the appointments had been made by the Roman governors, either the legate of Syria or the procurator of Judea, during the period A.D. 44–66 the right of appointment was transferred to the Jewish princes, Herod of Chalcis and Agrippa II., although these did not reign in Judea. And in both periods

body). May it not mean a piece of paper, by which a "connection" between two customs offices is established?

¹¹⁰ Compare on what follows, Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 511 ff.

¹¹¹ Compare generally, vol. i. p. 445. — We have clear evidence of the taking of an oath on the accession of Caligula; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3.

¹¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 10 *fin.*

the appointments were not made in a purely arbitrary manner, but respect was paid to the claims of certain families (Phabi, Boethos, Ananus, Kamith).¹¹³

Of greater importance is the fact that the Sanhedrim exercised to a very large extent the right of legislating and of executing the law, to a larger extent indeed than on the average was the case among non-autonomous communities in the Roman empire.¹¹⁴ The state of the law was in general this, that the communities recognised by Rome as "free" or "autonomous" had expressly guaranteed to them the right of passing and executing their own laws, in fact, even over Roman citizens dwelling within their bounds. In the subject, non-autonomous communities, to which Judea belonged, the practical state of matters was very nearly the same;¹¹⁵ but

¹¹³ For the proofs, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 197–206, and my treatise on the ἀρχιερεῖς in the New Testament (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, pp. 593–657).—On the presidency of the high priest in the Sanhedrim, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 180–184.

¹¹⁴ On the position of non-autonomous subjects, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 716–764, especially 744 ff.—The singular position of Judea has prominence given to it in a rather one-sided manner by Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses*, p. 485 f.: "Only one province . . . namely, Judea, at least in the earlier days of the empire, formed an exception to all the arrangements hitherto described. Whereas in the other provinces the whole criminal jurisdiction was in the hands of the governor, and only in the most important cases had the supreme imperial courts to decide, just as in the least important matters the municipal courts did; the principle that applied in Judea was that at least in regard to questions of religious offence the high priest with the Sanhedrim could pronounce even death sentences, for the carrying out of which, however, the confirmation of the procurator was required."—This representation of Geib is therefore incorrect, inasmuch as it confounds the position of Judea in the earlier days of the empire with its general condition in the later imperial age. Compare, on the other hand, Mommsen, *l.c.*

¹¹⁵ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1, p. 748: "In regard to the extent of application, the jurisdiction of the native courts and judicatories among subject communities can scarcely have been much more restricted than among the federated communities; while in administration and in civil jurisdiction we find the same principles operative as in legal procedure and criminal law."

with this twofold restriction: (1) That this practical state of matters was not guaranteed them; and (2) that the Roman citizens residing within their bounds had their own law and their own judicatories. The first point was of most importance. The Roman authorities could, in consequence of it, interfere at pleasure in the legislation and in the administration of the law in non-autonomous communities. In Judea this right seems to have been taken advantage only to a very limited extent. It may be assumed that the administration of the civil law was wholly in the hands of the Sanhedrim and native or local magistrates: Jewish courts decided according to Jewish law. But even in the criminal law this was almost invariably the case, only with this exception, that death sentences required to be confirmed by the Roman procurator. In such case the procurator decided if he pleased according to the standard of the Jewish law, as is shown in the trial of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁶ Even Roman citizens were not wholly exempt from the requirements of the Jewish law. When, indeed, the procurator Festus proposed to judge the Apostle Paul according to Jewish law, this was frustrated by the objection of the apostle (see above, p. 59). But the Jewish law, that no Gentile should be allowed to enter the inner court of the temple, was recognised by the Roman authorities, and any one who transgressed it was punished with death, even if he were a Roman citizen.¹¹⁷ There was

¹¹⁶ More details in Div. II. vol. i. pp. 186-190.

¹¹⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 4; also confirmed by the inscription discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. Compare Div. II. vol. i. pp. 188, 265. This point is also of importance in forming an estimate of the trial of the Apostle Paul; for a principal charge brought against him by the Jews was that he had taken with him into the temple a "Greek," Trophimus (Acts xxi. 28, 29). The endeavour was therefore made to impress the procurator with the idea that Paul was deserving of punishment even according to the Roman law, since he had committed an offence against a specific enactment. Compare especially, Acts xxiv. 6: *ὅς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐπίρασεν βεβηλώσαι*. The charge was not indeed valid, since that enact-

only one limitation to the far-reaching application of this right, and that certainly a very important one; the procurator and his agents could at any time interfere according to their own discretion.

The Jewish worship was not only tolerated, but, as the enactment just referred to with regard to the temple shows, stood under State protection.¹¹⁸ The cosmopolitan tendency, which characterized the pagan piety of the time, made it quite possible for distinguished Romans to present gifts to the Jewish temple, and even to offer sacrifices there.¹¹⁹ The oversight of the temple by the State, especially of the administration of its large finances, seems to have been carried out during the period A.D. 6–41 by means of the Roman authorities. During the period A.D. 44–66 it was transferred to the same Jewish princes who had also received the right of appointing the high priests, namely, Herod of Chalcis, and then Agrippa II.¹²⁰ A restriction in the freedom of worship, which was in itself quite harmless, but was regarded by the

ment of the law would have affected only Trophimus, and not Paul. Besides, it seems that Paul had not really taken Trophimus with him into the temple. Compare, ἐνόμιζεν, Acts xxi. 29.

¹¹⁸ This protection extended also to the synagogue services and the Holy Scriptures. When the pagan inhabitants of Dora had placed a statue of the emperor in the Jewish synagogue there, the council of the city was ordered by the legate Petronius to deliver up the guilty parties, and to take care that such outrages should not occur in future (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3). A soldier, who had wantonly torn up a Torah roll, was put to death by the procurator Cumanus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 2).

¹¹⁹ Even the Emperor Augustus and his wife sent brazen wine vessels to the temple at Jerusalem, ἀκρατοφόροι (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 13. 6) and other costly presents (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 23 and sec. 40, ed. Mangey, ii. 569 *init.*, 592 *fin.*). Marcus Agrippa, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, gave presents (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 37, ed. Mangey, ii. 589), and offered as a sacrifice a hundred oxen (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 1). Also Vitellius sacrificed there (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3). Compare generally, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 299–305.

¹²⁰ Herod of Chalcis, Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 3: τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων.—Agrippa II.: *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7: τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ

Jews as oppressive, was set aside in A.D. 36. During the period A.D. 6-36 the beautiful robe of the high priest was in the keeping of the Roman commandant in the fort of Antonia, and was only four times in the year, at the three chief feasts and on the Day of Atonement, brought forth for use. At the request of the Jews, in A.D. 36, Vitellius ordered that the robe should be given up. And when the procurator Cuspius Fadus, in A.D. 44, wished again to have the robe put under Roman control, a Jewish embassy went to Rome and procured a rescript from the Emperor Claudius by which the order of Vitellius was confirmed.¹²¹

Great deference was shown to the religious opinions of the Jews. Whereas in all other provinces the worship of the emperor was zealously insisted upon, and was claimed as a matter of course by the emperor as a proof of respect, no demand of this sort, except in the time of Caligula, was ever made of the Jews. The authorities were satisfied with requiring that twice a day in the temple at Jerusalem a sacrifice was made "for Caesar and the Roman people." The sacrifice for the whole day consisted in two lambs and an ox, and, according to Philo, was provided by Augustus himself, *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων*, whereas the opinion of Josephus is that it was made at the cost of the Jewish people.¹²² Also on extraordinary occasions the Jewish people evidenced their loyal sentiments by a great sacrifice in honour of the emperor.¹²³ In the Diaspora the emperor was remembered

ἱεροῦ.—On the administration of the finances of the temple, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 260-264.

¹²¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3, xx. 1. 1-2, xv. 11. 4. Compare, on this beautiful robe of the high priest, Div. II. vol. i. p. 256. On the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus it fell into the hands of the Romans (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 8. 3).

¹²² Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 23 and sec. 40, Mangey, ii. 569, 592; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 4, 17. 2-4; *Against Apion*, ii. 6 *fin.* Further details in Div. II. vol. i. p. 303.

¹²³ This was done thrice over in the time of Caligula, Philo, *Legat. ad*

in the prayers of the synagogue, which, however, cannot be proved to have been the case in Palestine.^{123a} Next to the worship of the emperor, the emperor's images on the coins and the standards of the soldiers were specially offensive to the Jews. But in these matters also they were treated with tolerance. It could not, indeed, be avoided that Roman denaria with the figure of the emperor should circulate in Judea (Matt. xxii. 20; Mark xii. 16; Luke xx. 24), for silver and gold coins were not minted in Judea. But the copper coinage restored to the country bore, even in the time of the direct Roman rule, as well as in the times of the Herodians, no human likeness, but only the name of the emperor and inoffensive emblems.¹²⁴ The troops were required

Cajum, sec. 45 (Mangey, ii. 598); compare also sec. 32 (Mangey, ii. 580: the offering presented on the occasion of his accession).

^{123a} Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 7 (ed. Mangey, ii. 524): "If one robbed the Jews of the Proseuche or synagogue, he thus made it impossible to them τὴν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν . . . οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροῦς περιβόλους οὓς ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον . . . Thereby he gives not, but robs τοῖς κυρίοις τιμὴν. For the Proseuchae are for all Jews ὁμηγήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν σεβαστὸν οἶκον οσιότητος . . . ἂν ἡμῖν ἀναιρεθεῖσῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ τροπος τιμῆς;"—That this standpoint was not an unusual one even among rabbinical Jews is shown by *Aboth* iii. 2; see the words quoted in *Div. II.* vol. i. p. 304. Yet, so far as I know, there is no proof that prayer was offered up for the emperor in the synagogues of Palestine. Indeed, considering the opinions prevailing there, it is extremely improbable that such prayers should have been offered.

¹²⁴ Compare, on the coins minted in Judea in the time of the procurators, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 497 sq.; Mionnet, *Descript. de médailles*, v. 552–555, *Suppl.* viii. 377; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 64–73, 159–162; De Saulcy, *Revue Numismatique*, 1853, pp. 186–201; De Saulcy, *Recherches*, etc., 1854, pp. 138–146, 149 sq., pl. viii., ix.; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 39–53; Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, 1860, p. 719; Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, pp. 74–79; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 134–153; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 27–29; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, pp. 69–78, pl. iii.–iv.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 169–195; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 170–187; Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, pp. 212, 213; Pick, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiv. 1887, pp. 306–308.—On the coins of Augustus with the superscription *Kaisaros*, we meet with the year numbers 33, 36, 39, 40, 41. If the

in Jerusalem to dispense with standards having on them the likeness of the emperor. The wanton attempt of Pilate to break through this custom was frustrated by the violent opposition of the people. Pilate found himself compelled to withdraw again the imperial likenesses from Jerusalem.¹²⁵

number 33 is the correct reading, then we must, as Mommsen first conjectured, assume as the starting-point of the Augustan era the 1st of January 727 A.U.C., or B.C. 27. According to this reckoning, the coins belong to the period 759-767 A.U.C., or A.D. 6-14, which harmonizes perfectly with historical circumstances. As this era is otherwise unknown, Pick, in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xiv. 306-308, doubts as to the existence of the coins with the number 33, and assumes the Actian era with autumn A.U.C. 723 as its starting-point. Thus the year 36 would be A.U.C. 758-759. The existence of the coins with the number 33 seems, however, to be well established. See especially Madden and Stickel in works quoted above. The coins of Tiberius, with, for the most part, the name written in the abbreviated form *Τιβερίου Καλαρπος*, are dated by the years of Tiberius' reign; we have examples of the numbers 2, 3, 4 up to 18. On many the name of Julia occurs along with that of Tiberius, and, indeed, this is so up to the year of Tiberius 16, i.e. A.D. 29, the year in which Julia (Livia) died. Many coins bore only the name of Julia. There are coins of Claudius of the 13th and 14th year of his reign; and coins of Nero of the 5th year. On the latter stands only the name of the emperor; on those of Claudius there is also the name of his wife, Julia Agrippina.

¹²⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 2-3. In reference to the military flags and standards, as Domaszewski has shown (Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere, Abhandlungen des archäolog.-epigraph. Seminares der Universität Wien*, 5 Heft 1885), two different classes are to be distinguished: (1) Those which were used for tactical purposes, and (2) those which had only a symbolical significance. The former were by far the most numerous: to the latter belonged the eagles of the legions and the *signa* which bore the figure of the emperor. Mommsen indeed believes, however, that even to them should be assigned a certain tactical significance; see *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn Jahrgang*, x. 1886, p. 1 ff. The figures of the emperor were in the form of a medallion, and were usually attached to the *signa*. Among the legionaries, as well as among the auxiliary cohorts we hear of *imaginiferi* (see list in Cauer, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. pp. 372-374).—The earlier procurators, therefore, had taken with them to Jerusalem only the *signa* which did not bear the figure of the emperor, that is, the common ones used for tactical purposes; but Pilato took also those bearing the figure of the emperor.

When Vitellius, the legate of Syria, took the field against the Arabian king Aretas, at the urgent entreaty of the Jews, he so directed the course of his march that the troops carrying the likeness of the emperor on their standards should not enter Jewish territory.¹²⁶

So far, then, as the civil enactments and the orders of the supreme authorities were concerned, the Jews could not complain of any want of consideration being paid them. It was otherwise, however, with respect to the practical carrying out of details. The average Roman official was always disposed to disregard all such nice, delicate consideration. And the unfortunate thing was, that Judea, especially in the last decades before the war, had had more than one governor who had lost all sense of right and wrong. Besides this, notwithstanding the most painstaking efforts to show indulgence to Jewish views and feelings, the existing relations were in themselves, according to Jewish ideas, an insult to all the lofty, divine privileges of the chosen people, who, instead of paying tribute to Caesar, were called rather to rule over all nations of the world.^{126a}

Their first administrative measures which they introduced there show how hard a task the incorporation of Judea into the empire proved to the Romans. Contemporaneously with the appointment of Coponius, the first procurator of Judea,

¹²⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3.

^{126a} This was, at least, the popular sentiment. From these religious premisses in themselves one might, indeed, arrive at the very opposite result, namely, that even the pagan government was of God, and that it must be submitted to so long as God wills. But this way of considering the subject was not in favour during the period A.D. 6-66, and, as the years went on, those who held it were in an ever-decreasing minority. Compare generally on the political attitude of Pharisaism, Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 17-19.

the emperor had sent a new legate, Quirinius, into Syria. It was now the duty of the legate to take a census of the population of the newly-acquired territory, in order that the taxes might be appointed according to the Roman method. But no sooner had Quirinius, in A.D. 6 or A.D. 7, begun to carry out his commission, than he was met with opposition on every hand. Only the quieting representations of the high priest Joazar, who clearly perceived that open rebellion would be of no avail, led to the gradual abandonment of the opposition that had already begun, and then the people with mute resignation submitted to the inevitable, so that, at last, the census was made up.¹²⁷ It was, however, no enduring peace, but only a truce of uncertain duration. Judas of Gamala in Gaulanitis, called the Galilean, who is certainly identical with that Judas, son of Hezekiah, of whom we have already learnt on p. 4, in company with a Pharisee of the name of Sadduc, made it his task to rouse the people into opposition, and in the name of religion to preach rebellion and revolutionary war. This movement had not, indeed, any immediate marked success. But the revolutionists got so far as to found now among the Pharisees a more strict fanatical party, that of the patriotic resolute, or, as they called themselves, the Zealots, who wished not to remain in quiet submission till by God's decree the Messianic hope of Israel should be fulfilled, but would rather employ the sword in hastening its realization, and would rush into conflict with the godless enemy.¹²⁸ It is

¹²⁷ According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1, in the 37th year of the *æra Actiaca*, i.e. autumn, 759-760 A.U.C., or A.D. 6-7. The Actian era begins on 2nd Sept. 723 A.U.C. or B.C. 31.

¹²⁸ *Ζηλωταί*, compare Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13; *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 9, 5. 1, 6. 3, vii. 8. 1.—For the Biblico-Hebraic קָנָן we find in later Hebrew also קָנַן and קָנָן (see Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*; Levy, *Chaldaisches Wörterbuch*; Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*). The Greek Καναανῖος is constructed out of the later form of the word through the modification of the plural, קָנָנִי, as ought to be used in Matt. x. 4, Mark iii. 18, instead

to their machinations that we are to ascribe the nursing of the fires of revolution among the smouldering ashes which sixty years later burst forth in vehement flames.¹²⁹

Of Coponius and some of his successors little more is known to us than their names. Altogether there were seven procurators who administered Judea during the period A.D. 6–41 : (1) Coponius, probably A.D. 6–9 ; (2) Marcus Ambivius, probably A.D. 9–12 ; (3) Annius Rufus, probably A.D. 12–15 ; (4) Valerius Gratus, A.D. 15–26 ; (5) Pontius Pilatus, A.D. 26–36 ; (6) Marcellus, A.D. 36–37 ; (7) Marullus, A.D. 37–41.¹³⁰ The long period during which Valerius Gratus

of the received *Kανανίτης*.—In the Mishna, *Sanhedrin* ix. 6, and *Abot derabbi Nathan* c. 6, we have קנאנין or קנאני. In the former passage, however, are meant, not political, but religious zealots.—Compare generally : Oppenheim, “Die Kannaim oder Zeloten” in Fürst’s *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1849, col. 289–292 ; Pressel, art. “Zeloten” in Herzog’s *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xviii. 485–489 ; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 238 ; Holtzmann in Schenkel’s *Bibellexikon*, v. 707–709 ; Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften der Alten Testaments*, § 560 ; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, 2 Abth. pp. 1286–1296 ; Sieffert in Herzog’s *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 3 Aufl. xvii. 488–491 ; Wolf, *Curæ philol.* ; Kuinoel, Fritzsche, Meyer, Bleek, and other commentators, on Matt. x. 4.

¹²⁹ Compare generally : Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1 and 6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1 ; Acts v. 37. Art. “Judas” in the Biblical Dictionaries. Chr. Alfr. Körner, “Judas von Gamala” (*Jahresbericht der Lausitzer Prediger-Gesellschaft zu Leipzig*, 1883–1884, pp. 5–12).—Also the descendants of Judas distinguished themselves as Zealots. His sons James and Simon were executed by Tiberius Alexander (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 2) ; his son Menachem (Manaim) was one of the principal leaders at the beginning of the rebellion in A.D. 66 (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 8–9). A descendant of Judas and relative of Menahem of the name of Eleasar conducted the defence of Masada in A.D. 73 (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 9, *vid.* 8. 1 ff.).—A literary memorial of the views and hopes of the Zealots is the *Assumptio Mosis*, which had its origin about that time (see Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 73–80), which goes so far in the way of prophecy as to say that Israel will tread on “the neck of the eagle,” i.e. of the Romans (10. 8). Compare Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 144, 183.

¹³⁰ Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2, 4. 2, 6. 10 *fin.*—The period during which the first three held office cannot be quite exactly determined. That of the two following is fixed by the facts that Valerius Gratus was in office for eleven years (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2) and Pontius Pilate

and Pontius Pilate held office was owing to the general principles on which Tiberius proceeded in his appointment of governors. In the interest of the provinces he left them as long as possible at their posts, because he thought that governors acted like flies upon the body of a wounded animal; if once they were gorged, they would become more moderate in their exactions, whereas new men began their rapacious proceedings afresh.¹³¹

Among those named, Pontius Pilate is of special interest to us, not only as the judge of Jesus Christ, but also because he is the only one of whom we have any detailed account in Josephus and Philo.¹³² Philo, or rather Agrippa I., in the letter which Philo communicates as written by him, describes for ten years (xviii. 4. 2). But Pilate was deprived of his office before Vitellius was in Jerusalem for the first time, *i.e.* shortly before Easter A.D. 36, as results from a comparison of *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3 with xviii. 5. 3. The period during which the last two held office is determinedly this, that Marullus was installed immediately after the accession of Caligula in March A.D. 37 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10 *fin.*).—Eusebius affirms (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 9) that Josephus sets the date of Pilate's entrance upon office in the twelfth year of Tiberius, A.D. 25 and 26, which is only so far correct, that this conclusion may be deduced from Josephus.

¹³¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5.—Tiberius' care for the provinces is also witnessed to by Suetonius (*Tiberius*, 23: "praesidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescipit: boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere"). Tacitus also, in *Annals*, i. 80, iv. 6, speaks of the long periods granted to governors. For an estimate of Tiberius, compare especially Keim's article in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, v. 528-535.

¹³² Compare in regard to him, besides the literature referred to on p. 38: Mounier, *De Pontii Pilati in causa servatoris agendi ratione*, Lugd. Bat. 1825; Leyrer, art. "Pilatus" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xi. pp. 685-687; Klöpper in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iv. 581-585; Renan, *Life of Jesus*, chap. xxvii.: "Fate of the Enemies of Jesus;" Warneck, *Pontius Pilatus der Richter Jesu Christi. Ein Gemälde aus der Leidensgeschichte*, Gotha 1867; Rosières, *Ponce Pilate*, Paris 1883; Woltjer, *Pontius Pilatus, sene studie*, Amsterdam 1888; Arnold, *Die neronische Christenverfolgung*, 1888, pp. 116-120 (on the mention of Pilate in Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44); Gustav Adolf Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Procurator von Judaea und Richter Jesu von Nazareth*, Stuttgart 1888 (gives at pp. v-viii a list of the special literature on Pilate from the beginning of the art of printing down to the present time, more than a hundred names)

him as of an "unbending and recklessly hard character" (τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπῆς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμείλικτος), and gives a very bad account of his official administration. "Corruptibility, violence, robberies, ill-treatment of the people, grievances, continuous executions without even the form of a trial, endless and intolerable cruelties," are charged against him.¹³³ The very first act by which Pilate introduced himself into office was characteristic of him who treated with contempt the Jewish customs and privileges. Care had constantly been taken by the earlier procurators that the troops entering Jerusalem should not carry flags having the figure of the emperor, in order that the religious feelings of the Jews should not be offended by the sight of them (see in regard to these, above, p. 78). Pilate, on the other hand, to whom such tolerance appeared unworthy weakness, caused the garrison soldiers of Jerusalem to enter the city by night with the figure of the emperor on their flags. When the news spread among the people, they flocked out in crowds to Caesarea, and besieged the procurator with entreaties for five days and nights that the offensive articles might be removed. At last, on the sixth day, Pilate admitted the people into the race-course, into which at the same time he had ordered a detachment of soldiers. When the Jews also here again repeated their complaints, he gave a signal, upon which the soldiers surrounded the people on all sides with drawn swords. But the Jews remained steadfast, bared their necks, and declared that they would rather die than submit to a breach of the law. As further opposition seemed to Pilate hazardous, he gave orders to remove the offensive images from Jerusalem.¹³⁴

¹³³ Philo, *De Legatione ad Cajum*, sec. 38, ed. Mangey, ii. 590 : τὰς δαροδοκίας, τὰς ὑβρεῖς, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἱπαλλήλους φόρους, τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλειωτάτην ὁμότητα.

¹³⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 2-3 ; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 4.—According to Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica*, viii

A new storm burst forth when on one occasion he applied the rich treasures of the temple to the certainly very useful purpose of building an aqueduct to Jerusalem. Such an appropriation of the sacred treasures was no less offensive than the introduction of the figures of the emperor. When, therefore, he once went to Jerusalem while the building was being proceeded with, he was again surrounded by a complaining and shrieking crowd. But he had previously obtained information of the projected outburst, and had given orders to the soldiers to mix among the people dressed in citizen garb armed with clubs. When the multitude therefore began to make complaints and to present petitions, he gave the preconcerted signal, whereupon the soldiers drew forth their clubs which they had concealed under their upper garments, and mercilessly beat down the helpless crowds. Many lost their lives in this melee. The opposition to the useful undertaking was thus indeed crushed; but also the popular hatred against Pilate was stirred up afresh.¹⁸⁵

p. 403, this story has also been reported by Philo in portions of his work on the persecutions of the Jews under Tiberius and Caligula, which are no longer extant (αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Φίλων συμμαρτυρεῖ, τὰς σημαίας φάσκων τὰς βασιλικὰς τὸν Πιλάτον νύκτωρ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀναθεῖναι). Compare in regard to this question, Div. II. vol. iii. p. 349.

¹⁸⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 4; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 6-7.—The length of the aqueduct is given by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2, at two hundred stadia; in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 4, at four hundred; so at least is it in our text of Josephus, whereas in his rendering of the latter passage Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 6) makes it three hundred stadia. In any case, according to these measurements, there can be no doubt that the reference is to the aqueduct from the so-called pool of Solomon south-west of Bethlehem. From thence to Jerusalem two aqueducts were built in ancient times, of which the ruins of the one are discernible; the other is still preserved in comparative completeness.

1. The former is the shorter, and runs upon a higher level; it begins south of the pool of Solomon in the Wady Bijar, then goes through the pool, and thence without any further deviations straight to Jerusalem.
2. The one that is still completed is longer and lies lower; it begins still farther south in the Wady Arrub, passes then also through the pool, and thence with great windings to Jerusalem. The latter conduit is certainly

The New Testament also contains hints about the popular uprisings in the time of Pilate. "There were present at that season," so runs the narrative in Luke xiii. 1, "some that told Jesus of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." This statement is to be understood as indicating that Pilate had put to the sword a number of Galileans while they were engaged in the act of presenting their offerings at Jerusalem. But nothing more definite as to this incident is known. And just as little do we know about "those who had made insurrection, and had committed murder in the insurrection" (Mark xv. 7; comp. Luke

the more modern; for, on account of the more remote derivation of the water, the aqueduct running on the higher level could no longer be used, and so a new one had to be built. Its length, owing to the long windings, reaches to about 400 stadia, although the direct line would measure much less than half that distance. When it had become dilapidated, during the Middle Ages, earthenware pipes were placed in it. In its original form it was probably identical with the building of Pilate. Many, however, owing to the absence of any trace of the characteristics of Roman building, hold it to have been still older than the time of Pilate, and suppose that Pilate only restored it. But this theory is directly in opposition to the words of Josephus. That the aqueduct of Pilate ran along the course taken by this water conduit, may be regarded as highly probable.—In the Jerusalem Talmud we find the statement that an aqueduct led from Etam to the temple (*Jer. Yoma*, iii. fol. 41, in Lightfoot, *Descriptio templi*, c. 23, *Opera*, i. 612). In fact, Etam (עֵתָם), according to 2 Chron. xi. 6, lay between Bethlehem and Tekoa, unquestionably at the spring which is now called Ain Atan, in the immediate neighbourhood of Solomon's pool (compare Mühlau in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Etam;" Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 152 f.).—The most exact description of the present condition of the two conduits is given by Schick, "Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem" (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 1887, pp. 132–176, with map and plans).—Compare also: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 272 ff.; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. 84–95 (very full in its historical material); an anonymous article, "Water Supply of Jerusalem, ancient and modern" (*Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, new series, vol. v. 1864, pp. 133–157; Zschokke, "Die versiegelt Quelle Salomos" (*Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1867, pp. 426–442); *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871, pp. 233–267; and generally the geographical literature mentioned in vol. i. pp. 16–20.

xxiii. 19), to whom among others that Barabbas belonged, whose liberation the Jews demanded of Pilate.

Probably to the later days of Pilate belongs an occurrence about which we are informed in the letter of Agrippa I. to Caligula, which is communicated by Philo. Pilate had learnt from the outburst at Caesarea that the setting up of the figures of the emperor in Jerusalem could not be carried out against the stubborn resistance of the Jews. He thought he now, at least, might attempt the introduction of votive shields without figures, on which the name of the emperor was written. Such shields, richly gilt, did he set up in what had been the palace of Herod, which Pilate himself was now wont to occupy, "less for the honour of Tiberius than for the annoyance of the Jewish people." But the people would not tolerate even this. First of all, in company with the nobles and with the four sons of Herod, who were then present in Jerusalem attending a feast, they applied to Pilate in order to induce him to remove the shields. When their prayer proved unsuccessful, the most distinguished men, among whom certainly were those four sons of Herod, addressed a petition to the emperor, asking that he should order the removal of the offensive shields. Tiberius, who plainly perceived that it was a piece of purely wanton bravado on the part of Pilate, ordered the governor on pain of his severe displeasure to remove at once the shields from Jerusalem, and to have them set up in the temple of Augustus at Caesarea. This accordingly was done. "And thus were preserved both the honour of the emperor and the ancient customs of the city."¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Philo, *De Legatione ad Cajum*, sec. 38, ed. Mangey, ii. 589 sq.—That the incident occurred in the later years of Pilate is probable from the decisiveness of the tone of Tiberius; for, according to Philo, *Leg. ad Cajum*, sec. 34, ed. Mangey, ii. 569, Tiberius assumed a friendly attitude toward the Jews only after the death of Sejanus in A.D. 31. Sejanus was, according to Philo, an arch-enemy of the Jews. To his influence is

At last by his utter recklessness Pilate brought about his own overthrow. It was an old belief among the Samaritans that on the mountain of Gerizim the sacred utensils of the temple had been buried since Moses' times.¹³⁷ A Samaritan pseudo-prophet once promised in A.D. 35 to show these sacred things if the people would assemble on Mount Gerizim. The light-minded multitude gave him a hearing, and in great crowds the Samaritans gathered together armed in the village of Tirathana at the foot of Mount Gerizim, so that from thence they might ascend the mountain and behold the sacred spectacle. But before they could carry out their project, they were arrested by Pilate in the village by a strong force, a portion of them was slain, a portion hunted in flight, and again another portion cast into prison. Of those imprisoned also Pilate had the most powerful and the most distinguished put to death.¹³⁸ But the Samaritans were convinced that no revolutionary intentions lay to the basis of their pilgrimage to Gerizim, and so they complained of Pilate to Vitellius, the legate in Syria at that time. Their complaints had actually this result, that Vitellius sent Pilate to Rome to answer for his conduct, while he made over the administration of Judea to Marcellus.¹³⁹

ascribed both the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A.D. 19, and the harsh treatment of Pilate in Judea.

¹³⁷ Compare also: Petermann in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xiii. 373; Kautzsch, Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* 2 Aufl. xiii. 346, 348.

¹³⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 1.

¹³⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2. Pilate must have taken about a year on his journey from Judea to Rome, for he did not arrive in Rome until after the death of Tiberius (*Antiq. l.c.*). His subsequent fortunes are not told by Josephus.—The Christian legend makes Pilate either end his own life by suicide, or suffer death at the hands of the emperor as punishment for his proceedings against Christ. 1. In regard to the story about his suicide, Eusebius refers in his *Church History* to the Greek chroniclers, who "have made a list of the Olympiads together with the occurrences that took place in each" (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 7: ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀμα τοῖς κατὰ χρόνους πεπραγμένοις ἀναγράφαντες).

Soon thereafter, at the Passover festival of A.D. 36,¹⁴⁰ Vitellius himself went to Jerusalem, and won for himself on

In the *Chronicle* he mentions as his source "the Roman historians (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 150 sq.: (a) According to the Armenian: "Pontius Pilatus in varias calamitates implicitus sibi ipsi manus inferebat. Narrant autem qui Romanorum res scriptis mandaverunt." (b) According to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 624: Πόντιος Πιλάτος ἐπὶ Γαίον Καίσαρος ποικίλαις περιπεσὼν συμφοραῖς, ὥς φασιν οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεύες, αὐτοφονευτὴς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο. (c) According to Jerome, "Pontius Pilatus in multas incidens calamitates propria se manu interficit. Scribunt Romanorum historici"). The verbal agreement of the *Chronicle* with the *Church History* (comp. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 6: τοσαύταις περιπεσεῖν . . . συμφοραῖς . . . αὐτοφονευτήν) shows that on both occasions Eusebius used the same source. Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, i. 343, and Orosius, vii. 5. 8, are derived directly or indirectly from Eusebius. The legend of Pilate's suicide is further expanded and adorned in the apocryphal literature, e.g. in the *Mors Pilati* in Tischendorf's *Evangelia apocrypha*, 1876, pp. 456-458 (the demons crowding around his corpse utter forth dreadful shrieks, so that the body is transported from Rome to Vienne on the Rhine, and thence to Lausanne, until at last the people of Lausanne "a se removerunt et in quodam puteo montibus circumsepto immerserunt, ubi adhuc . . . diabolicæ machinationes ebullire dicuntur").—2. According to another form of the Christian legend, Pilate was executed by Nero. So Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 250-257; Johannes Antiochenus in Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, iv. 574 (also in Fabricius, *Cod. apocryph. N. T.* iii. 504 sq.); Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. Νέρων; *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 459. According to the apocryphal *Παράδοσις Πιλάτου* it was Tiberius who caused Pilate to be executed. See text in Thilo, *Codex apocryph. N. T.* pp. 813-816; Tischendorf, *Evang. apocryph.* pp. 449-455. According to this account Pilate dies as a penitent Christian. Compare generally on the Pilate legend, besides the literature referred to above on p. 82, Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 185.

¹⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3, says that it was at the time of a Passover feast. That it was the Passover of A.D. 36 may be deduced partly from the fact that Vitellius did not arrive in Syria before the summer or autumn of A.D. 35 (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 32), partly from the fact that on the second visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem he received the tidings of the death of Tiberius on 16th March A.D. 37 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3). Between the first and the second visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem, however, we must suppose that a considerable time had passed. Compare especially, Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 226-230; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* (2 Aufl. 1874), pp. 75-80; also Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. lxvii., p. 247, n. 1493; Rhoden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 33 sq.

that occasion the goodwill of the inhabitants of the capital, for he remitted the taxes on the fruits sold in the city, and gave up for free use the high priest's robe, which since A.D. 6 had lain in the possession of the Romans.¹⁴¹

After he had meanwhile been occupied with the Parthian expedition (see above, p. 34), the campaign against Aretas, which he had been ordered by Tiberius in the spring of A.D. 37 to undertake, led him again to Jerusalem (see above, p. 33). On this occasion also he again established a good understanding by showing consideration for Jewish sentiments. The way from Antioch to Petra had led him, together with his army, through Judea proper. But the Roman standards, as is well known, were offensive to the Jews. They therefore sent to Vitellius at Ptolemais an embassy, which entreated him with tears that he should not lead his army through the Holy Land. Vitellius was so reasonable as to perceive the grounds of their request, caused the army to march through the Great Plain, and went himself alone to Jerusalem. On the fourth day of his stay there he received tidings of Tiberius' death, whereupon he led his whole army back to Antioch.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3, xv. 11. 4.

¹⁴² Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3.—The designation the "Great Plain" was plainly used for two plains in Palestine, as has been shown in a convincing manner by Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 359–370. (1) Most frequently this designation is used for the plain which begins at Ptolemais and stretches thence to the northern slope of Carmel in a south-easterly direction. At its south-eastern end lies the famous battlefield of Jezreel (Ἰζρεὴλ, also *Esdraelon*), after which the plain is also named. Compare *Judith* i. 5, also i. 8: τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἐσδρηλῶρι; 1 Macc. xii. 49; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 2; Ptolemais, κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐκτισμένη; *Antiq.* v. 1. 22, viii. 2. 3, xv. 8. 5, xx. 6. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 1, 4. 1; *Life*, 24, 26, 62; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 580 f. (art. "Jisreel"); Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 337; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 335–357; Ritter, *Erkunde*, xvi. 689 ff.—(2) But this same designation was also used for the Jordan Valley between the lake of Gennezaret and the Dead Sea, Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 2: τὸ μέγα πεδίον καλεῖται, ἀπὸ κάμης Γινναβρίν διήκον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσφαλιτίδος λίμνης. Ginnabrin is without doubt the same place, which

The reign of Caligula, A.D. 37–41, was, after the rule of Tiberius, the enemy of the human race, joyfully greeted throughout the whole empire, and especially among the Jews. Since Vitellius was residing in Jerusalem when the news of the change of government reached him, the Jews were the first of the nationalities of Syria who professed to the new emperor the oath of allegiance, and presented sacrifices for him.¹⁴³ Also during the first eighteen months of his reign the Jews enjoyed peace and quiet.¹⁴⁴ But in the autumn of A.D. 38 a bloody persecution of the Jews broke out in Alexandria, which, though apparently at the instance of the Alexandrian mob, was yet indirectly the work of the

Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7, calls Sennabris, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. See Tuch, *Quaestio de Flavii Josephi loco B. J. iv. 8. 2*, Lips. 1860, and Gust. Boettger, *Topogr.-hist. Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavii Josephus*, 1879, pp. 136, 228. Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 6. 1 : ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἱεριχοῦντος ἀντικρύ. The Jordan Valley is also intended in 1 Macc. v. 52 (=Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 5) : εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ μέγα κατὰ πρόσωπον Βαιθσάν (where Keil, against Grimm, gives the correct explanation). The Plain of Jezreel was not reckoned down to Beth-sean or Scythopolis, but rather Mount Tabor lay, according to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 8, “between Scythopolis and the Great Plain.”—A third plain, namely, that of Asochis, north of Sepphoris (see vol. i. p. 296), appears in Josephus, *Life*, 41 *fin.*, to be designated too as the “Great Plain.” But this was really attached to the Plain of Jezreel, and ought to be reckoned along with it ; for only upon this hypothesis is the very passage referred to, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 8, intelligible.—In the case referred to in our text the plain beginning at Ptolemais is the one intended. Vitellius caused his army to march through it in a southeasterly direction, then presumably across the Jordan, continuing the march on the other side farther to the south.

¹⁴³ Philo, *De Legatione ad Cajum*, sec. 32 (*Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 580) : Γαῖο παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτοι τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπάντων ἡμεῖς συνήσθημεν, Οὐιτελλίου τότε . . ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντος, ᾧ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκομίσθη γράμματα. . . . Πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαίου θυσίας. Compare on the sacrifices also sec. 45, Mangey, ii. 598. On the oath : Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3. See further on this point, vol. i. p. 445.

¹⁴⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2 *fin.* : Γάιος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς πᾶν μεγαλοφρόνως ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὐτὸν εἰς εὐνοίαν προυχάριε παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.

emperor.¹⁴⁵ In his overweening self-conceit, joined with a beclouded intellect, he took up the idea of his divine rank with terrible earnestness. With him the worship of the emperor was no mere form of homage which the emperors had taken over as a heritage of the Greek kings; but he actually believed in his divinity, and regarded the refusal to worship him as a proof of hostility to his person.¹⁴⁶ During the second year of his reign this idea seems to have obtained a complete mastery over him, and to have become known in the provinces. The provincials developed a corresponding zeal. The Jews, who could not follow this course, fell under suspicion of hostility to Caesar. This was to the Jew hating populace of Alexandria a welcome excuse for giving free expression to their hatred of the Jews; for they might well suppose that by persecuting the Jews they would earn the favour of the emperor. The governor of Egypt at that time, A. Avillius Flaccus, was weak enough for the sake of his own interests to agree to the plans of the enemies of the Jews. He had been governor of Egypt under Tiberius for five years, A.D. 32-37, and, according to the testimony of Philo, had during that time administered his office in ■

¹⁴⁵ Compare on the persecutions of the Jews under Caligula: Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*, t. i. Venise 1732, pp. 434-462, 629-632; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, London 1865, ad ann. 38-41; Delaunay, *Philon d'Alexandrie, écrits historiques, influence, luttres et persécutions des juifs dans le monde romain*, 2 ed. Paris 1870; Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, New York 1876, pp. 199-222; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, Bd. ii. 2 Aufl. pp. 225-251; Grätz, "Präcisirung der Zeit für die, die Judäer betreffenden Vorgänge unter dem Kaiser Caligula" (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1877, pp. 97 ff., 145 ff., reprinted in *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. pp. 759-769); Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 515-519.—For other literature, see Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 349-354.

¹⁴⁶ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 11-15 (ed. Mangey, ii. 556-561); Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2 fin., 8. 1, xix. 1. 1 ff.; Dio Cassius, lix. 26, 28; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, ii. 225 ff.

faultless manner.¹⁴⁷ Under Caligula he more and more lost that reputation. As an intimate friend of Tiberius, he stood, as a matter of course, in disfavour with Caligula. With the death of young Tiberius, grandson of the Emperor Tiberius, and of the praetorian prefect Macro, both of whom were compelled by Caligula to commit suicide, he completely lost every support at the court. Thenceforth he set no other end before him than this, namely, to endeavour by all means to secure the favour of the young emperor. This was the one principle that determined his proceedings toward the Jews.¹⁴⁸

The presence of the Jewish king Agrippa in Alexandria gave the ostensible occasion for the outbreak of the persecution of the Jews. He arrived in Alexandria, on his homeward journey from Rome to Palestine, in August A.D. 38.

¹⁴⁷ Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 3 *init.*, ed. Mangey, ii. 518: 'Εξαιτίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λάβων πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἑρρωμένως ἀφηνήσατο, ὡς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν. Compare secs. 1–2, Mangey, ii. 517, 518.—The name of Flaccus is given in Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 1, as Φλάκκος 'Αουίλλιος. So, too, by Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 150 sq. According to Jerome, *Flaccus Avilius*; according to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 626: Φλάκκος 'Αβίλιος, corrupted in i. 615 into Φλάκκος 'Ασύλαιος. An inscription of the time of Tiberius at Tentyra in Egypt gives the full name (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions gr. et lat. de l'Égypte*, i. 87 sqq. = *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4716 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Bd. xii. Bl. 76, *Inscr. Gr.* n. 27): ἐπὶ Αὔλου Αουιλίου Φλάκκου ἡγεμόνος. The reading is indeed doubtful in several places. The praenomen Αὔλου, however, seems from a facsimile by Lepsius to be quite certain. It was so given also by Letronne; but the *Corp. inscr. Graec.* reads Αὐ[κίου].—Flaccus is also mentioned in *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4957, lin. 27.

¹⁴⁸ Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 3–4, *Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 518–520.—On the death of young Tiberius, see also Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 4–5, Mangey, ii. 549 sq.; Dio Cassius, lix. 8; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 23. On the death of Nævius Sertorius Macro (after the overthrow of Sejanus, A.D. 31, *praefactus praetorio*, see Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, v. 402); Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 6–8, Mangey, ii. 550–554; Dio Cassius, lix. 10; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 26.—The death of Tiberius, according to Dio Cassius, l.c., occurred in A.D. 37; that of Macro in A.D. 38.

Although, as Philo has assured us, he avoided everything calculated to produce a commotion, the mere appearance of a Jewish king was an offence to the mob of Alexandria. Agrippa was first of all treated with indignity and insult in the gymnasium, and then exposed to ridicule in the performances of a pantomime. A man called Karabas, suffering from mental derangement, was decked in uniform similar to the king's dress, and was mockingly greeted as king, the people addressing him in the Syrian as *Mápin*, Lord.¹⁴⁹ The mob, however, once roused to riot, was not disposed to be pacified. They now insisted upon placing statues of the emperor in the Jewish synagogues, called by Philo simply *προσευχαί*. Flaccus did not venture to oppose them, but rather agreed to all the demands of the enemies of the Jews. These again, the more the governor seemed disposed to yield to them, became the more extravagant in their demands. Flaccus gave permission successively to the setting up of images in the synagogues, to the pronouncing of the Jews, by an edict, no longer in the enjoyment of the rights of citizens, and, finally, he gave his sanction to a general persecution of the Jews.¹⁵⁰ Dreadful sufferings were now endured by the Jewish population of Alexandria. Their houses and warehouses were plundered; the Jews were themselves maltreated, murdered, the bodies mutilated; others publicly burned; others, again, dragged alive through the streets. The synagogues were, some of them destroyed, others profaned by the setting up of the image of Caligula as a god; in the largest synagogue the image of Caligula was set up on a high damaged *Quadriga*,

¹⁴⁹ Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 5-6, ed. Mangey, ii. 521 sq.

¹⁵⁰ Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 6-8, ed. Mangey, ii. 523-525.—Philo distinguishes in the career of Flaccus three stages: (1) Sec. 6 *fin.*: ἐπιτρέψει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθησιν. (2) Sec. 8 *init.*: ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει; (3) *ibid.* εἶτα δυοὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν, ἐφείς ὥς ἐν ἀλλάσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους.

which they had dragged thither from the gymnasium.¹⁵¹ The governor Flaccus not only let all this go on without interfering, but also himself proceeded with severe measures against the Jews, for which, according to Philo, he had no other reason than the refusal of the Jews to take part in the worship of the emperor. He caused thirty-eight members of the Jewish *Gerousia* to be carried bound into the theatre, and there to be scourged before the eyes of their enemies, so that some of them died under the infliction of the lash, and others were thrown into long and severe illnesses.¹⁵² A centurion was commanded to search with a select band through the houses of the Jews for arms. Jewish women were compelled before spectators in the theatre to partake of swine's flesh.¹⁵³ Flaccus had even before this shown his hostility to the Jews by failing to send to the emperor, as he had promised to do, but retaining in his own possession, a petition from the

¹⁵¹ Plundering of houses: Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 8, ed. Mangey, ii. 525; *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 18, ed. Mangey, ii. 563.—Massacre of the Jews: Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 9, ed. Mangey, ii. 526 sq.; *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 19, ed. Mangey, ii. 564.—Destruction and profanation of the synagogues or proseuchae: *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 20, ed. Mangey, ii. 565.—The plundering, according to Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 11, ed. Mangey, ii. 531 *init.*, extended to four hundred houses.—In Div. II. vol. iii. p. 349, following Mangey's note, ii. 564, and Köstlin in *Theologische Jahrb.* 1854, p. 398, I expressed myself to the effect that the persecution described in the *Legat. ad Cajum* is another than that described in the treatise *In Flaccum*. Subsequent examination of the facts, however, has convinced me that the two are identical, as I had previously, with many others, maintained in the first edition of this work. The details are so precisely the same that their identity cannot be doubted. Compare especially, *In Flaccum*, sec. 9; *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 19. Sometimes there is even a verbal agreement, as, *In Flaccum*, sec. 9, ed. Mangey, 527: φρύγανα συλλέγοντες καπνῷ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πυρὶ διεφθείρον; and *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 19, ed. Mangey, ii. 564: οἱ δὲ ἡμίφλεκτοι καπνῷ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πυρὶ διεφθείροντο τῆς φρυγανώδους ὕλης. It does not, however, give one the impression of literary dependence. The relationship is, from a literary point of view, very free, as it would naturally be if the same writer described at different times the same incidents.

¹⁵² Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 10, ed. Mangey, ii. 527–529.

¹⁵³ Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 11, ed. Mangey, ii. 529–531.

Jewish community, in which an explanation was given of the attitude of the Jews in reference to the honours demanded by the emperor. This writing was first sent up by Agrippa, with a statement of the reason of the delay.¹⁵⁴

We are not in possession of any detailed information as to the circumstances of the Alexandrian community after the severe persecution of the autumn of A.D. 38 down to the death of Caligula in January A.D. 41. In autumn of A.D. 38 Flaccus was suddenly, at the command of the emperor, carried as a prisoner to Rome, and banished to the island of Andros in the Aegean Sea, where subsequently he was, together with other distinguished exiles, put to death by the orders of Caligula.¹⁵⁵ Who his successor was is unknown.¹⁵⁶ It may be accepted as highly probable that the Jews did not get back their synagogues during Caligula's lifetime, and that the worship of the emperor continued a burning question, and one

¹⁵⁴ Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 12, ed. Mangey, ii. 531, 532.

¹⁵⁵ Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 12-21, ed. Mangey, ii. 532-544.—The chronological data for the incidents above recorded converge upon the autumn of A.D. 38. Compare Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1534-1538. Agrippa arrived at Alexandria favoured by the trade-winds (ἐρπνοί, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521), which blow from the 20th of July for the space of thirty days (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 47. 124, xviii. 28. 270). The scourging of the thirty-eight members of the Jewish Gerousia took place on Caligula's birthday (*In Flaccum*, sec. 10, ed. Mangey, ii. 529), i.e. on the 31st August (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 8). The departure of Flaccus, which occurred soon after this, took place during the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles (*In Flaccum*, sec. 14 *init.* ed. Mangey, ii. 534); therefore in September or October.—The year 38 is obtained from the two following facts: (1) Agrippa returned from Rome to Palestine in the second year of Caligula (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11). (2) The Jewish warehouses were plundered when they had been closed on account of the mourning for Drusilla, the sister of Caligula (Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 8, ed. Mangey, ii. 525). But she died in A.D. 38 (Dio Cassius, lix. 10-11).

¹⁵⁶ According to Dio Cassius, lix. 10, Caligula had appointed Macro governor of Egypt. But he, while still Flaccus was governor of Egypt, was compelled to commit suicide (Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 3-4, ed. Mangey, ii. 519). He therefore never actually entered upon his governorship. Compare generally on the governors of Egypt, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* t. iii. p. 310 sq.

involving the Jews in danger. In A.D. 40, probably in spring, in consequence of the still continuing conflicts between the heathen and Jewish population of Alexandria, an embassy from both parties went to the emperor to complain against one another, and seek to win over the emperor to their side. The leader of the Jewish embassy was Philo; the leader of his opponents was the scholar Apion. The result was unfavourable to the Jews. They were ungraciously received by the emperor, and were obliged to return without having effected their object. So Josephus briefly tells the story.¹⁵⁷ A few incidents connected with this embassy are also told by Philo in his work about Caligula. But it is difficult to obtain any definite information from these fragmentary notices. Without having referred to the sending of one of the two embassies, Philo first of all states that the ambassadors of the Alexandrians won over completely to their interests the slave Helicon, a favourite of Caligula. When the Jews perceived this, they made similar endeavours on their part, but in vain.¹⁵⁸ They then concluded to pass on to the emperor a written statement, which contained the main points embraced in the petition shortly before sent in by King Agrippa. Caligula received the Jewish ambassadors first of all in the Campus Martius at Rome, and promised to hear them at a convenient time.¹⁵⁹ The ambassadors then followed the emperor to Puteoli, where, however, they were not received.¹⁶⁰ Only at a later period—we know not how much later—the

¹⁵⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 1.—According to Josephus the two embassies consisted each of three men; according to Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 46, ed. Mangey, ii. 600, the Jewish embassy consisted of five men.

¹⁵⁸ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 25–26, ed. Mangey, ii. 570 (Helicon); *ibid.* sec. 27, ed. Mangey, ii. 571 (the ambassadors of the Alexandrians); *ibid.* secs. 27–28, ed. Mangey, ii. 571 sq. (now the Jewish ambassadors vainly entreated Helicon to secure them an audience).

¹⁵⁹ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 28, ed. Mangey, ii. 572 (the narrator here speaks evidently, in the first person, of himself).

¹⁶⁰ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573.

promised audience took place at Rome, in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia, at which the emperor—while he inspected the works that were going on, and gave orders regarding them—caused the Jews to keep moving on always behind him, throwing out to them now and again a contemptuous remark, amid the applause of the ambassadors of the other party, until at last he dismissed them, declaring that they were to be regarded rather as foolish than as wicked men, since they would not believe in his divinity.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 44–46, ed. Mangey, ii. 597–600.—In the narrative of Philo, it is remarkable that he speaks about the complaints of the Alexandrian and Jewish ambassadors in Rome without having made any mention of the sending of the embassies. Possibly there is some gap in the text that has come down to us. So Massebieau, *Le classement des œuvres de Philon* [*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences religieuses*, vol. i. Paris 1889], p. 65 sqq. But this hypothesis seems to me quite unnecessary; for Philo does not by any means propose to tell the history of this embassy, as one might suppose from the false title, which was not given by Philo himself. His theme is rather the same as that of Lactantius in his treatise, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*: that the persecutors of the pious are punished by God. So correctly Massebieau. As with Flaccus, so also with Caligula—first of all his evil deeds are enumerated, and then the divine retribution; only this second half of the treatise about Caligula is no longer extant. The Jews are here, therefore, not the principal figures, but Caligula; and so the Jewish embassy from Alexandria to Rome is quite a subordinate matter. From this point of view, also, other difficulties are probably to be explained. Caligula was absent from Rome on an expedition to Gaul from the autumn of A.D. 39 till the 31st August A.D. 40 (see above, p. 36). Did the twice-repeated reception of the embassy take place before or after the expedition? According to Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573 *fin.*, the ambassadors made the sea journey during the winter (χειμῶνος μέσον). Since the business on which they were engaged had become a matter of burning interest in consequence of the great persecution of autumn A.D. 38, we would naturally at first fix the date of the journey in the winter of A.D. 38–39. This view is favoured by the circumstance that the written apology which the ambassadors laid before the emperor is said to have been of similar contents with that “shortly before” (πρὸ ὀλίγου) sent by Agrippa, on the occasion of his visit to Alexandria (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 28, ed. Mangey, ii. 572), which undoubtedly refers to the same affair as has been narrated above on p. 95. For these reasons Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1539–1540, places the setting out of the embassy in the end

Affairs at Alexandria remained in suspense down to the death of Caligula. One of the first acts of the new emperor,

of A.D. 38, its first reception in the Campus Martius and going down to Puteoli in the beginning of A.D. 39, before the expedition to Gaul (*ibid.* n. 1551, 1557); but the second audience, in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia, after the Gallic campaign, in the autumn of A.D. 40 (*ibid.* n. 1600). Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 281, reaches, as it seems, the same result. But this arrangement is really impossible, because the ambassadors first received at Puteoli the news that Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the temple at Jerusalem (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573). This, as the following exposition will show, cannot have happened before the spring of A.D. 40. We are therefore obliged to set even the first reception, and the immediately following movement down to Puteoli, in the autumn of A.D. 40, after the Gallic campaign. That during this period, also, Caligula was once at Puteoli may be concluded from Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 1, 4, where mention is made of Caligula's return "from Astura to Antium" not long before his death. The second audience, in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia, at any rate took place after the expedition to Gaul; for the ambassadors there refer to the fact that the Jews had offered sacrifices for the emperor κατὰ τῆς ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 45, ed. Mangey, ii. 598). If, therefore, the audiences of the Jews with Caligula are not to be assigned to an earlier date than autumn of A.D. 40, the question may be raised whether their winter journey should not be referred to the late autumn of A.D. 40? This is the opinion of Grätz, expressed in his treatise referred to above on p. 91. This date, however, would be too late, since it could not then be explained how the ambassadors first heard in Puteoli of events which had occurred in Palestine as early as the beginning of summer. It is therefore to be assumed that the ambassadors made their journey in the end of the winter of A.D. 39-40, waited in Rome for Caligula's return, and in autumn were received by him. So Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, t. i. p. 457; Delaunay, *Philon d'Alexandrie*, p. 180; also Noris, *Opera*, ii. 659 sq.; and Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*, p. 313. Sanclemente opposes Noris' opinion, that the audience described by Philo, secs. 44-45, occurred before the going down to Puteoli referred to in sec. 29. But whether we accept this combination or that, in any case we fail to discover in Philo's exposition not only an account of the sending out of the Jewish-Alexandrian embassy, but also a full and comprehensive account of what befell it in Rome. Still more singular is it that Philo should have communicated nothing about the state of affairs in Alexandria itself from autumn A.D. 38 till Caligula's death, so that it is not explained why the embassy did not start till eighteen months after the great persecution. But all this may be satisfactorily explained if we accept what we said above as to the purpose of the writing.

Claudius, was to issue an edict by which all their earlier privileges were confirmed to the Alexandrian Jews, and the unrestricted liberty to practise their own religion was anew granted them.¹⁶²

While the Alexandrian embassy to Rome waited for the imperial decision, a serious storm burst upon the mother country of Palestine. It had its origin in Jamnia, a town on the Philistine coast which was mainly inhabited by Jews. When the heathen inhabitants of that place, in order to show their zeal for Caesar and at the same time to aggravate the Jews, erected a rude altar to the emperor, this was immediately again destroyed by the Jews. The incident was reported by the imperial procurator of the city, Herennius Capito,¹⁶³ to the emperor, who, in order to avenge himself upon the refractory Jews, gave orders that his statue should be set up in the temple of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁴ As it was foreseen that such an attempt would call forth violent opposition, the governor of Syria, P. Petronius, received a command to have the one half of the army¹⁶⁵ stationed "on the Euphrates," *i.e.* in Syria, in readiness to proceed to Palestine, in order by their assistance to carry out the will of the emperor. This moderate and reasonable man obeyed the childish demand with a heavy heart during the winter of A.D. 39–40. While he was getting the statue prepared in Sidon, he gathered about him

¹⁶² Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 2.

¹⁶³ He was not as Philo names him: *φόρων ἐκλογεὺς τῶν τῆς Ιουδαίας*, but only ὁ τῆς Ἰαμυνείας ἐπίτροπος (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3). Jamnia was merely a private estate of the emperor (*Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2).—Should not also in the text of Philo Ἰαμυνείας be read instead of *Ιουδαίας*?

¹⁶⁴ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 30, ed. Mangey, ii. 575 sq.

¹⁶⁵ According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2, two legions; according to *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 1, three. The former statement is the correct one; for in Syria there were four legions (see above, p. 50). When therefore Philo, sec. 31, says "the half," this agrees with Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2.

the heads of the Jewish people, and sought to persuade them to yield with a good grace; but all in vain.¹⁶⁶

Soon the news of what was proposed spread over all Palestine, and now the people assembled in great crowds at Ptolemais, where Petronius had his headquarters. "Like a cloud the multitude of the Jews covered all Phoenicia." Well arranged, divided into six groups—old men, able-bodied men, boys, old women, wives and maidens, the mass deputation appeared before Petronius. Their mournful complaints and groans made such an impression upon Petronius that he resolved at all hazards to make the attempt to put off the decision for a time at least.¹⁶⁷ The full truth, that he really wished to have a stop put to the whole business, he dared not indeed write to the emperor. He wrote him rather that he entreated for delay, partly because time was required for the preparing of the statue, partly because the harvest was approaching, which it would be advisable to see gathered in, since otherwise the exasperated Jews might in the end destroy the whole harvest. When Caligula received that letter, he was greatly enraged at the dilatoriness of his governor. But he did not venture to give expression to his wrath, but wrote him a letter of acknowledgment in which he praised his prudence, and only advised him to proceed as quickly as possible with the preparation of the statue, since the harvest would be already about an end.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 31, ed. Mangey, ii. 576–579.—The date is determined by the fact that the negotiations following at Ptolemais took place during harvest, therefore between Passover and Pentecost and in the year 40, as the current report declares. But since, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2, Petronius had gone into his winter quarters at Ptolemais, he must have gone there in winter, A.D. 39–40. Josephus' words are certainly calculated to give one the impression that these events did not occur till the winter of A.D. 40–41. See vol. i. p. 365.

¹⁶⁷ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 32 f., ed. Mangey, ii. 579–582; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 1–3.

¹⁶⁸ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 33–34, ed. Mangey, ii. 582–584. This

Petronius, however, did not even yet proceed with any vigour in the matter, but entered anew into negotiations with the Jews. Yea, even late in autumn, down to the season of sowing in November, we find him at Tiberias besieged for forty days by crowds of people to be numbered by thousands, who besought him with tears that he would yet save the country from the threatened horror of temple desecration. When at length Aristobulus also, the brother of King Agrippa and other relatives of his joined their prayers to those of the people, Petronius resolved to take the decisive step of asking the emperor to revoke his order. He led his army back from Ptolemais to Antioch, and set before the emperor, in a letter which he sent for this purpose to Caligula, how upon grounds of equity and prudence it would be advisable to recall the offensive edict.¹⁶⁹

Meanwhile affairs at Rome affecting matters in question had taken a more favourable turn. King Agrippa I., who in spring of the year 40 had left Palestine, met with Caligula in Rome or at Puteoli in autumn, when the emperor had just returned from his German campaign.¹⁷⁰ He had as yet heard

correspondence does not occur to be identical with that spoken of by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2; for the latter had taken place before the proceedings at Ptolemais.

¹⁶⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 3-6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 3-5. The recall of the army is merely mentioned in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 5.

¹⁷⁰ That Agrippa had left Palestine as early as spring may be deduced from this, that he knew nothing of what had been going on in Palestine when he arrived in Rome. He cannot, however, have been in company with Caligula in Gaul, as Dio Cassius, lix. 24, conjectures, but must have gone first to Rome or Puteoli, some time after the return of Caligula from his campaign on 31st August A.D. 40. For had Agrippa's intervention that was crowned with success already occurred in Gaul, it would not have been only after Caligula's return, and after they had followed the emperor to Puteoli, that the Alexandrian ambassadors would have first heard the sad news about the affairs of Palestine, as was the case (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573). The intervention of Agrippa must therefore have taken place after that time. It therefore follows from this that Petronius, late in autumn, in the time of sowing,

nothing of what was going on in Palestine. But the glance of the emperor's eye assured him that he was nursing secret wrath in his heart. When he sought in vain for the cause of such feelings, the emperor observed his embarrassment, and let him know in a very ungracious tone what the cause of his displeasure was. The king on hearing this was so horror-stricken that he fell into a fainting fit, from which he did not recover till the evening of the following day.¹⁷¹ On his recovery he made it his first business to address a supplication to the emperor, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to recall his order by showing that none of his predecessors had ever attempted anything of that sort.¹⁷² Contrary to all expectation, the letter of Agrippa had the desired effect. Caligula caused a letter to be written to Petronius, commanding that nothing should be changed in the temple at Jerusalem. The favour was certainly not unmixed; for along with this order there was an injunction that no one who should erect a temple or altar to the emperor outside of Jerusalem should be hindered from doing so. A good part of the concession that had been made was thus again withdrawn; and it was only owing to the circumstance that no one took advantage of the right thus granted, that new disturbances did not arise out of it. The emperor, indeed, soon repented that he had made that concession. And so, as he made no further use of the statue that had been prepared at Sidon, he ordered a new one to be made in Rome which

and not long before Caligula's death, therefore somewhere about November, petitioned for the revoking of the order. He cannot therefore have then had in his hands Caligula's decision in reference to the matter; and this cannot in that case have been agreed upon in Rome earlier than some time in September or October.—That the intervention of Agrippa took place in A.D. 40 is made plain on general grounds from the contents of his supplication, in which he designates himself as already in possession of Galilee (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 41, ed. Mangey, ii. 593).

¹⁷¹ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 35, ed. Mangey, ii. 584-586.

¹⁷² Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 36-41, ed. Mangey, ii. 586-594.

he intended himself, in his journey to Alexandria which he had in prospect, to put ashore on the coast of Palestine as he passed, and have it secretly brought to Jerusalem.¹⁷³ Only the death of the emperor that soon followed prevented the carrying out of this enterprise.

For the person of Petronius as well as for the land of Judea the death of the emperor was a favourable occurrence. When, further, Caligula, after he himself had arranged for the stopping of proceedings, received the letter of Petronius expressing the wish referred to, he fell into a furious passion about the disobedience of this officer, and caused a command immediately to be issued, that as a punishment for that he should take away his own life. Soon thereafter, however, Caligula was murdered, 24th January A.D. 41; and Petronius received the news thereof twenty-seven days before the messengers arrived with the order for self-destruction; for these, in consequence of unfavourable weather, had been three full months upon their way. There was now just as little idea of carrying out the order for self-murder as there was of setting up the statue in the temple of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁴

The new emperor, Claudius, who had been raised to the throne by the soldiers, immediately upon his accession gifted

¹⁷³ Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 42-43, ed. Mangey, ii. 594, 595. The projected journey to Alexandria is also mentioned in sec. 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 583, and in Suetonius, *Caligula*, c. 49.—A somewhat different account of Agrippa's intervention is given by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7-8. According to him, on a particular occasion when Agrippa had won the special good will of the emperor by means of a luxurious banquet, Caligula demanded of the Jewish king that he should ask of him any favour that he desired, whereupon he besought the emperor for the revocation of the order to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem. The result, according to Josephus, was the same, namely, that the prayer was granted.

¹⁷⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 8-9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 5.—Compare also, generally, the Jewish tradition in Derenbourg, p. 207 sq.

The order of succession in time of the different incidents recorded may be set forth in something like the following arrangement. It must be

to Agrippa, besides the dominion which he already had possession under Caligula, Judea and Samaria, so that now here presupposed that the transmission of news from Rome or Gaul to Jerusalem, and *vice versâ*, would ordinarily take about two months :—

- Winter, A.D. 39–40 : Petronius receives orders from Caligula to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, and goes with two legions into Palestine.
- April or May A.D. 40 : When harvest was at hand, the negotiations were opened at Ptolemais. First report of Petronius to Caligula (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 32–33 ; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 1–3).
- June : Caligula receives Petronius' first report, and answers him, urging him to make haste (Philo, sec. 34).
- August : Petronius receives Caligula's answer, but still puts off the final decision.
- End of September : Agrippa pays a visit to Caligula at Rome or Puteoli ; learns of what had happened, and intervenes. Caligula sends to Petronius the order to put a stop to the undertaking (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 35–42 ; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7–8).
- Beginning of November : Negotiations at Tiberias in time of sowing ; Petronius prays the emperor to desist from setting up the statue (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 3–6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 3–5).
- End of November : Petronius receives the order to put a stop to the undertaking.
- Beginning of January A.D. 41 : Caligula receives the petition of Petronius to desist from setting up the statue, and sends him the order to take away his own life (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 8).
- 24th January A.D. 41 : Caligula is murdered.
- Beginning of March : Petronius receives the news of Caligula's death.
- Beginning of April : Petronius receives the letter with the order for self-destruction (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 9 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 5).

This table may still be regarded as essentially correct, even if in some cases the time taken for a letter to travel from Italy or Gaul to Palestine, and *vice versâ*, might be somewhat shorter. On the average the time may be put down at between one or two months. It deserves, however, to be taken into consideration that Caligula was in summer still in Gaul, and that in winter news travelled slowly and irregularly. The most difficult point in our chronology is this, that Agrippa as well as the Alexandrian Jewish embassy did not hear of Caligula's order with reference to the

again all Palestine, to the same extent which it formerly had under Herod the Great, was united in the hand of a Herodian.¹⁷⁵

EXCURSUS I.—THE VALUATION CENSUS OF QUIRINIUS,
LUKE II. 1–5.

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temple of Jerusalem earlier than sometime in September (see above, pp. 98 and 101); whereas, according to Philo, the affair was already matter of common talk in Palestine in harvest time, as early as April or May. Tillemont had for this reason given up the later statement of Philo as unhistorical (*Histoire des empereurs*, t. i. Venise 1732, p. 630 sq., *Notes sur la ruine des juifs*, note ix.); so also in recent times, Grätz *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 97 ff., 145 ff. = *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. p. 759 ff. But the statements of Philo are on this point so definite and detailed (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 583: ἐν ἀκμῇ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τοῦ αἵτου καρπῶν εἶναι, etc., compare also sec. 34 *fin.*, ed. Mangey, ii. 584) that it seems very risky to have recourse to such violent measures.

¹⁷⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5.

¹ The most complete monographs are those marked with an asterisk.—The earlier literature is given by Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 23 b; Huschke, 1840, p. 8; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 292–294; Meyer on Luke ii. 2; Gumpach, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1852, p. 663 f. The more recent especially in Lecoultre, *De censu Quiriniano* (1883), p. 7 sq., and Sieffert in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xiii. 455.

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It has been mentioned above, at p. 79, that after the banishment of Archelaus the imperial legate, Quirinius, arrived in Judea, and there, in A.D. 6 or 7, proceeded to make a census, *i.e.* a list of the inhabitants, and a reckoning of their landed property, for the purpose of apportioning the taxation. The evangelist Luke, ii. 1–5, makes mention of a valuation census such as that made by Quirinius; but he places it in the last days of Herod the Great, that is, somewhere about ten or twelve years earlier than that census was really made. It is a matter of debate how this story is related to the similar one recorded by Josephus; whether there were actually two different valuations in Judea conducted by Quirinius, or whether Luke has erroneously set down the valuation that was made in A.D. 7 in the last years of Herod the Great. In order that we may be in a position to form a deliberate judgment on this much-debated question, and generally on the credibility of the narrative of Luke, it is necessary first

of all to understand, at least in its most general outlines, the Roman system of taxation during the days of the empire.

The original Roman census, as it was drawn up during the period of the republic,² was strictly confined to the enrolment of Roman citizens. It consisted of a list of Roman citizens and their possessions, made for a double purpose: (1) The regulating of military service, and (2) the levying of the direct taxes. The party whose property had to be valued was obliged to present himself before the censor and give in a statement of his possessions; but it was the custom that the father of the family should pay taxes for himself and for the whole family. In the time of the republic there was no one regular valuation census of the subjects of the Roman nation. Valuations were indeed made here and there; but these had no intimate connection or coherence with one another nor with the census of the Roman citizens.³

In the days of the empire, as even before in the days of the republic, the census of Roman citizens had completely lost its original significance; for the Roman citizens, *i.e.* therefore all Italy and the colonies with Italian privileges, were no longer sufficient for military service, and also no longer paid direct taxes.⁴ When therefore Augustus, Claudius, and Vespasian still made valuation rolls of Roman citizens,

² Compare on the census of citizens in the time of the republic, Rein, art. "Census" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. 247-257; Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 97-116; De Boor, *Fasti censorii*, Berol. 1873; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 1 (1874), pp. 304-442; E. Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*, Bd. i. 1884, pp. 754-797.

³ Compare on the provincial census of the times of the republic, Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 114-116; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 175-197 (2 Aufl. revised by Dessau und Domaszewski, pp. 180-204).

⁴ Compare on the citizen census of the days of the empire: Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 116-129; De Boor, *Fasti censorii*, pp. 30-33, 96-100; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1, pp. 310-312, 391 ff.; ii. 2, p. 1012 f.—The last citizen census which was fully carried out, was that of Vespasian in A.D. 74.

this was done only for statistical purposes, or on account of the religious festivities associated therewith, but not for taxation purposes. Fundamentally different was the census of the provinces, the main purpose of which was to regulate the levying of the taxes.⁵ Even in this direction there existed in the earlier days of the empire a very great diversity;⁶ but in general even then those principles had become pretty well established which in later juristic documents (*Digest*. L. 15: *De censibus*) are assumed as everywhere prevailing. From these we learn that there were for the provinces two kinds of direct taxes: (1) The property-tax on possessions in land, *tributum soli* or *agri*, and (2) The poll-tax, *tributum capitis*.⁷ The former was paid partly in kind, partly in money.⁸ Under the latter, the *tributum capitis*, there seems to have been summed up various sorts of personal taxes, such as the income-tax, which varied according to the amount of the

* Compare, on the provincial census during the days of the empire, the works and treatises referred to above by Huschke (1847), Rodbertus, Zumpt (pp. 147-175), Marquardt, Unger; and, in addition: Rein, art. "Tributum" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2, pp. 2125-2129; Zachariä von Lingenthal, "Zur Kenntniss des römischen Steuerwesens in der Kaiserzeit" (*Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 7 série, t. vi. No. 9, Petersb. 1863); Bernh. Matthiass, *Die römische Grundsteuer und das Vectigalrecht*, Erlangen 1882. The two last deal especially with the later period of the empire.

⁶ Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 156, 176, 187, 211 f. Compare also: Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 185-196.

⁷ That there were only these two kinds of direct taxes is plain from *Digest*. L. 15. 8. § 7 (from Paul in beginning of third century): "Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit, non adjecto, ut et juris Italici essent; sed tributum his remisit capitis; sed Divus Titus etiam solum immune factum interpretatus est."—Compare Appian. *Libyca*, 135: τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ἄρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν; Dio Cass. lxii. 3; Tertullian, *Apologet.* 13: "agri tributo onusti viliores, hominum capita stipendio censa ignobiliora." Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2. 2126.

⁸ According to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 4, "the third part of the world," that is, North Africa, with the exception of Egypt, yielded yearly so much grain, that from it the needs of the city of Rome could be supplied for eight months; and from the city of Alexandria four months

income, and the poll-tax proper, which was of equal amount for every *caput*.⁹ In Syria, *e.g.*, there was raised in Appian's time a personal tax, which amounted to one per cent. of the valuation.¹⁰ This was therefore properly an income-tax. When, on the other hand, Josephus reckons from the poll-tax that Egypt, with the exclusion of Alexandria, had a population of seven and a half millions, he is evidently referring to a tax of the same amount for every *caput*.¹¹ At any rate, during the earlier days of the empire, the taxes levied were of the most diverse kinds.¹² Women and slaves had also to pay the poll-tax. Only children and old men were exempted. In Syria, *e.g.*, men from the age of fourteen and women from the age of twelve years, and both up to the age of sixty-five years,

⁹ Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 175 ff.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 185-196.

¹⁰ Appian, *Syr.* 50: Πομπήιος — τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἁγιοτάτην αὐτοῖς κατέσκαψεν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθήρηκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὐθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωματῶν βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουκίας. "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξις ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἐκάστῳ.—Instead of περιουκίας (a conjecture of Musgrave adopted by Bekker) the codd. have περιουσίας, which is meaningless, although it is still defended by Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 135. The correctness of the conjecture is proved by the context. Appian means to say: On account of the battles under Vespasian and Hadrian, the Jews had to pay a higher poll-tax than the other neighbouring peoples, namely, than the Syrians and Cilicians, who pay an annual poll-tax in the form of a percentage of the sum of the valuation. From Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6, Dio Cassius, lxi. 7, however, we know that the increase consisted in this, that the δίδραχμον, which had before been paid as a temple-tax (Matt. xvii. 24), after the destruction of the temple had to be paid to the Romans.

¹¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 4: Αἰγύπτος — πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς ἑπτακοσίαις ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείαν κατοικούντων, ὥς ἐνεστὶν ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἑκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφορᾶς τεκμήρασθαι.

¹² Of Northern Africa, Josephus says (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 14): χωρὶ τῶν ἐτησίαν καρπῶν, ἰο μηνὶν ὀκτώ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πλῆθος τρέφουσι, καὶ ἔξωθεν παντοίως φορολογοῦνται, καὶ ταῖς χρεῖαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσι ἐτόμως τὰς εἰσφορὰς.

were obliged to pay the poll-tax.¹⁸ As to the valuation census of the provinces, *i.e.* the preparation of lists for the sake of the apportioning of the taxes, the same principles regulated procedure as in the drawing up of the census of Roman citizens.¹⁴ In regard to the one as well as the other, the expressions were used: *edere, deferre censum, profiteri*; from which it is evident that the party liable had to give in the valuation himself, and his taxes were only controlled by the officers.¹⁵ The taxes had to be paid in the chief towns of the particular taxation districts;¹⁶ and, indeed, the landed estates had to be registered for taxation in those communes in whose domain they lay.¹⁷ At what intervals the valuation was repeated is not with any certainty known. Huschke assumes a ten years' period for the census, similar to the five years' period of the earlier census of Roman citizens.¹⁸ Zumpt contests the correctness of this assumption, and believes that by standing taxation boards the list was kept carefully revised.¹⁹ Many hints favour the idea of a five years' census period. Since the fourth century after Christ it is well known that the fifteen year indiction period became prevalent.²⁰

So much on the question of valuations and taxation in

¹⁸ *Digest*. L. 15. 3 pr. (from Ulpian, beginning of the third century): "Aetatem in censendo significare necesse est, quia quibusdam aetas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur; veluti in Syriis a quatuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminae usque ad sexagesimum quintum annum tributo capitis obligantur; aetas autem spectatur censendi tempore."

¹⁴ Compare generally: Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 192 ff.; Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 170-175.

¹⁵ Huschke, *Census*, p. 193; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, p. 173.

¹⁶ Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 174.

¹⁷ *Digest*. L. 15. 4. § 2 (from Ulpian, beginning of the third century): "Is vero, qui agrum in alia civitate habet, in ea civitate profiteri debet, in qua ager est; agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare, in cujus territorio possidetur."

¹⁸ Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 57 ff.

¹⁹ Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 168-170, 189, 205, 206; compare Hock, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 2. 406.

²⁰ Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 236-238 (2 Aufl. pp. 243-245).

general. Now, Luke says in the passage referred to, chap. ii. 1-5,²¹ that about the time of the birth of Christ, therefore certainly while Herod the Great still reigned (Luke i. 5; Matt. ii. 1-22), a decree (δῶγμα) went out from the Emperor Augustus requiring that "all the world should be taxed," ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. By "all the world," in accordance with the well-known use of the phrase among the Romans, we can understand nothing else than the whole Roman empire, the *orbis Romanus*. Strictly taken, the phrase would include Italy as well as the provinces. Yet it would be a pardonable inexactness in the use of the expression, even were it found to have been employed actually to designate only a general census of the provinces.²² Absolutely impossible is the limitation of the phrase to Palestine sometimes favoured by earlier expositors.²³ The verb ἀπογράφειν means first of all only "to register," and is therefore more general than the definite ἀποτιμᾶν, "to value."²⁴ But there is no other purpose of registration that naturally suggests itself than that of forming a basis for taxation (for the Jews were exempted from military service); and certainly Luke has so understood the word, since in ver. 2 he brings this registration ("taxing") into connection with the well-known census of Quirinius, whether to identify with that taxing or to distinguish it from it. He proceeds in ver. 2 to say: αὕτη [ἡ] ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. Whether the article is to be inserted before ἀπογραφὴ or not, it is difficult to say, since important authorities may be cited in favour of both readings.²⁵ At any rate the order πρώτη ἐγένετο is to be

²¹ Compare in explanation, besides the commentaries: Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 18-32; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 90-96, 188 ff.; Lecoultré, *De censu Quiriniano*, pp. 11-27.

²² So Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 20-22.

²³ So Paulus, Hug, and others.

²⁴ Compare Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 19 f.; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 84-86.

²⁵ The majority of MSS. has the article: it is wanting in BD, also in κ .

maintained over against the isolated readings ἐγένετο πρώτη (K) and ἐγένετο ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη (D). For the sense it is almost indifferent whether one insert the article or not; for in the former case it would be translated: "This taxing took place as the first;" and in the other case: "This took place as the first taxing,"²⁶ while Quirinius was governor of Syria. But it may now be asked, in what sense Luke uses the term "first." Does he mean to say that it was the first general imperial valuation,²⁷ or the first Roman valuation in Judea,²⁸ or that it was the first among several made by Quirinius?²⁹ The first of these explanations would make Luke assume a number of general imperial valuations. But if, as will appear, even the one imperial valuation census under Augustus is problematical, a frequent repetition of such a census would be yet more problematical. We shall therefore do well in not unnecessarily attributing this serious error to the evangelist. The first tenable explanation then is that mentioned above in the second place. We shall then have to stand by it, if it can be proved that Quirinius only made one valuation census for Judea, and that also Luke intended to refer to that one. Provisionally, therefore, we may assume this as the sense of the words, that the general imperial valuation census ordered by Augustus for Judea was the first which had been made there by the Romans, and that it took place while Quirinius was governor of Syria. In this case the only point that we must still, according to p. 111, leave undecided is, whether the valuation census was subsequently repeated at regular

which reads αὐτὴν ἀπογραφὴν; the article is rejected by Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, ed. 8, Weiseler, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.

²⁶ Buttmann, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs*, p. 105.

²⁷ So Huschke, *Ueber den zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi gehaltenen Census*, p. 89; Köhler in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xiii. 466.

²⁸ So Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 24, 27; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 157; Höck, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 2. 417.

²⁹ So Meyer-Weiss on Luke ii. 2; and Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 188-190.

intervals of time, or was kept up to date by constant revision of the lists.—In what follows, in vv. 3–5, Luke further states that in obedience to that decree, all (in the land of Judea) went to be taxed, every one *εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν*,³⁰ i.e. every one who was away from the native place of his family (his *οἶκος*), had now to go to that place in order to be taxed there. And so also Joseph went from Galilee to Bethlehem, because he was of the house of David, to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife (*σὺν Μαρίας* is to be joined with *ἀπογράψασθαι*, not with *ἀνέβη*, which is much further removed from it).

This account by Luke, however, now calls forth the following considerations:—

1. Of a general imperial census in the time of Augustus, history otherwise knows nothing.

Apologetical: Huschke, *Census zur Zeit des Geburt Jesu Christi*, pp. 2–59; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 66–82; Rodbertus, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, v. 145 ff., 241 ff.; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 147–160; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 204 ff. (2 Aufl. p. 211 ff.); Lecoultré, *De censu Quiriniano*, pp. 28–41.

Huschke especially has endeavoured by a series of facts to establish the position that such an imperial census actually did take place, but the want of demonstrative force in this attempt is now to some extent, at least, admitted even by the most decided upholders of the narrative of Luke. Thus Huschke refers (p. 11 ff.), and also even Wieseler,³¹ to the *rationarium* or *breviarium totius imperii*, a list of the sources of help or supply for the whole empire, which Augustus, as a good financier, drew up, so that he might be able to bring into order again the seriously disturbed financial arrangements

³⁰ So it is to be read, according to *Σ^cBDLΞ* (with Tischendorf, ed. 8, Weiss, Westcott and Hort). instead of *Rec. εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν*.

³¹ *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 73 f.; *Beiträge*, pp. 52, 93.

of the empire (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28, 101; Dio Cassius, liii. 30, lvi. 33; Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11).³² But Zumpt rightly remarks³³ that this, indeed, speaks for the orderly condition of the State administration, but does not prove an imperial census.³⁴—Still more unfortunate is Huschke's reference (pp. 37–45) to Dio Cassius, liv. 35 and lv. 13; for in the former passage it is simply said that Augustus as a private man had undertaken a census of all his property (πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ); and in the other, the reference is only to a census of Roman citizens.³⁵—Finally, the attempt of Huschke (pp. 45–53) to call the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (on which compare what is said in vol. i. p. 115) as a witness on behalf of the general imperial census completely breaks down; and for proof of this, it is enough to refer to Wieseler³⁶ and Marquardt.³⁷

Of the numerous witnesses whom Huschke had called to prove the fact of the general imperial census, there remain, therefore, only Cassiodorus, Isidorus Hispalensis, and Suidas.³⁸

³² Tacitus in that passage describes its contents as follows: "Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam."

³³ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 154.

³⁴ The attempt has, indeed, been made to deduce from the statement of Tacitus a declaration that Augustus had made valuation censuses even in the domains of *reges socii*. But it will be seen that it is not once said there that the *regna* paid tribute, let alone that censuses were held in their territories.

³⁵ Compare Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 75–79; *Beiträge*, p. 57; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 126, 155. The passage in Dio Cassius, liv. 35, is referred also by Rodbertus to a census of the provinces, although with a meaning somewhat different from that of Huschke.

³⁶ *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 79–82; *Beiträge*, pp. 58–64.

³⁷ *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 205.

³⁸ Compare Huschke, *Census*, p. 3 ff.; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 68 f.; *Beiträge*, pp. 53–56; Rodbertus, *Jahrbucher für Nationalökonomie*, v. 241 ff.; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 149–155; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 205 f.

They all do, undoubtedly, speak of a general imperial census in the time of Augustus.³⁹ But their testimony loses very much of its value from the fact that they were all three Christians, and lived in a very late period, namely, in the sixth, seventh, and tenth centuries after Christ, which is calculated to produce an exceedingly strong suspicion that they simply drew their information from Luke. The confused rigmarole of the Spanish Isidore is not regarded even by Wieseler⁴⁰ and Zumpt⁴¹ as an independent witness. As to Suidas, his dependence upon Luke is quite apparent. Finally, Cassiodorus has certainly used older sources, namely, the writings of the land measurers. But who can give us any guarantee that he did not derive his statement about the census from Luke? At any rate, it is hazardous, considering the silence of all older sources (the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Dio Cassius, Suetonius), to accept as historical the isolated

³⁹ The passages referred to run as follows:—

Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, iii. 52: "Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda. Hoc auctor Hyrummetricus [some editors read: gromaticus] redegit ad dogma conscriptum, quatenus studiosus legendo possit agnoscere, quod deberet oculis absolute monstrare."

Isidorus, *Etymologiarum*, v. 36. 4 (*Opera*, ed. Arevalo, iii. 229 sq.): "Era singulorum annorum constituta est a Caesare Augusto: quando primum censum exegit, ac Romanum orbem descripsit. Dictum autem era ex eo, quod omnis orbie aes reddeie professus est reipublicae."—On the Spanish era of B.C. 38, the origin of which Isidore here seeks to explain, see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 422 ff.; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 1, 2 Aufl. p. 420 f. (art. "Aera"); Heller in Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxxi. 1874, pp. 13-32.

Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἀπογραφή: Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος ὁ μοναρχήσας εἰκοσὶν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐπὶ πάσαι τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐξέπεμψε, δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν, αὐτάρκη τινὰ προστάξας τῇ δημοσίᾳ μοῖραν ἐκ τούτων εἰσφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφή πρώτη ἐγένετο τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τί μὴ ἀφαι. ρουμένων, ὥς εἶναι τοῖς ἐν πόρεσι δημοσίῳ ἐγκλημα τὸν πλοῦτον.

⁴⁰ *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 69, note 1.

⁴¹ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 151.

statement of Cassiodorus.⁴²—The “testimony” of Orosius, on which Riess again lays great stress, though it had long been given up by most, rests, undoubtedly, only upon the narrative of Luke.^{42a}

Many think that they have found an indirect support for the idea of an imperial census in the times of Augustus in the so-called imperial survey of Augustus. But even this is very problematical.⁴³ We know, indeed, that Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, collected material for a map of the world, and that this map of the world after his death was set up in marble in a corridor. These *commentarii* of Agrippa were specially valuable on account of their numerous and exact measurements.⁴⁴ But it is very doubtful whether the

⁴² Mommsen also is of opinion that Cassiodorus has derived his statement about the census from Luke. See his treatise on “Die libri coloniarum” in *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, edited by Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff, Bd. ii. (1852) p. 177.

^{42a} Orosius, vi. 22. 6: “Eodem quoque anno [752 a. U.] tunc primum idem Caesar . . . censum agi singularum ubique provinciarum et censeri omnes homines jussit, quando et Deus homo videri et esse dignatus est. Tunc igitur natus est Christus, Romano censui statim adscriptus ut natus est.”—Compare Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi* (1880), p. 69 ff.

⁴³ The materials relating to this question are well summed up in a brief form in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. pp. 200–204 (2 Aufl. revised by Dessau und Domaszewski, 1884, pp. 207–211). In that work at p. 200 (in the 2nd ed. p. 207) the special literature is also given, to which we may now further add: F. Philippi, *Zur Reconstruction der Weltkarte des Agrippa*, 1880; Schweder, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Chorographie des Augustus*, 3 Thle. 1876–1883; Detlefsen, *Untersuchungen zu den geographischen Büchern des Plinius*, 1. *Die Weltkarte des M. Agrippa*, Glückstadt 1884. Compare also: Hübner, *Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die röm. Literaturgeschichte*, 4 Aufl. 1878, p. 180 (a list of the literature); Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 220. 12–13.

⁴⁴ The extant statements regarding these (especially those in Pliny) have been collected by Riese, *Geographi Latini minores* (1878), pp. 1–8. Compare also his *Prolegom.* pp. vii.–xvii.—The principal witness is Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 2. 17: “Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia præterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat? et cum eo divum Augustum? Is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippæ a sorore ejus inchoatam peregit.”—The statements in Pliny are evidently

measurements of Agrippa rest upon a general survey of the empire undertaken by Augustus. That such a survey was begun as early as the times of Caesar, and was completed under Augustus, is, indeed, affirmed by some late cosmographers, like Julius Honorius and Aethicus Ister. But it is questionable whether this statement is derived from ancient sources.⁴⁵ And even if Augustus had undertaken a general imperial survey, this, evidently, had nothing to do with the census. It could only properly have to do, as all geographical-statistical materials of the following period show, with geographical investigations, and, above all, with the measuring of roads, with a statement of distances from place to place.

But even although this much is established that, apart from Luke, there is no historical evidence of a general imperial census by Augustus, it may still certainly be regarded as a possibility that Luke alone has handed down to us information about that fact. But even this possibility again would require to be stated with very important limitations. For this reason chiefly we cannot entertain the idea of an imperial census, but at most only a census of the provinces, because in any case Italy would have to be excluded (compare p. 108). But even with respect to the provinces, there was this great difference among them, that some were administered by Augustus through his legates, others by the Senate. It is scarcely conceivable that the shrewd Augustus, careful to avoid all encroachments on the rights of the Senate, should have ordered by one and the same edict a census of the same

not taken from the map, but from Agrippa's *commentarii*. See Riese, p. ix. Yet Detlefsen still seeks to prove that they are from the map.

⁴⁵ The texts of Julius Honorius and Aethicus Ister are given in Riese, *Geographi Latini minores* (1878), pp. 21-55, and 71-103. The statement about the imperial survey is made by both at the very beginning.—Julius Honorius is older than Cassiodorus. But it is worthy of remark that in the *Cod. Parisin.* 4808, saec. vi., which contains the oldest recension of his work (in Riese distinguished as A), the statement about the imperial survey is wanting.

sort for his provinces and for those of the Senate.⁴⁶ Besides this, it is to be noted that we know definitely of some pro-

⁴⁶ In general it may be assumed that the emperors from the first claimed the right of arranging for valuation censuses even in senatorial provinces. Dio Cassius, liii. 17, reckons as a matter of course among the privileges of the emperors that they ἀπογραφεὶς ποιοῦνται. They must indeed have reserved this right to themselves, because even the senatorial provinces were required to contribute certain dues to the imperial *fiscus*, and so even in senatorial provinces there were imperial procurators (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 555 f.). But, in spite of the paucity of materials, it has been regarded by Mommsen and Hirschfeld worthy of remark that imperial financial officers have not hitherto been met with in the senatorial provinces throughout the first century of the imperial era. Among the instances brought together by Marquardt, ii. 2 Aufl. 1884, p. 216, and Unger (*Leipziger Studien zur class. Philol.* x. 1887, p. 1 ff.), we find two *legati ad census accipiendos* in the senatorial provinces, one in Gallia Narbonensis (Unger, n. 1 = Orelli-Henzen, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 6453), and one in Macedonia (Unger, n. 6 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1463). But the former was the regular proconsul appointed by the Senate, and had been as such appointed by the emperor to draw up the census; in the case of the other, who, in the abbreviated title, is only called *cens(itor) provinciae Macedoniae*, his position was probably the same (so Unger). Besides, the inscription belongs only to the second century. An imperial *procurator ad census accipiendos Macedoniae* (therefore in a senatorial province alongside of the proconsul) is met with on an inscription at Thysdrus in Africa (Unger, n. 31 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 10,500). But this one also has its origin only in the second century (Unger, p. 58 sq.). Great weight should not indeed be laid upon these facts, for it is possible that even to the imperial provinces the same principles apply: namely, that in the earlier days of the empire the governors were entrusted with the getting up of valuation returns, and only in later times were special census officers appointed alongside of the governors for getting them up (so Unger; compare below, note 125). The main point is, that Augustus, according to all that we know of him, aimed at making it appear that the senatorial provinces were independent.—Compare generally on the imperial right to making a census in the senatorial provinces (and, at the same time, against the idea of an imperial census under Augustus): Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1, pp. 392–394, ii. 2, p. 945 f.; Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Bd. i. 1887, pp. 17–19; Unger, *Leipziger Studien*, x. pp. 48–59. Hirschfeld holds that it is quite probable “that in the Augustan constitution this sovereign right had been bestowed upon the Senate in its provinces and in Italy,” p. 17.

vinces that in the time of Augustus no Roman census had been made in them.⁴⁷ The conclusion which we reach then is simply this, that in the time of Augustus valuation censuses had been made in many provinces.⁴⁸ And this is quite likely, since the need for such must have been keenly felt after the confusions of the civil war, and Augustus regarded it as his special task to restore matters to an orderly condition. Zumpt lays great stress also upon the fact that the juristic sources from the beginning of the third century after Christ (*Digest*. L. 15) already presuppose a great uniformity in reference to the matter of the valuation census.⁴⁹ But there is nothing to justify us in carrying that unification back to Augustus.

But a further remark on the narrative of Luke is:

II. Under a Roman census, Joseph would not have been obliged to travel to Bethlehem, and Mary would not have required to accompany him thither.

Apologetical: Huschke, *Census zur Zeit des Geburts Jesu Christi*, pp. 116-125; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 92-95; *Beiträge*, pp. 65-69, 46-49; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 193-196, 203 f.

In a Roman census the landed property had to be registered for taxation in the commune in whose territory it lay (see above, p. 111). For the rest, the person to be taxed had to enrol his name in the census at his dwelling-place, or at the

⁴⁷ Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 176 f.

⁴⁸ In all essential points Zumpt agrees with this view (compare *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 147 f., 163 ff., 211 f.), only that he goes back to an edict for authority for provincial valuations of different sorts and made at different times. So, too, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 204 ff.; Lecoultré, *De censu Quiriniano*, p. 28 sqq., and Aberle, who does not assume an edict, but only a decree of Augustus (*Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1874, p. 664 ff.). The idea of an imperial census, which they avowedly advocate, is thus practically abandoned.

⁴⁹ Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 156-160.

chief town of the taxation district within which he resided. When, on the other hand, Luke tells that Joseph travelled to Bethlehem, because he was of the house of David, it is assumed that the preparation of the taxation lists had been made according to tribes, generations, and families, which was by no means the Roman custom. It is therefore usually conjectured (as is done even by Wieseler and Zumpt) that in that census a concession had been made to the custom of the Jews. Now it is quite correct that the Romans in measures of that kind frequently conformed to existing institutions. But in this particular case such a concession as that referred to would have been very remarkable, since this method of conducting the census would be much more troublesome, and would lead to much greater inconvenience than the Roman plan. It is also extremely questionable whether a registration according to families and generations was any longer possible, since in regard to many it could not now be proved whether they belonged to this family or to that.⁵⁰ It is further remarkable that Luke makes it appear as if Mary had been obliged to travel with Joseph in order to be taxed (ver. 5: ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαρίας). No such requirement could have been made by a Roman census. For although women also were liable for the poll-tax (see above, p. 111), they were not accustomed to appear personally at a census,⁵¹ since the particulars required, as may be concluded from the analogy of the old Roman census, could have been supplied by the father of the family.

⁵⁰ See Div. II. vol. i. p. 252. The 15th Ab, on which, according to the Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 5, "those of unknown descent" brought the wood for the altar of burnt-offering, is elsewhere designated as the day of the general wood bringing. Only particular tribal houses brought it on special days. With these tribal houses are also related the remnants of a register of generations still continued down to the times of Christ (Div. II. vol. i. p. 219 f.).

⁵¹ As is still assumed by Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 46-49, and Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 203 f.

III. A Roman census could not have been made in Palestine during the time of King Herod.

Apologetical: Huschke, *Census zur Zeit des Geburts Jesu Christi*, pp. 99-116; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 82-92; *Beiträge*, pp. 79-94; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 178-186, 212 f.

When Quirinius in A.D. 7 undertook to make a census in Judea, this was quite in order; for Judea had then been converted into a Roman province. On the other hand, Luke would have us believe that a Roman census had been made in Palestine, at a time when Palestine, under Herod the Great, was still an independent kingdom, though under the suzerainty of Rome. After all that we have come to know about the position of the *reges socii* toward the Romans, and especially in regard to the position of Herod, this seems impossible. Pompey had indeed laid the land of Judea under tribute;⁵² and Caesar had rearranged the system of taxation by means of a series of edicts.⁵³ Even Antony had imposed upon Herod a tribute when he appointed him king.⁵⁴ But even granting that Herod had continued to pay this tribute under Augustus, it could not even then be supposed that a Roman valuation census should have been made in his country. Such an arrangement in regard to the internal administration might indeed have been ordered in Palestine after it had become a province, but not so long as it was the territory of a *rex socius*.

In order to make the matter conceivable an attempt has been made to point out similar cases, in which presumably in the domain of a *rex socius* a Roman census was made. Thus reference is made to a passage in Tacitus about a

⁵² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 6.

⁵³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5. Compare also above, vol. i. p. 379.

⁵⁴ Appian, *Civ.* v. 75: Ἰσθη δὲ πη καὶ βασιλείας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρείου τὸν Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην, κ.τ.λ.

census undertaken among the Clitae; ⁵⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 41: "Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur." But it is not here said that in the domains of King Archelaus a Roman census had been made, but only that Archelaus had wished to make a census according to the Roman custom (*nostrum in modum*) among the Clitae who were subject to him.⁵⁶—Zumpt is of opinion that in the revolt of Judas of Galilee on the occasion of the census of Quirinius in A.D. 7, he has obtained a proof that this census extended not only over the territory of Archelaus (Judea and Samaria), then made into a province, but also over Galilee, since that revolutionary chief must have received his designation from the scene of his operations.⁵⁷ But Josephus mentions expressly only the territory of Archelaus as that to which the census applied; ⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Huschke, *Census zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi*, pp. 102–104; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 83; *Beiträge*, p. 94.

⁵⁶ Archelaus is probably a son of the one named above in vol. i. p. 456. Another view, but one that can scarcely be correct, is given by Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 182–184.

⁵⁷ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 191, note.—On the designation of Judas as Galilean, see *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6: ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας; xx. 5. 2: Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1: τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας; ii. 17. 8: Ἰούδα τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου; Acts of Apostles v. 37: Ἰούδας ο Γαλιλαῖος.

⁵⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1: παρὴν δὲ καὶ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην, ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχηλαίου χρήματα.—Shortly before Josephus says, xvii. 13. 5: πέμπεται Κυρήνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχηλαίου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον. In fact, Quirinius did make valuation returns, not only in Judea, but also elsewhere in Syria, as the inscription of Q. Aemilius Secundus, which in earlier times was erroneously treated as spurious, proved, according to which Secundus by the order of Quirinius made a census at Apamea. See above, vol. i. p. 357. But of the Palestinian districts Josephus distinctly names only those that were then included in the province.—It is also to be observed that the Pharisees who put the question to Jesus about the tribute money

and the designation of Judas as the Galilean is, on the contrary, to be explained by the fact that Judas, belonging to Gamala in Gaulanitis,⁵⁹ which may readily be reckoned to Galilee in the wider sense, organized this revolt, not in Galilee but in Judea, and was now named by the inhabitants of Judea after his native country, "the Galilean."⁶⁰

In order to prove the subject position of Herod and the consequent possibility of a Roman census in his domains, it has been pointed out that he was not allowed independently to declare war;⁶¹ that he besought permission of the emperor for the execution of his son;⁶² that his subjects also had to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor;⁶³ that his will required the emperor's confirmation;⁶⁴ yea, even the wrestling games in honour of Augustus and the temples erected to the emperor are requisitioned to aid the proof of the possibility of a census.⁶⁵ As if any one ever had supposed anything else but that the Jewish vassal kings were undoubtedly dependent upon the Roman emperor. Even from the Jewish coins Wieseler thinks that he can gather material for the vindication of Luke.⁶⁶ In regard to this it is eminently deserving of notice that there are Palestinian coins of Augustus with the year numbers 33, 36, 39, 40, 41, which, reckoning according to the Actian era of A.U.C. 723, would belong

are those of Judea (Matt. xxii. 17; Mark xii. 14; Luke xx. 22). Galilee at that time paid no *κῆνος* or *φόρος*.

⁵⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1.

⁶⁰ That this is correct is made quite evident, especially from *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, where Judas is called *ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος*, which can mean nothing else than a native of Galilee.

⁶¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 3.

⁶² Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10-11, xvii. 5. 7, xvii. 7.

⁶³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4. Compare on this oath, above, vol. i. p. 445. It had, as one may conclude, according to the analogy of the oath formula of Assus, not the form of the oath of a subject, but that of a confederate.

⁶⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 4, 11. 4-5.

⁶⁵ Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 90-92.

⁶⁶ *Beiträge*, pp. 83-89.

to the age of Archelaus, therefore to the time when Judea was still under native princes. But these numbers are probably to be reckoned according to the Augustan era of 1st January A.U.C. 727, according to which the year 33 would correspond to A.U.C. 759.⁶⁷—It is quite irrelevant when reference is made to the fact that Augustus enrolled Herod among “the procurators of Syria, and commanded that everything should be done in accordance with his judgment;”⁶⁸ for from this it follows, not that Herod occupied the position of a subject,⁶⁹ but, on the contrary, one of high trust on the part of his patrons and friends. A similar explanation may also be given of the threat once uttered by Augustus under extreme provocation when he said (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 3) that “whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject,” ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. Wieseler, by a rare style of reasoning, seeks to twist this also into a support for his theory.⁷⁰ An exact definition of the position of Herod in the sight of the civil law is certainly not easily given, since Josephus, where one would naturally look for an explanation, omits all reference to the question.⁷¹ In A.D. 30 Herod was by a decree of the Senate anew confirmed in the possession of his kingdom.⁷² But in regard to the contents of that decree Josephus gives us no details. Even the remark of Dio Cassius, that

⁶⁷ Compare on these coins, above, at p. 77, and the literature given there. —The year numbers given as 30, 31, 34, 35 are uncertain; the first two being decidedly doubtful.

⁶⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3: ἐγκαταμίγνυσσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτροπέουσι τῆς Συρίας, ἐντειλάμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν. Somewhat differently in *Wars of the Jews*. i. 20. 4: κατέστησε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον —, ὥς μηδὲν ἐξείη δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν.—Compare in addition what is said above in vol. i. p. 453.

⁶⁹ As Wieseler still holds in *Beiträge*, p. 89 f.

⁷⁰ *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 85; *Beiträge*, p. 83.

⁷¹ Compare on the position of *reges socii* under the civil constitution, what is said above in vol. i. p. 448.

⁷² Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 2-3.

Augustus, when, in A.D. 20, he made definite arrangements for regulating affairs in Syria, "arranged the subject domain according to the Roman method, but allowed the confederate princes to rule according to the customs of their fathers,"⁷³ is too general to permit any very definite conclusion to be drawn from it. It is at least not favourable to the idea of a Roman census in the domains of Herod. The same may be said of the expressions with which Josephus describes the conversion of Judea into a province. They prove satisfactorily that, in the opinion of Josephus, Judea was then for the first time made into a Roman territory subject to the Romans.⁷⁴

Beyond the range of these general remarks we are carried by a consideration of the taxation system in the time of Herod, in so far as we are informed by Josephus. Here we find throughout that Herod acted independently with reference to the taxes, and there is no sign of his paying any of the dues to the Romans. Herod remits sometimes a third,⁷⁵ sometimes a fourth⁷⁶ of the taxes. He even frees the Jewish colony in Batanea from payment of all taxes of every kind.⁷⁷ After his death the Jews obtain from Archelaus a reduction of the oppressive taxation, which was therefore at the disposal also of Archelaus;⁷⁸ and the

⁷³ Dio Cassius, liv. 9: 'Ο δὲ Αὔγουστος τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη διόκει, τὸ δὲ ἑνσπονδὸν τῇ πατρίᾳ σφίσι τρόπῳ εἶα ἄρχεσθαι.

⁷⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5: Τῆς Ἀρχελαίου χάρας ὑποτελοῦς προσεμνησίσης τῇ Σύρῳ.—*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1: τῆς Ἀρχελαίου χάρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης.—*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1: τῆς Ἀρχελαίου ἰθναρχίας μεταπεσούσης εἰς ἐπαρχίαν.—*Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3: οὐ (Archelai) Ῥωμαῖοι παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχήν.

⁷⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4.

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 5.

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 1: ἀτελῇ τε τὴν χῶραν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσφορῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους ἀπασάν.

⁷⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 4.—Wieseler is indeed acute enough to make the tax about which the Jews complained into a Roman one; *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 90; *Beiträge*, p. 98 f.

Jewish deputation at Rome complained of the burdensome taxes under Herod, in order to base upon this their request that Palastine should not again be put under the rule of a Herodian. But there is no mention of a Roman tax.⁷⁹ We have seen then that Herod dealt quite unrestrictedly with the taxation system of Palestine. It will therefore in any case, even if Herod should have paid tribute to the Romans, be quite correct to affirm that a Roman census and a Roman system of taxation could not have been introduced in his country.⁸⁰

IV. Josephus knows nothing of a Roman census in Palestine in the time of Herod: speaks rather of the census of A.D. 7 as something new and previously unheard of.

Apologetical: Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 86-92; *Beiträge*, pp. 94-104.

In the attempt to weaken the force of the *argumentum e silentio* drawn from Josephus, two different courses have been

⁷⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2.

⁸⁰ The question whether Herod paid a tribute to the Romans is immaterial for the matter now under consideration as to the possibility of a Roman census; for the payment of a lump sum as tribute is something quite different from the direct taxation of the individual inhabitants of the country on the part of the Romans. But even the idea of Herod being under tribute is not probable, at least there is no proof of it. That Antony imposed a tribute upon Herod (Appian, *Civ.* v. 75, see above, p. 122), proves nothing in regard to the time of Augustus. When it is said of Caligula that he, on the reinstatement of kings in the realms of their fathers, granted to them "the full enjoyment of the revenues and also what was due for the intervening vacancy during which the kingdom was in abeyance" (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 16: "si quibus regna restituit, adjecit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum et redditum medii temporis"), we are not to conclude from this that always under other rulers the contrary in both cases was the rule. For Suetonius does not intend in this to point out a special instance of folly, but an instance of good conduct on the part of Caligula. What was extraordinary was only indeed the repayment of the *reditus medii temporis*. We see, however, from this passage that there was in these matters no very strict rule of

taken : some have endeavoured to discover even in Josephus traces of a Roman census in the time of Herod ; others have denied that the silence of Josephus proves anything.

Wieseler is of opinion that he has found a trace of that sort in the revolt of Judas and Matthias shortly before the death of Herod,⁸¹ the cause of which is said to have been the taking of a census ; whereas Josephus as clearly as possible assigns a cause of an altogether different kind.⁸² Another trace is supposed to be found in the detailed reports of the large amount of the revenues of Judea, Galilee, and Trachonitis, which are given by Josephus in his account of the partition of Palestine among Herod's three sons ;⁸³ as if in order to know the amount of these rents it would have been necessary to have a census of the purely Roman kind. It is a fact far more worthy of consideration that on the occasion of that partition Augustus laid down the condition that the rate of taxation of the Samaritans should be reduced one-fourth, since they had not taken part in the war against Varus.⁸⁴ This is worthy of attention, because it is the only instance of an interference on the part of the emperor in the matter of the taxation of Judea prior to its being made into a Roman province. But certainly we cannot deduce from it the conclusion which Wieseler⁸⁵ wishes to draw, that here we have to do with a Roman tax. On the contrary, the matter

procedure. But seeing that there were πόλεις αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἀτελεῖς (Appian, *Civ.* i. 102), it is not probable that kings were in general placed in a worse position. Compare generally the literature given above in vol. i. p. 448.

⁸¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2. Compare Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 88-92 ; *Beiträge*, pp. 98-104.

⁸² See above, vol. i. p. 463.

⁸³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3. Compare Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 99.

⁸⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 4. 4 : Τετάρτου μέρους οὗτοι τῶν φόρων παραλέλυντο, Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς κούφισιν ψηφισαμένου διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποστῆναι τῇ λοιπῇ πληθύνει. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3.

⁸⁵ *Beiträge*, p. 99.

treated of throughout is only the revenues of the native princes, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip; and the mere absence of any reference in this place to a Roman tax speaks strongly in favour of the idea that no such tax was then paid.—Finally, the argumentation is particularly acute, by means of which Zumpt has discovered in Josephus the sought for census, prior to the acknowledged one of A.D. 7. He says⁸⁶ that from the account of Josephus with reference to the census of A.D. 7, it follows “that Quirinius then only taxed the property of the Jews, therefore those who were poor and without property were not taken into consideration.” But now since the poll-tax existing in the time of Christ presupposes also a list of those without property, such a list must have been drawn up previously, even under Herod. In reference to this statement there are only three things that require to be proved: (1) that Quirinius taxed “only the property” of the Jews; (2) that in Palestine in the time of Christ a poll-tax was in force even for those without property;⁸⁷ and (3) that this poll-tax had been introduced as early as in the time of Herod.

In reality, then, Josephus knows nothing of a Roman census in the time of Herod. We may not indeed be inclined ordinarily to lay any weight on *argumenta e silentio*; but in this case the argument is of some importance. In regard to no other period is Josephus so well informed, in regard to none is his narrative so full, as in regard to the last years of Herod. It is scarcely conceivable that a measure so calculated to cut into the very marrow of the people as a Roman census of that period should have been passed over by him, while he faithfully describes the census of A.D. 7, which occurred in a

⁸⁶ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 201 f.

⁸⁷ According to Appian, *Syr.* 50 (see above, p. 110), it seems rather that the poll-tax in Syria existed only in the form of an income-tax.

period of which Josephus knew practically nothing.⁸⁸ It ought also to be remembered that a Roman census could not have passed off without leaving any trace behind, but must have occasioned a rebellion as well as that of A.D. 7, yea, much more, because in this case the latter would have been nothing new. The latter argument, indeed, Zumpt thinks to invalidate by making the census in the time of Herod into an innocent registration (*ἀπογραφή*) of the people for the purpose of the poll-tax, whereas the census of A.D. 7 was a property valuation (*ἀποτίμησης*), and just for that reason was so offensive.⁸⁹—The poll-tax had to be paid as tribute to the Romans, whereas the expenses of the internal government of the country had to be met by the property-tax.⁹⁰ But it is in contradiction of all known facts that the tribute to be paid to the Romans should have consisted simply in a poll-tax of equal amount in the case of each *caput*. Appian says expressly that the Syrians paid a poll-tax of one per cent. of the sum of the valuation.⁹¹ If, therefore, a Roman tax had been imposed throughout Palestine, it would certainly not have been a mere poll-tax. And even were this granted, it would still be a Roman tax. There must then have been a numbering of the people, who would have made the imposition of this, just as much as a valuation census of the people, the occasion of a tumult. But, finally, that distinction between the *ἀπογραφή* referred to by Luke ii. 2 and the *ἀποτίμησης* of A.D. 7 completely breaks down before the fact that the latter which occasioned the revolt of Judas of Galilee

⁸⁸ Compare above, vol. i. pp. 88, 89.

⁸⁹ So also Rodbertus as early as 1865 in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, v. p. 155 ff.

⁹⁰ Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 196–202. Wieseler also had previously expressed a similar opinion (*Chronological Synopsis*, p. 96, compare p. 84 f., p. 90 f.), whereas subsequently he reverted to the idea of a poll- and land-tax (*Beiträge*, p. 98 ff.).

⁹¹ Appian, *Syr.* 50 (see above, p. 110). Compare also the grain produce of Africa and Alexandria, p. 110.

is referred to by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles v. 37 in the same words as the so-called numbering of the people in the time of Herod, and the ἀπογραφὴ is simply mentioned as an evident proof that he means in both passages to refer to the same fact.

The most decisive argument, however, against a census in the time of Herod is this, that Josephus characterizes the census of A.D. 7 as something entirely new and previously unheard of among the Jews. When we find Zumpt attempting to represent the novelty as consisting only in the property valuation (ἀποτίμησις), and Wieseler thinks that what was new and offensive lay merely in the form of the valuation, namely, the judicial examination (ἡ ἀκρόασις) and the obligation to confirm their depositions before a heathen tribunal by means of a definitely prescribed oath,⁹² these fine distinctions, which may possibly be spun out of the story in the *Antiquities*, are reduced to nothing when we turn to the parallel account in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, where Josephus expressed himself as follows: ἐπὶ τούτου (under Coponius) τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνήγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦσι καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἴσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας. The offensive thing, therefore, was not the taxing of property, or the form in which it was carried out, but the Roman taxation as such. This is also the assumption lying at the basis of accounts elsewhere given of the rebellion. *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 1: Ἰούδα τοῦ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίωv οὐκ ὀλέγους . . . μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς; ii. 17. 8: Ἰουδαίους ὀνειδίσας ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπετάσσονται μετὰ τὸν θεόν. For the Romans at all to raise a tax in Judea was a *novum et inauditum*. Also from the words already quoted

⁹² *Beiträge*, pp. 95-97; *Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, p. 546. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1: ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν, "the judicial examination in connection with the enrolments." Whether this translation is correct, may be regarded as undecided. It would also be possible to render ἀκρόασις by "obedience."

above, with which Josephus tells of the conversion of Judea into a province, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5 : τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελαίου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων, if we take them exactly we shall be obliged to conclude that in the time of Herod and Archelaus no taxes were paid to the Romans. For if it was only after the banishment of Archelaus that Judea was made tributary, it follows that it had not been so previously. The same conclusion may be drawn from other two passages. The tetrarchy of Philip was after his death added by Tiberius to the province of Syria, τοὺς μέντοι φόρους ἐκέλευσε συλλεγομένους ἐν τῇ τετταρχίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου γενομένη κατατίθασθαι (*Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6). If even after the death of Philip no taxes flowed from his tetrarchy into the Roman *fiscus*, much less would this have been the case during his lifetime. But of the Jewish colony at Batanea on which Herod conferred the privilege of being absolutely free from taxation Josephus reports as follows, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 2 : Ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδεία τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀτελοῦς. Ἀ παρέμεινεν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδου ζώντος Φίλιππος δὲ δεύτερος ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀλίγα τε καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον αὐτοὺς ἐπράξατο. Ἀγρίππας μέντοι γε ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμος καὶ πάνυ ἐξετρύχωσαν αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινεῖν ἠθέλησαν. Παρ' ὧν Ῥωμαῖοι δεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐλευθέρου καὶ αὐτοὶ τηροῦσι τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἐπιβολαῖς δὲ τῶν φόρων εἰς τὸ πάμπαν ἐπέεσαν αὐτούς. It is thus made quite evident that the raising of a Roman tax in that district began only when it was no longer ruled over by its own princes, whereas under Herod the Great, Philip, Agrippa I., and Agrippa II., these taxes were raised or not raised at the pleasure of the prince.

From all that we have learned, then, the conclusion is Roman taxes could not possibly have been raised in Palestine in the time of Herod, and with this result the Roman census as a matter of course falls to the ground.

But, finally, the main consideration that tells against the account of Luke is :

V. A census held under Quirinius could not have occurred in the time of Herod, for Quirinius was never governor of Syria during the lifetime of Herod.

Not only Matt. ii. 1 ff., but also Luke i. 5, assumes that Jesus was born during the lifetime of Herod. He therefore undoubtedly places the census referred to by him in the period of Herod's reign. But he also says expressly that the census had been made *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, which can mean nothing else than this, that it took place "while Quirinius had the supreme command in Syria," i.e. when he was governor of Syria.⁹³ Now we know indeed that Quirinius arrived in Syria as governor in A.D. 6, and that he had been in possession of the same office even earlier, in B.C. 3-2. But in the time of Herod he cannot have been governor; for from B.C. 9-6 this office was held by Sentius Saturninus, from B.C. 6-4 by Quintilius Varus. The latter had to suppress the revolt which broke out in Palestine after the death of Herod, and was, therefore, in Syria at least half a year after Herod's death. But the predecessor of Saturninus was Titius.⁹⁴ Thus during the last five or six years of Herod, and it is only in regard to them that there can be any question here, there is absolutely no room for Quirinius.

This point has caused most trouble to the vindicators of Luke; and their opinions, which hitherto have been tolerably unanimous, now go very far apart from one another. We pass over the older attempts at solution, for the most part of a most arbitrary description (some even venturing upon the boldest alterations of the text), and restrict ourselves to a

⁹³ The official title is, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. See above, vol. i. p. 348.

⁹⁴ For proofs, see above, vol. i. p. 350.

statement only of those which have their representatives in the present day.⁹⁵

1. Lutteroth, in order thoroughly to set aside the above stated exegetical facts, has devised the following original explanation. He says: ⁹⁶ When it is said of John the Baptist in Luke i. 80, that he was in the deserts *ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ*, by *ἀνάδειξις* is to be understood, not his public appearance as a preacher of repentance, but his presentation before the people as a child of twelve years, according to the custom of the law. At this point of time the following statement falls to be inserted, that *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις* was issued the emperor's edict about the taxing, which was carried out by Quirinius. It was this also that led to Joseph making his journey to Bethlehem. As a subject of Herod Antipas, he would indeed be under no obligation to do this, as the taxing applied only to Judea; but by his voluntary appearance there he would bring into view his Bethlehemite nativity. Luke, therefore, is perfectly correct in setting down the taxing of Quirinius at the time when John the Baptist was twelve years old. The conclusion of Luke ii. 5 is to be translated: To be taxed with Mary, whom he had married when already she was great with child (therefore twelve years before the taxing). To this earlier time then ver. 6 again reverts: And just there, in Bethlehem, were they also when Mary (twelve years before the taxing) brought forth her first-born son, etc. The explanation belongs to the number of those which may excite admiration for their acuteness, but stand in no need of confutation.

2. Huschke,⁹⁷ Wieseler,⁹⁸ Ewald,⁹⁹ Caspari¹⁰⁰ assign to the

⁹⁵ The older views are given in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 292-294; Bleek, *Synopse*, i. 70 ff.; Meyer, comm. on Luke, on the passage.

⁹⁶ *Le recensement de Quirinius en Judée*, Paris 1865, pp. 29-44.

⁹⁷ *Census zur Zeit des Geburt Jesu Christi*, p. 78 ff.

⁹⁸ *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 101-106; *Beiträge*, pp. 26-32; *Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, p. 546 ff.

⁹⁹ *History of Israel*, vi. 155, note 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 35

superlative *πρῶτος* a practically or exclusively comparative significance, and translate: This taxing was made when first, or before, Quirinius was governor of Syria. Luke therefore expressly distinguishes the taxing made under Herod as an earlier one from the later one made under Quirinius. That this translation in case of need might be justifiable may be admitted (John i. 15, 30).¹⁰¹ But even then it is by no means proved that it is the correct translation. It is indeed absolutely inconceivable for what purpose Luke should have made the idle remark, that this taxing took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria. Why would he not rather name the governor under whom it did take place? It may indeed be said that he distinguishes the earlier census under Herod from the later under Quirinius. But Luke does not really even do this, according to that translation. He says not: "This taxing took place earlier than that made under Quirinius" (which would have required something like this: *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο τῆς Κυρηνίου Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντος γενομένης*); but: "This taxing took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria." So also Wieseler translates, and the analogy of all instances adduced by him (*Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 102, 103; *Beiträge*, pp. 30–32)¹⁰² admits of no other translation. But no unprejudiced person will find a suitable sense in these words. And to this it should be added, that Luke must here have expressed himself in a manner as

¹⁰¹ Only indeed in case of necessity; for of all the instances which Huschke, pp. 83–85, has brought together in favour of giving to *πρῶτος* a comparative sense, if we set aside those which are clearly irrelevant, only those remain where two parallel or analogous ideas are compared with each other, but not where, as here, two wholly disparate ideas are before us—the taxing under Herod and the governorship of Quirinius.

¹⁰² Also Sophoches, *Antiq.* 637–658:

ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀξίως ἔσται γάμος
μειζόν φέρεσθαι σοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου,

which is to be translated: "To me with right no marriage will have greater value than that thou leadest me well (than thy noble leading)."

involved and as likely to lead to misunderstanding as possible whereas elsewhere his special characteristic is just intelligibility and lucidity of expression. No one who does not seek after hazardous explanations will be able to understand *πρώτη* otherwise than as superlative, and *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* otherwise than as *genitivus absolutus*: as, to name only some authorities, Winer,¹⁰⁸ Buttmann,¹⁰⁴ Zumpt,¹⁰⁵ Bleek,¹⁰⁶ Meyer, etc., have declared.

3. Gumpach,¹⁰⁷ Lichtenstein,¹⁰⁸ Kohler,¹⁰⁹ Steinmeyer,¹¹⁰ J. Chr. K. von Hofmann,¹¹¹ emphasize *ἐγένετο*, and translate: This taxing “*was carried into effect*” (Gumpach), or “*was completed*” (Kohler, Steinmeyer, Hofmann), while Quirinius was governor of Syria. Luke distinguishes the issuing of the order for the taxing under Herod, and the execution of the decree, ten or twelve years later, under Quirinius. This hypothesis, apparently the most simple, in reality indeed the weakest, comes into conflict, as we shall immediately see, with the narrative of the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, according to which it is not only the taxation decree, but also its execution, which took place in the time of Herod. That explanation at best could have a meaning only if one were bold enough to render the simple *ἐγένετο* by “*came to a conclusion, was carried to a close,*” which, however, even the above-named expositors have not ventured to do.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 335. 4, note 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Grammatik des neutestamentl. Sprachgebrauchs*, p. 74.

¹⁰⁵ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, i. 71.

¹⁰⁷ *Studien und Kritiken*, 1852, pp. 666-669.

¹⁰⁸ *Lebensgeschichte des Herrn Jesu Christi*, p. 78 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xiii. 463 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Die Geschichte der Geburt des Herrn*, p. 36 ff.

¹¹¹ *Die heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Thl. viii. 1, p. 49; Thl. x. p. 64 ff.

¹¹² Compare against that view especially Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 100, 101; *Beiträge*, p. 25 f.

Ebrard¹¹³ has advanced what he regards as an improved explanation when he accentuates αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφὴ and translates: The raising of the tax itself, however, took place only when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Luke therefore does not distinguish, as those critics before named supposed, the issuing of the order for a valuation of property and the execution of it, but the valuation of property (and that not only the order for it, but also the execution of it) on the one hand, and the levying of the tax based upon that valuation on the other hand. There is thus given to the *subst.* ἀπογραφὴ a completely different meaning from that given to the *verb* ἀπογράφεσθαι, which, in the close coherence of the passage, is absolutely impossible. The substantive and the verb alike can mean nothing else than: enrolment, to enrol, and in the strict sense are both specially used of the valuing and enrolment of property. The affirmation that just the census of Quirinius is ordinarily designated by the term ἀπογραφὴ, and that in consequence thereof this word has, for that particular definite case, the meaning of the levying of a tax (pp. 136 f., 140 f.), is a purely imaginary conception, and not once has the attempt been even made to establish it; for the reference to Acts v. 37, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1 ff., cannot be regarded in this light. Instead of αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφὴ it would be necessary to read something like this: ἡ δὲ τῶν φόρων ἐκλογὴ or εἰσπραξίς. In conclusion, that view also is in contradiction to the history; for Quirinius, in A.D. 7, levied the taxes, not merely on the ground of an earlier valuation, but first of all, and chiefly, he was then engaged in making an ἀποτίμησις.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Ebrard, *Gospel History*, Edinburgh, 1869, pp. 136-142.

¹¹⁴ New and original is the discovery of Godet, who accentuates αὐτὴ but expounds as follows (*Commentary on St. Luke*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129): "Luke breaks off to remark that prior to the well-known enumeration which took place under Quirinius, and which history had taken account of under the name of the first, there had really been another, generally lost

4. Seeing then that nothing can be gained by exegetical arts, the attempt has finally been made, even without any such, to vindicate the account of Luke as historical by having recourse to historical combinations. Indeed, Hengstenberg, since the discovery of the famous inscription which afforded evidence of the twice-repeated governorship of Quirinius in Syria, thinks that every difficulty has been wholly removed.¹¹⁵ That the inscription in reality proves nothing is quite self-evident after the description we have given of it above (see vol. i. p. 353). But also with the twice-repeated governorship of Quirinius in Syria, which is quite probable even apart from the inscription, nothing is gained toward the vindication of Luke; for even the first governorship of Quirinius cannot

sight of, which was the very one here in question; and thus that it was not unadvisedly that he spoke of a census anterior to the first. In this way (1) the intention of this parenthesis is clear; (2) the asyndeton between vers. 1 and 2 is explained quite in a natural way; and (3) the omission of the article ἡ between ἀπογραφὴ and πρώτη, which has the effect of making ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη a sort of proper name (like ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη, δευτέρα), is completely justified."—Consequently Godet translates: "As to the census itself called *the first*, it took place under the government of Quirinius."

¹¹⁵ Compare *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1865, col. 65 f., where he expresses himself about Strauss as follows: "He is so utterly unfamiliar with the state of matters in those times that he quite confidently repeats the old objection against the taxing of Luke, that Quirinius had not entered upon the governorship until several years after Herod's death, without having any suspicion of the fact that the question has long ago entered upon quite another stage by the discovery of a later inscription which affords evidence that Quirinius was twice governor in Syria. This inscription was described as early as 1851 by Bergmann in a special treatise, and has been reprinted in so accessible a book as the Tacitus of Nipperdey. But Strauss knows nothing of it."—And Hengstenberg, we add, seems to have known nothing of the following facts: (1) That in 1865 the inscription had been known for a hundred years; (2) that it had been used by as early a writer as Sanclemente, in A.D. 1793, in vindication of Luke; (3) that it absolutely does not contain a testimony to Quirinius having been governor twice; and (4) that even with a twice-repeated governorship of Quirinius nothing is gained in the way of justifying Luke.

at the earliest have begun till at least half a year after the death of Herod (see above, p. 133), whereas, according to Luke, Quirinius must have been governor in the time of Herod. Zumpt¹¹⁶ and, after him, Pözl,¹¹⁷ relying for support on a passage in Tertullian,¹¹⁸ seek assistance by assuming that the census was begun by Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9–6, carried on by Quinctilius Varius, B.C. 6–4, and brought to an end by Quirinius during his first governorship. From Quirinius, as the completer of the work, it has received the name; wherefore also Luke says that it was made under him. So far then as Tertullian is concerned, Zumpt himself says in another part of his work¹¹⁹ that the Church Fathers “generally are wanting in all historical sense in the stating of the Gospel narrative.” On their statements, therefore, nothing can with safety be built. But in other respects Zumpt’s theory is only a falling back upon the theory of Gumpach and others, referred to under No. 3. The matter then stands so, in Zumpt’s opinion, that either in place of ἐγένετο we must put a verb like ἐτελέσθη, or instead of Quirinius must be put the name of that governor in whose term of office the fact recorded by Luke, the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, took place;¹²⁰ for Luke does indeed intend by mentioning the name simply to determine the time of which he speaks. Thus, as the words imply, the representation that the birth of Jesus Christ took place in the time of Quirinius is necessarily fundamental to the hypothesis, which, however, is impossible. Above all, it is inconceivable that the ἀπογραφή, in the way

¹¹⁶ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 207–224.

¹¹⁷ Wetzzer and Welte’s *Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. Bd. iii. Sp. 5–7.

¹¹⁸ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 19: “Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent.”

¹¹⁹ *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 189, note. Compare also: Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 99, note 2.

¹²⁰ Therefore, according to Zumpt, Sentius Saturninus.

in which it is represented by Zumpt, namely, as a simple enrolment of the people without a property valuation, should have taken three or four years, whereas the much more difficult ἀποτίμησις of A.D. 7, which, besides, had to encounter the opposition of the people, was completed at farthest in the course of one year.¹²¹

Both difficulties might indeed be overcome were we to assume, with Gerlach¹²² and Quandt,¹²³ that Quirinius had been sent to Syria along with Quinctilius Varus (B.C. 6–4) as extraordinary legate, and as such had undertaken the census.¹²⁴ In its best and most precise form this theory was represented by Sanclemente, for he assumes that Quirinius had been despatched to Syria as *legatus ad census accipiendos*, and indeed with a higher authority than the ordinary legate of Syria of that time, Sentius Saturninus.¹²⁵ But this expedient is

¹²¹ For it was begun after the banishment of Archelaus, at the earliest in the summer of A.U.C. 759, and was, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1, completed in the year 37 of the Actian era = autumn of A.U.C. 759–760. It is to be placed therefore late in autumn of A.U.C. 760, i.e. in A.D. 7.

¹²² *Die römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa*, pp. 33–35.

¹²³ *Zeitordnung und Zeitbestimmungen in den Evangelien* (also under the title: *Chronologisch-geographische Beiträge zum Verständniss der heiligen Schrift. i. Chronolog. Beiträge, 1 Abthlg.*, Gütersloh 1872), pp. 18–25.

¹²⁴ What Gerlach says at p. 33 f. about the possibility of two governors in one province, proves only gross ignorance of the facts of the case. See against him, Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 43 f.—The case is better with Quandt, who conjectures that Varus occupied a position subordinate to Quirinius (see *Zeitordnung*, p. 22). But, according to Josephus, there can be no doubt that Varus was in possession of the supreme command in Syria.

¹²⁵ Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aeræ emendatione*, iv. 6, pp. 443–448.—The materials regarding the *legati* and *procuratores ad census accipiendos* may be found collected together in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 209 (2 Aufl. von Dessen und Domaszewski besorgt, 1884, pp. 215, 216); and Unger, “De censibus provinciarum Romanorum” (*Leipziger Studien zur class. Philol.* Bd. x. 1887, pp. 1–76).—It is not yet decided whether there were even in early imperial times special officers of this sort besides the ordinary governors in the provinces. Unger contends against the idea by seeking to prove that in the earlier days of the empire the governors were themselves charged with the business of valuation and taxing, and that in

absolutely inadmissible from the words of the evangelist, since *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* can mean nothing else than "when Cyrenius had the supreme command (or, what is the same thing, the office of governor) over Syria." Luke therefore undoubtedly considers Quirinius as the ordinary and regular legate of Syria. But this office, as is thoroughly well established on historical grounds, was occupied in the last years of Herod, not by Quirinius, but by Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9-6, and then by Quinctilius Varus, B.C. 6-4.¹²⁶ The statement of Luke then can be indicated historically only if it could be proved that Quirinius had been already in the times of Herod governor of Syria. But such a proof can never be produced, since, Aberle notwithstanding, the contrary is an established fact.¹²⁷

All ways of escape are closed, and there remains nothing

the senatorial provinces it was only in the second century, and in the imperial provinces still later, that special officers of equestrian rank besides the governors had control given them of taxation matters. Of both cases where the governor held also the finance office, and again where special finance officers were appointed, there are several unmistakable instances. The earliest case belonging to the former class is that of Quirinius, who, according to Josephus, as well as according to Luke, was at once governor and censor. Four other instances are collected by Unger, p. 54 f. But the material is too scanty to afford a certain conclusion of a general description.

¹²⁶ Compare against that theory also Huschke, *Ueber den zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi gehaltenen Census*, p. 75 f.

¹²⁷ Aberle (*Quartalschrift*, 1865, p. 129 ff.; 1868, p. 29 ff.), by "the perception of the great, we might almost say, official-like, precision by which such statements in Luke are characterized" (1865, p. 148), has been led to the discovery that Quirinius in fact was governor of Syria in the last years of Herod, and was only detained in Rome by Augustus. Quinctilius Varus was therefore obliged to remain at his post, so that there were at the same time two governors: Quirinius was the governor *de jure*, Varus, *de facto*. Luke names the former, Josephus the latter. In opposition to this acute attempted solution it is sufficient to remark that Luke would have only been deceiving us, if, instead of the actual governors who must have conducted the census, he had only named the governor *de jure*. The words of Luke admit of no other explanation but that Quirinius was actual governor of Syria.

else but to acknowledge that the evangelist has made his statement trusting to imperfect information, so that it is not in accordance with the facts of history. This is the conclusion reached by Höck,¹²⁸ Mommsen,¹²⁹ Hase,¹³⁰ Winer, Bleek, De Wette,¹³¹ Meyer, Strauss, Hilgenfeld, Keim, Weizsäcker, Sevin, Lecoultre, and in all essential respects also by Sieffert.¹³² The contradiction of history is twofold: (1) Luke ascribes to Augustus the order that a census should be made throughout the whole empire. Of such an imperial census history knows nothing. It is possible that Augustus may have held censuses in many, perhaps in most, of the provinces, and that Luke had some vague information about these. But these numerous provincial censuses, diverse in respect of time and form, could not be referred back to a single edict. Luke has therefore here generalized in a manner similar to that in which he deals with the famine in the days of Claudius. Just as out of the various famines, which, in quite an unusual manner, occurred in various parts of the empire during the reign of Claudius, he makes a famine extending ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην (Acts xi. 28, see regarding it below under § 19); so also may the various provincial censuses of which he had heard have become combined in his representation into one

Only for the sake of completeness we should here mention the discovery of Pfitzner (*Programm des Gymnasiums zu Parchim*, Easter 1873, pp. 8-13), that Varus had indeed been governor of Syria in B.C. 6 and B.C. 4; but between these two dates, in B.C. 5, a year passed over by Josephus (!), P. Quirinius was governor. If Pfitzner had not only made reference to the work of Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 275, but had also thoroughly examined it, he would on this point have learned his lesson better.

¹²⁸ *Römische Geschichte*, i. 2, p. 412 ff.

¹²⁹ *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, p. 175 sq.

¹³⁰ *Leben Jesu*, sec. 23.

¹³¹ *Exegetisches Handbuch zu d. St.*

¹³² All of them in their works before referred to.—Sieffert indeed holds fast by the theory that a census was made in Palestine by the emperor's orders under Herod, but admits that the two taxings, that under Herod and that under Quirinius, are not clearly distinguished chronologically by Luke, but are in his picture allowed to blend together.

imperial census. Should the statement about an imperial survey by Augustus be historical (see above, p. 117), even this might have contributed to the production of his mistake. (2) He knows further that a census in Judea under Quirinius had taken place somewhere about the time of the birth of Jesus Christ. By means of this census he explains the fact that the parents of Jesus travelled from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and places it therefore exactly in the time of the birth of Christ, under Herod, *i.e.* about ten or twelve years too soon. That Luke was indeed acquainted with this taxing, and was acquainted only with it, is established by the passage in the Acts of the Apostles (v. 37), where he speaks expressly of it as "the taxing."

Whoever thinks that such errors should not have been expected from Luke, needs only to be reminded of the fact that Justin Martyr, who belonged to the educated class, regarded King Ptolemy, at whose instance the Bible was translated into Greek, as a contemporary of King Herod (*Apol.* i. c. 31). Even Luke himself cannot be pronounced free from other errors; for Theudas, to whom he ascribes the work and movement of Judas of Galilee (Acts v. 36 ff.), can scarcely be any other Theudas than the well-known bearer of that name, who actually lived somewhere about forty years later (see § 19).

EXCURSUS II.—THE SO-CALLED TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS TO CHRIST, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3.

A list of the literature on this point is given by : Oberthür in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graec.* ed. Harles, t. v. pp. 49–56; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. pp. 127–132; Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 9; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 558; Heinichen in his edition of Eusebii *Scripta Historica*, vol. iii. (1870) p. 623 sqq.—The older treatises are printed in Havercamp's edition of Josephus, ii. 2, pp. 186–286.—Some controversial tracts of the time of

Richard Simon are enumerated by Bernus, *Notice bibliographique sur Richard Simon* (Bâle 1882), n. 110, 230, 238, 239.

From a vast number of treatises and pamphlets we select the following of more recent times :—

I. DEFENDING THE GENUINENESS.

BRETSCHNEIDER, *Capita theologiae Judaeorum dogmaticae e. Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta* (1812), pp. 59–66.

BÖHMERT, *Ueber des Flavius Josephus Zeugniß von Christo*, 1823.

SCHÖDEL, *Flavius Josephus de Jesu Christo testatus*, 1840.

MAYAUD, *Le témoignage de Joseph*, Strasb. 1858.

LANGEN, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1865, p. 51 ff.

DANKO, *Historia revelationis divinae Novi Testamenti* (1867), pp. 308–314.

MENSINGA, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1889, p. 388 (genuine apart from possible modifications of the text, which, however, have not yet been proved).

II. MAINTAINING THE THEORY OF INTERPOLATION.

GIESELER, *Ecclesiastical History* (Edin. 1846, 5 vols.), vol. i. p. 63.

HASE, *Leben Jesu*, § 9 (“wholly or at least in part non-genuine”).

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vi. 138–142.

PARET in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. vii. 27–29.

HEINICHEN in his edition of Eusebii *Scripta Historica*, vol. iii. ed. 2, 1870, pp. 623–654.

WIESELER, *Des Josephus Zeugnisse über Christus und Jakobus, den Bruder des Herrn* (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1878, p. 86 ff.).

VOLKMAR, *Jesus Nazarenus*, 1882, pp. 335–345.

RANKE, *Weltgeschichte*, 3 Thl. 2 Abthlg. (1883) p. 40 f.

SCHOLTEN, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1882, pp. 428–451 (compare the review by Van Manen in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, p. 608 f.).

MENSINGA, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1883, pp. 145–152 (Van Manen, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, p. 618).

GUST. AD. MÜLLER, *Christus bei Josephus Flavius*, Innsbruck 1890 (53 pp.).

EDERSHEIM in art. in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, “Josephus. 5. The Alleged Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ,” vol. iii. pp. 458–460.

III. AGAINST THE GENUINENESS.

EICHSTAEDT, *Flavianus de Jesu Christo testimonii auctoritas quo jure nuper rursus defensa sit quaest. i.-vi.*, Jen. 1813–1841. *Quaestionibus sex*

super Flaviano de Jesu Christo testimonio auctarium, i.-iv., Jen. 1841-1845.

LEWITZ, *Quaestionum Flavianarum specimen*, Regiomon. Pruss. 1835.

REUSS, *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*, 1859, pp. 312-319.

ERNST GERLACH, *Die Weissagungen des Alten Testamentes in den Schriften des Flavius Josephus und das angebliche Zeugniß von Christo*, 1863.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. i. pp. 16-21.

HÖHNE, *Ueber das angebliche Zeugniß von Christo bei Josephus*, Zwickau 1871, Gymnasial-programme.

D'AVIS, *Die Zeugnisse nichtchristlicher Autoren ges ersten Jahrhunderts über Christus und das Christenthum*, Sigmaringen 1873, Gymnasial-programme (p. 8: "Probably the whole passage is an interpolation, or rather, perhaps, is thoroughly corrupted by interpolations").

LOMAN, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1882, pp. 593-601 (p. 596: a genuine basis is possible, but "scarcely probable." Compare the review by Van Manen, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, pp. 593-595, 614).

In our manuscripts and editions of Josephus the following passage concerning Christ is found, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3:—

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἴ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. Ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρώτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.

"Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ; and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had con-

demned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians so named from him are not extinct at this day."

From the fourth century, when this passage was quoted by Eusebius and others (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 11; *Demonstratio Evangelica*, iii. 3. 105–106, ed. Gaisford; Pseudo-Hegesippus, *De bello Judaico*, ii. 12), through the whole of the Middle Ages, the genuineness of this paragraph was never disputed. Indeed, it contributed not a little to exalt the reputation of Josephus in the Christian Church. It was eagerly seized upon as a proof of the truth of the evangelical history. It was only in the sixteenth century that criticism first moved in the matter, and since then to the present day the controversy, *pro* and *con*, has gone on uninterruptedly. We may surely be at least unanimous as to this, that the words, as we have them now, were not written by Josephus. Whatever may be advanced in their favour does not amount to much in comparison with the unquestionable indications of spuriousness. Our manuscripts, of which the oldest, the *Ambrosianus F. 128 sup.*, do not go further back than the eleventh century (see above, vol. i. p. 103),¹ without exception have this paragraph. But this proves only the great antiquity of the interpolation, which besides is vouched for by Eusebius. Over against the old citations since Eusebius stands the fact that it is extremely probable that Origen did not read this passage in his text of Josephus; for, just where one would have expected it, he betrays no knowledge of it.² Even then,

¹ The equally ancient *Parisin.* 1419, which Gerlach, p. 107, designates the oldest manuscript, contains only the first ten books of the *Antiquities*.

² In several passages where Origen speaks of James, the brother of Jesus Christ, he mentions it as a remarkable circumstance that Josephus should have made favourable allusion to this man, although he (Josephus)

in respect of the external evidences, objections are not altogether wanting. But the objections on internal grounds are more decided. If reference be made to the genuinely Josephine style, we may for that only bestow upon the interpolator the praise of having very skilfully performed his task. The similarity of style is not sufficient to outweigh the non-Josephine character of the contents. As concerns the contents then, it is clear that whoever wrote the words *ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν* was distinctly a Christian; for that *ἦν* is not equivalent to *ἐνομιζέτο* and cannot be rendered: He was the Christ in the popular belief. On this point it is not necessary to say more. But it is also equally certain that Josephus was not a Christian. *Ergo*: the passage, to say the least of it, has interpolations in it.

The point under discussion is simply this: whether there are interpolations in the passage or whether it is wholly spurious. Let us make the attempt to distinguish, and cast out what is suspicious. The words *εἰ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρη* evidently presuppose belief in the divinity of Christ, and betray the Christian interpolator. The following, *ἦν παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής*, might in a case of necessity have been said by Josephus, if it were not that they form the fundamental support of the non-genuine words preceding them. At any rate, the words *διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ δεχομένων* again must have come from a Christian pen. That *ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν* was not written by Josephus has been already pointed out. And just as certainly he has not written: *ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περι*

did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. (1) *Com. in Matth.* tom. x. c. 17 (on Matt. xiii. 55): καὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν οὐ καταδεξάμενος εἶναι Χριστόν, οὐδὲν ἤπτον Ἰακώβω δικαιοσύνην ἐμαρτύρησε τοσαύτην. (2) *Contra Cels.* i. 47: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καίτοι γε ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ κ.τ.λ.—It is scarcely conceivable that Origen would have so expressed himself, if he had known the famous passage.

αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Finally, also, the concluding words want the necessary support so soon as the words *ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν* are removed from the text.

If, now, we examine the passage as thus reduced we shall find that as good as nothing remains : a couple of insignificant phrases which, in the form in which they stand after our operation has been performed, could not have been written by Josephus. If one therefore continues to maintain the theory of interpolation, it cannot at any rate be in the sense of a simple insertion of Christian additions, but, with Ewald, Paret, and others, in the sense of a complete working up in a new form of the original text of Josephus.

But if it is once admitted as an established fact, that of the present text scarcely a couple of words are from the hand of Josephus, is it not then more reasonable to recognise the utter spuriousness of the passage, and assume that Josephus has throughout been silent regarding Christ? That this hypothesis is impossible cannot be maintained. It is known that Josephus wished to represent his people in the most favourable light possible. Therefore he speaks as little as he can of the Messianic Hope, since to his cultured readers it could only have appeared as foolishness, and, besides, would have been an unwelcome subject with the favourite of the Caesars ; for in it lay the power of the opposition to Rome. Josephus might casually refer to John the Baptist without making mention of the Messianic Hope ; but this would have been no longer possible had he introduced Christ. He could neither represent Christ as a teacher of virtue, like the Baptist, nor describe the Christian community as a school of philosophy, like those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Therefore he will be silent throughout about this phenomenon.

If, for proof of the contrary, we should refer to the subsequent mention of James, the brother of Jesus Christ (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 1 : *τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ,*

Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ), in order to draw from it the conclusion that some previous mention of Christ must have been made, it has to be answered, that the genuineness of this passage is also very seriously disputed. Indeed, on the contrary, one must say: the very statements which we have in reference to James prove that Josephus has been interpolated by Christian hands. For Origen, in his text of Josephus, read a passage about James which is to be found in none of our manuscripts, which therefore, without doubt, was a single instance of a Christian interpolation not carried over into the vulgar text of Josephus.³

We therefore, although absolute certainty on such questions cannot be attained, are inclined to prefer the theory of the utter spuriousness as simpler than that of the merely partial spuriousness of the passage.

³ See under § 19, in the section on Porcius Festus, and the literature referred to there.

§ 18. HEROD AGRIPPA I., A.D. 37, 40, 41-44.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xviii. 6, xix. 5-9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 11; Zonares, *Annales*, vi. 7-11 (an Abstract of Josephus).

In the New Testament: Acts xii.

Rabbinical Traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 205-219.

The coins are most completely given in Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 129-139.

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vii. 236-247, 257-270.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 318-361.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 568-571.

SCHNECKENBURGER, *Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 211-215.

HAUSRATH, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 212-225, 266-283.

LEWIN, *Fasti sacri* (1865), *ad ann.* 31-44. See also the Index, p. 389 sq.

WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 484 f.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 272-275. In Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 49-56.

HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud.*, Abthl. ii. art. "Agrippa."

DE SAULCY, *Étude chronologique de la vie et des monnaies des rois juifs Agrippa I. et Agrippa II.* 1869 (see above, vol. i. p. 27).

GERLACH, *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1869, pp. 53-62.

MENKE'S *Bibelatlas*, Bl. v., Special Map of "Judea and Neighbouring Countries in the last years of King Agrippa I."

I.

WHEN Agrippa I.¹ ascended the throne of Herod the Great, he had already passed through an eventful and adventurous career. He was born in B.C. 10,² as the son of Aristobulus,

¹ The New Testament, Acts xii., names him simply as Herod. By Josephus, however, and on the coins, he is always designated Agrippa.

² As is evident from *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2, according to which he had reached at his death, in A.D. 44, the age of fifty-four years.

who was executed in A.D. 7, and Berenice, a daughter of Salome and Costobar.³ Shortly before the death of his grandfather he was, while a boy of scarcely six years old, sent for his education to Rome. His mother Berenice was there treated in a friendly manner by Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, while the young Agrippa himself became attached to the younger Drusus, the son of the Emperor Tiberius. The influence of the Roman society seems not to have been a favourable or healthy one. He was trained up to entertain ambitious projects and in habits of extravagance, which, especially after the death of his mother, knew no measure or bounds. He soon ran through his means. His debts accumulated upon him. And when by the death of Drusus, which took place in A.D. 23, he lost support and favour at court, he found himself obliged to leave Rome and go back again to Palestine.⁴ He betook himself to Malatha, a stronghold in Idumea,⁵ and meditated committing suicide. When these tidings reached his wife Cypros, she wrote to Agrippa's sister Herodias, who was by this time married to Antipas, and entreated her help. Herod Antipas was in this way induced to give to his distressed brother-in-law what would be at least sufficient for the support of his life, and gave him, in addition, the appointment of Agoranomos (overseer of markets) in the capital, Tiberias. This new position

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 1. — Wieseler, *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 168 f., places the journey of Agrippa from Rome to Palestine in A.D. 29 or 30, which may perchance be correct. At any rate it did not take place, as what follows shows, until after the marriage of Herodias with Antipas.

⁵ Μαλαθὰ or Μαλααθὰ is also several times referred to in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (ed. Lagarde, pp. 214, 255, 266). It lay fully 20 Roman miles south of Hebron, probably on the site of the modern Tell-el-Milh. See Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 201; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 237; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 184–188; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. pp. 404, 415 sq.; also Sheet xxv. of the large English Map.

in life did not indeed continue long. At a banquet in Tyre the two brothers-in-law once engaged in a dispute, which ended in Agrippa resigning his situation at Tiberias, and betaking himself to the Roman governor Flaccus in Antioch.⁶ But here, too, his stay was not of long duration. In a dispute which broke out on one occasion between the inhabitants of Sidon and those of Damascus, Agrippa took the side of the Damascenes, apparently in a thoroughly disinterested manner, but really in consequence of bribes which he had taken from them. When this came to the ears of Flaccus, he broke off friendly relations with him; and Agrippa found himself once again deprived of all means of subsistence. He then resolved to try his fortune again in Rome. After he had meanwhile raised a loan in Ptolemais by the assistance of a freedman of his mother Berenice, called Peter, and at Anthedon had only with difficulty escaped the hands of Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, who wished to apprehend him as a debtor of the emperor's, and had finally in Alexandria succeeded in raising large sums on the credit of his wife, he arrived in Italy in the spring of A.D. 36,⁷ and on the island of Capri⁸ presented himself before Tiberius.⁹ The emperor entrusted him with the oversight of his grandson Tiberius. He became particularly intimate with Caius Caligula, the grandson of his patroness Antonia, who afterwards became emperor. But even now he could not keep himself out of debt. Yea, in order to appease his old creditors he was obliged always to borrow new and even larger sums.¹⁰ It was not therefore to be

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3 : ἐνιαντῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβερίον.— Wieseler rejects this fact, and, on account of the Piso mentioned in what follows, places the arrival of Agrippa in A.D. 32. *Beiträge*, p. 13 : "probably A.D. 31, at latest A.D. 32;" but in his article in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 169, he says distinctly : "not before A.D. 32."

⁸ Where Tiberius lived almost without interruption from A.D. 27 (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 67) down to his death.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xviii. 6. 4.

wondered at that he eagerly desired an improvement in his circumstances; but there seemed at that time no prospect of accomplishing it until the aged Tiberius should be succeeded on the throne by Caligula, whom he had befriended. Unthinkingly he once expressed his wish aloud to Caligula in the presence of his coachman Eutychus. At a later period he happened to bring a charge of theft against this same Eutychus, and had him brought before the city prefect Piso.¹¹ Eutychus now made a declaration that he had an important secret to communicate to the emperor. Tiberius at first gave no heed to the matter.¹² But when, after some time,¹³ a hearing was granted, and Tiberius came to know what Agrippa had said, he had him immediately put in fetters and cast into prison. Agrippa now continued in confinement for six months, until the death of the emperor on 16th March A.D. 37.¹⁴

With the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula began for Agrippa the period of his good fortune. Caligula scarcely waited till the solemnities of the funeral of Tiberius were over before he had delivered his friend from his imprisonment and conferred upon him what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, and that also of Lysanias, with the title of king. To this gift the Senate further added the honorary rank of a praetor.¹⁵ Instead of the iron chain which he had

¹¹ The Piso here referred to cannot have been the same as the one who was dead, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 10, in A.D. 32, as Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 8 ff., wishes to make out; for he is still referred to in Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10, after the death of Tiberius.—Josephus in two passages designates him φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως. On other Greek designations of the *praefectus urbi*, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 2. 981.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5.

¹³ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6), of which Wieseler makes four years. See the *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 169.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6–7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 5.

¹⁵ Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 6, ed. Mangey, ii. 523. Compare above, vol. i. p. 450. The loan was obtained, not through the emperor, but through the Senate. See Philo, *l.c.*: βασιλεία καὶ φίλον Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ρωμαίων βουλῆς τετιμημένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς.

worn, Caligula gave him a golden chain of equal weight.¹⁶ But Agrippa still continued to stay in Rome for a year and a half. It was not before autumn of A.D. 38 that he went back by way of Alexandria to Palestine, that he might set in order the affairs of his kingdom.¹⁷

Soon afterwards, through imperial favour, he obtained yet more important territorial additions. It has been already told (above, at p. 36) how Herod Antipas in A.D. 39, by his own fault, had lost his tetrarchy, and now, probably not before A.D. 40, Caligula bestowed it also upon Agrippa.

In the autumn of that same year we find Agrippa once more at Rome or Puteoli, where he contrived by his personal intercession to prevent Caligula, at least for a long time, from persisting in his attempt to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem (see above, p. 102). He then remained in the company of Caligula, and was still present in Rome when his patron, on 24th January A.D. 41, was murdered by Chærea, and contributed not a little to secure the succession to the throne of the Caesars to the feeble Claudius.¹⁸ It may readily be supposed that he was not the man to perform such services without securing some personal advantage. The new emperor was obliged, in return, not only to confirm him in the possessions which he had previously, but also to add to these Judea and Samaria; so that Agrippa now united under his sway the whole territory of his grandfather. Besides this, he obtained consular rank. For the confirming of this grant, according to ancient custom, a solemn covenant was con-

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6; Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. § *init.*, ed. Mangey, ii. 520 sq.; Dio Cassius, lix. 8.—From the inscription at El-Muschennef (in Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2211) we see that the territories of Agrippa extended as far as what is now the Haurân.

¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11; Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521. Compare above, p. 37 and p. 95.

¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 1-4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11.

cluded in the Forum, but the documentary deed of gift was engraved on brazen tablets and placed in the Capitol.¹⁹

II.

The first act by which Agrippa celebrated his return to Palestine was significant of the spirit and disposition with which he was to conduct the government of his kingdom. It was an act of piety. The golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him on his liberation from imprisonment "he hung up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; and that it might be a demonstration how the greatest pro-

¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5; Dio Cassius, lx. 8. Josephus expresses himself in such a manner as to imply that the tetrarchy of Lysanias was now anew conferred upon Agrippa. But seeing that he had already received that territory from Caligula, the statement can only mean that now the gift was formally confirmed. It is in the highest degree probable that Josephus found in the documents which he used the statement that Agrippa, by the favour of Claudius, held possession of the tetrarchy of Lysanias in addition to the whole territories of his grandfather.—The concluding of the covenant is represented on a coin, of which the superscription is indeed no longer perfectly legible; on which, however, at any rate there is mention of a *συμμαχία* of King Agrippa with the Roman Senate and people (*σύγκλητος καὶ δῆμος Ῥωμαίων*). See especially Reichardt in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* of Huber and Karabacek, iii. 1871, pp. 83–88; Mommsen, *Num. Zeitschrift*, iii. pp. 449 ff.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 69–76; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 136 sq. Among the six different attempted readings enumerated by Madden, the most successful is that of Mommsen.—That Claudius was generally inclined toward such old covenants is affirmed by Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25: "Cum regibus foedus in foro icit porca caesa ac vetere fetialium praeftatione adhibita."

A return home of Agrippa I. or II. (possibly the present return of Agrippa I.) is referred to in the inscription of El-Muschennef in Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2211:

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασι-
λέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἑπανόδου κα-
τ' εὐχὴν Διὸς καὶ πατρῖου (?)
. . . . ὁμονοίας τὸν οἶκον ἠκοδόμη[ησεν].

sperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises what is fallen down.”²⁰ At the same time he presented a thank-offering, “because he would not neglect any precept of the law;” and bore the expenses of a large number of Nazarites, in order that they might discharge the obligation of their vow.”²¹

With such acts the quondam adventurer began his new reign; and he maintained the same tone throughout the three years during which he was allowed to live and govern. There were again golden days for Pharisaism; a revival of the age of Alexandra. Hence Josephus and the Talmud are unanimous in sounding forth the praises of Agrippa. “He loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.” Thus runs the eulogistic strain of Josephus;²² and the Talmud relates how he as a simple Israelite with his own hand presented the first-fruits in the temple.²³ And not only at home, but also abroad, he represented the interests and claims of Judaism.

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1.—The golden charms which, according to the Mishna, *Middoth* iii. 8, were hung on the curtain of the temple court, can scarcely be the same as are referred to here. See the contrary in Derenbourg, p. 209.

²¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1.

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 3: ‘Ἡδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ δίαίτα καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. Διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν ἤγεν ἀγνείας, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ χηρεύουσα θυσίας.

²³ Mishna, *Bikkurim* iii. 4: When the procession with the firstlings of the fruits of the fields reached the temple mount “every one, even King Agrippa himself, took his basket upon his shoulder, and went up until he came into the court,” etc.—Here, as generally throughout the rabbinical traditions, it is not, indeed, quite certain whether Agrippa I. or II. is meant.—On the ceremonial ritual in connection with the presentation of the first-fruits, see, especially, Mishna, *Bikkurim* iii. 1–9; also Philo’s tract, *de festo cophani* (*Opera*, ed. Richter, v. 48–50 = Tischendorf, *Philonea*, pp. 69–71); Gratz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 433 ff., and generally the literature referred to in Div. II. vol. i. p. 238.

When on one occasion in the Phœnician city of Dora, a mob of young people erected a statue of the emperor in the Jewish synagogue, he used his influence with the governor of Syria, P. Petronius, so that not only for the future was any such outrage strictly forbidden, but also the guilty parties were called to account for their proceedings.²⁴ And when he betrothed his daughter Drusilla to Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus of Commagene, he made him promise that he would submit to be circumcised.²⁵ By such displays of piety he gave abundant satisfaction to the people who were under the guidance of the Pharisees. This was shown in a very striking manner when, at the Feast of Tabernacles in A.D. 41, according to the old custom, he read the Book of Deuteronomy,²⁶ and in the passage, "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee that is not thy brother" (Deut. xvii. 15), he burst forth in tears, because he felt himself referred to in it. Then cried out the people to him, "Be not grieved, Agrippa! Thou art our brother! Thou art our brother!"²⁷

²⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3.

²⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1.—Epiphanes afterwards refused to fulfil his promise, and therefore the marriage was not consummated.

²⁶ At the close of each Sabbatical year, *i.e.* in the beginning of the eighth year, Deuteronomy had to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 10 ff.; *Sota* vii. 8). Seeing, then, that the year 68-69 was a Sabbatical year (see above, vol. i. p. 41), the year 40-41 must also have been one, and, indeed, it would be the only one occurring during the period of Agrippa's reign. Accordingly, this incident took place in A.D. 41.

²⁷ *Mishna*, *Sota* vii. 8. The declaration of the people could also be vindicated in accordance with strictly Pharisaic ideas; for when the Edomites (Idumeans) went over to Judaism, their descendants in the third generation became full members and citizens of the Israelitish commonwealth (Deut. xxiii. 8, 9).—Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 571, makes the narrative refer to Agrippa II., and Brann, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1870, pp. 541-548, gives himself great trouble in order to prove that this reference is correct; whereas the majority of scholars (see the list given by Brann at p. 541) prefer Agrippa I. And this latter view is right; for a decided inclination to favour the Pharisees is far more clearly proved in the case of Agrippa I. than in that of his son.

The careful observance of Pharisaic traditions, however, does not seem to have been the only ground of his popularity. We must also allow to him a certain natural amiability. Josephus, at least, ascribes to him an amiable disposition and unbounded benevolence.²⁸ That he was grateful for service that had been rendered him is proved by his appointment of Silas, a faithful companion who had shared his adventures, to the supreme command of his troops.²⁹ He must, indeed, have had many unpleasant experiences with this Silas, for he was frequently reminded by him in a rude, rough way of his earlier troubles, and the service which he had rendered him. In order to rid himself of this troublesome prattler, Agrippa was obliged to cast him into prison. But it was a new proof of his goodheartedness that on the next celebration of his birthday he caused the prisoner to be called, so that he might share in the enjoyments of the banquet. This kindly offer, however, had no effect, for Silas would take nothing as a matter of favour, and so was obliged to remain in prison.³⁰ Agrippa on one occasion exhibited his clemency towards Simon the Pharisee,³¹ who in the king's absence had excited a popular tumult in Jerusalem, and had charged the king with transgression of the law. Agrippa obtained information of these proceedings at Caesarea, summoned Simon to his presence, caused him to be seated alongside of himself in the theatre, and said to him in a gentle and kindly tone: "Tell me now, what was done here contrary to the law?" Over-

²⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 3: Πραῦς ὁ τρόπος Ἀγριππᾶ, καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἐργατικῶν ὁμοίον.

²⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3.

³⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 1.

³¹ Frankel, *Darke-ha-Mishna*, p. 58 sq., regards him as identical with Simon, the reputed son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel I. But the existence of this Simon is more than questionable (see Div. II. vol. i. p. 363). Besides, the chronology does not rightly fit in, since Gamaliel I. was already head of the school before the time of Agrippa (Acts v. 34).

come with shame the learned scribe could give no answer, and was dismissed by the king with presents.⁸²

To a Pharisaic-national policy belonged also emancipation from a position of dependence upon Rome. And even in this direction Agrippa made, at least, two rather shy and timid attempts. In order to strengthen the fortifications of Jerusalem, the capital, he began to build on the north of the city a powerful new wall, which, according to Josephus' account, would, if it had been completed, have made the city impregnable. But, unfortunately, before the work could be carried out, the emperor, at the instigation of Marsus, the governor of Syria, issued an injunction against the continuance of it.⁸³ Of yet greater significance for Rome was the conference of princes assembled by Agrippa soon after this at Tiberias. No fewer than five Roman vassal kings: Antiochus of Comagene, Sampsigeram⁸⁴ of Emesa, Cotys of Lesser Armenia, Polemon of Pontus, and Herod of Chalcis, answered the invitation of Agrippa. But this enterprise also was broken up by Marsus. The Syrian governor himself put in an appearance at Tiberias, and ordered the other guests without delay to return home.⁸⁵

⁸² Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 4.

⁸³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6, v. 4. 2. Compare also Derenbourg, p. 218 f. The original forbearance of the emperor toward the building of the wall seems to have been purchased by Agrippa through the bribing of the imperial councillors. Compare Tacitus, *History*, v. 12: "per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto jure muniendi struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum."

⁸⁴ Aramic שמשנרם in De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions*, p. 54 (n. 75).—On an inscription at Emesa, of the Seleucid year 390 = A.D. 78-79, one Σαμσιγέραμος is referred to, probably a member of the royal family (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2567. In the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4511, the date is wanting). At a later period, too, the name Σαμσιγέραμος is found also in that region (Waddington, n. 2564, of the Seleucid year 494 = A.D. 182-183).

⁸⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 1.—Compare in general, on the above-named vassal kings, the paragraphs referring thereto in Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, Bd. ii.; Marquardt, *Römische*

Finally, it was a further consequence of his Jewish policy that the otherwise good-natured king should become the persecutor of the young Christian community, especially of the apostles. James the elder, son of Zebedee, was put by him to a martyr's death; and Peter escaped his hand only by the intervention of a miracle.³⁶—Moreover, he was an enemy not of the Christians only. The heathen cities also within his territories hated him on account of his Jewish policy, as is proved by the unconcealed jubilation with which the news of his death was received by the Caesareans and Sebastians.³⁷

That Agrippa's Pharisaic piety was a real conviction of the heart is, in view of his earlier life, not in the least probable. He who had spent fifteen years in gaiety and debauchery is not one of whom it could be expected that in the evening of his days he should from hearty conviction assume the Pharisaic yoke. Besides this, we have the most certain proofs that the king's Jewish piety was maintained only within the limits of the Holy Land. When he went abroad he was, like his grandfather, a liberal latitudinarian patron of Greek culture. Thus, for example, Berytus had much to tell of the pagan magnificence which he there cultivated. He had erected there at his own expense a beautiful theatre, an amphitheatre, baths, and piazzas. At the opening of the building, games and sports of all sorts were performed, and among the rest in the amphitheatre there was a gladiatorial

Staatsverwaltung, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881 (p. 398 f.; Commagene; p. 403 f.: Emesa; p. 369: Lesser Armenia; p. 359 f.: Pontus; p. 400 f.: Chalcis); also Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1662. On the dynasty of Commagene see especially: Mommsen, "Die Dynastie von Commagene" in *Mittheilungen des deutschen archaologischen Institutes in Athen*, Bd. i. 1876, pp. 27–29. (See vol. i. pp. 184, 185, of the present work.) On the kings of Pontus, the treatises of Sallet and Waddington named by Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 360, note 7. On Herod of Chalcis, see Appendix I.

³⁶ Acts xii. 1–19.

³⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1.—The Σεβαστηνοὶ are soldiers of Samaria (Sebaste), who lay in garrison in Caesarea. Compare above, p. 53.

combat, at which 1400 malefactors were made to slaughter one another.³⁸ Also at Caesarea he caused games to be performed.³⁹ There also statues of his daughters were erected.⁴⁰ So, too, the coins which were stamped during Agrippa's reign are in thorough agreement with the description of the state of matters now given. Only those stamped in Jerusalem had on them no image, while of those that were minted in other cities some had the image of Agrippa, others that of the emperor.⁴¹ The official title of Agrippa is the same as that

³⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 5.—The favour shown to Berytus is explained by the circumstance that it was a Roman colony. Compare above, vol. i. p. 460.

³⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2.

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1.

⁴¹ Compare on the coins of Agrippa generally: Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 491 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 567-569; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 126 sq. pl. lx. n. 3-7; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53 f., 61-64 (ascribes all to Agrippa II.); De Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 147 sq.; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 35-37; Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, p. 80 f.; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 103-111; De Saulcy, *Étude chronologique de la vie et des monnaies des rois juifs Agrippa I. et Agrippa II.* 1869 (compare above, vol. i. p. 27); Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, p. 83 ff.; Mommsen, *Wiener Num. Zeitschr.* iii. 1871, p. 449 ff.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 58-80; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 129-139; Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, p. 213.—Those of most frequent occurrence among the coins of Agrippa are those without an image, with merely emblems (sun-shade? and three ears of corn), which almost all have the year-number VI. and the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. They were by the older numismatists ascribed to Agrippa II., but since De Saulcy have been rightly assigned to Agrippa I., in consequence of their having been minted at Jerusalem. The existence of examples with other year-numbers (V., VII., VIII., IX.) is very questionable. Compare especially De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 255: "J'ai encore recueilli un très-grand nombre de monnaies d'Agrippa au parasol, cent au moins! Toutes sans exception sont datées de l'an VI. Je persiste donc plus que jamais à me méfier des autres dates qui ont été signalées."—Besides those coins properly so called of Agrippa I., there were also stamped during his reign: (1) In Caesarea by the sea (Καίσαρεια ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῶν λιμὲν), coins with the image of Agrippa and the superscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. (2) In Caesarea Panias, coins with the image of Caligula and the (more or less defective) name of the emperor, or without his name. (3) In

of the other Roman vassal kings of that time. From an inscription we know that his family had been adopted into the *gens Julia*; ⁴² and from another that he bore the title βασιλεὺς μέγας φιλόκαισαρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλορώμαιος. ⁴³ From a survey of all the facts it is evident that his concessions to

Tiberias, coins with the image of Claudius, and on the reverse: ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ. Ἀγρίπ. Τιβερίων. (4) And besides these we have the coins referred to in the above, note 19, in remembrance of the "covenant" between Agrippa and the Roman people. On the so-called Agrippa coin in Anthedon, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 73-74, and Imhoof-Blumer in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, p. 139 f.

⁴² On the inscription at Athens, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 361 = *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*, iii. 1, n. 556, his daughter Berenice is called Ἰουλίᾱ Βερενείκῃ βασιλίσσᾳ μεγάλῃ, Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίππᾳ βασιλέως θυγατὴρ.—There is also evidence of other members of the Herodian family bearing the Gentile name of the Julians; by Agrippa II., from the inscription given by Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2112. Agrippa I. had a son-in-law called Ἰούλιος Ἀρχέλαος (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1; *Against Apion*, i. 9). Probably also the Γάϊος Ἰούλιος βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ταμίας καὶ ἀντισπράττης τῆς Ἀσίας (Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus, Inscriptions from the Great Theatre*, p. 50, note 5), referred to in an inscription at Ephesus, belonged to the Herodian family.—Compare, generally, on the frequent occurrence of the Gentile name of the Julians among the Roman vassal kings of the days of the empire: Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 310; Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint*, Berol. 1877, p. 25 sq.—It should be observed that the name Julius, as well as the consular rank which Agrippa enjoyed, implied the possession of Roman citizenship, which had been conferred upon the Herodian family as early as in the days of Antipater, the father of Herod the Great. See first vol. of this work, p. 378.

⁴³ The most complete form of the titles of Agrippa I. and Agrippa II. has been given us in the interesting inscriptions which Waddington found at Sî'a, half a league from Kanawât, on the western base of the Haurân (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2365). It runs as follows:—

Ἐπὶ βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππᾳ φιλοκαισαρος εὐσεβοῦς καὶ φιλορῶμα[ι-]
ου, τοῦ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππᾳ φιλοκαισαρος εὐσεβοῦς καὶ [φι-]
λορῶμαίου, Ἀφαρέως ἀπελευθέρου καὶ Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς ἀνέθηκαν.

The titles φιλόκαισαρ and φιλορώμαιος occur very frequently during that period. Numerous examples are given in the Index of the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* p. 165. Compare also Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges*, p. 14.—Most precisely and perfectly in accordance with the titles of the two Agrippas are those of King Sauromates of Bosporus, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 2123 and 2124: βασιλέα βασιλέων μέγαν Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Σαυρο-

Pharisaism were purely matters of policy. Upon the whole he was a careful imitator of the old Herod, "only milder in disposition and somewhat more sly."⁴⁴ Yet even the grandfather felt himself obliged to make concessions to the Pharisees. Agrippa was in this matter only consistently following out his general lines of policy, for he very well knew that the peace which he loved could be secured in no other way.

The country did not long enjoy his rule. After he had reigned little more than three years, if we reckon from A.D. 41, he died at Caesarea very suddenly in A.D. 44.⁴⁵ The two accounts of his death which we have, in Acts xii. 19—23, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2, with many variations, are yet

μάττην Φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ Φιλοράμαιον εὐσεβῆ. Compare also, in reference to him, Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Lat.* n. 2689.

⁴⁴ Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellesikon*, iii. 55.

⁴⁵ The date of Agrippa's death is discussed in the most complete manner by Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 129—136. Agrippa died after he had reigned three full years over all Palestine (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2: τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο), consequently in A.D. 44, and indeed, soon after the feast of the Passover (Acts xii. 3 ff.), while the games were being celebrated at Caesarea in honour of the emperor (εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας, Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2). By these games Wieseler understands those regular wrestling matches at Caesarea founded by Herod the Great, which were celebrated every fourth year. Upon the hypothesis, therefore, that they began on the 12th August, he places the death of Agrippa on the 6th August. But this hypothesis that the games began on 1st August is quite an arbitrary assumption. Indeed, the words of Josephus (ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας) plainly show that no regular games are here intended, but some extraordinary entertainments, and point to games which were celebrated at Rome in honour of Claudius' return from Britain in the spring of A.D. 44 (Dio Cassius, lx. 23), and afterwards also in the provinces. Such also is the opinion of Anger, *De temporum in act. ap. ratione*, p. 40; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 278 f.; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. 279 sq. n. 1674. The regular games of Caesarea celebrated every fourth, not every fifth year (see vol. i. of present work, p. 439), would come round, not in A.D. 44, but in A.D. 43, since, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1, they were instituted in the 28th year of Herod = A.U.C. 744, and so would come round in A.U.C. 796 = A.D. 43.

in thorough and detailed agreement on the principal points.⁴⁶ The Acts of the Apostles relates that in Caesarea, sitting on the judgment-seat (*βῆμα*) dressed in his royal robes, he delivered an oration to the ambassadors representing the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, with whom, we know not why, he had been displeased. While he was speaking the people called out: It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. Immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten up of worms, and gave up the ghost. According to Josephus, he was present at Caesarea while games were being celebrated there in honour of the emperor. On the second day he appeared in the theatre in a robe which was made wholly of silver. When the robe sparkled in the sun, the flatterers cried out to him declaring that he was a god (*θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες*), and entreating that he would have mercy upon them. The king allowed himself to be carried away by their flattery. Soon thereafter he saw an owl sitting upon a rope, which at once he accepted as a presage of a speedy death.⁴⁷ He then knew that his hour had come. Immediately a most severe pain arose in his bowels. He had to be carried into the house, and in five days was a corpse.—It thus appears that the principal points: Caesarea as the scene of the incident, the brilliant robe, the flattering shout, the sudden death—are common to both narratives, although the details have been somewhat diversified in the course of transmission.

Agrippa left, besides his three daughters (Berenice,

⁴⁶ The rendering of the story of Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 10, is in all essential points in thorough agreement with that of Acts and Josephus, although he changes the owl of Josephus into an angel. Compare also Ranisch, *De Lucae et Josephi in morte Herodis Agrippae consensu.*, Lips. 1745. In recent times: Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 57–62.—On the changing of the owl into an angel, Heinichen, *Eusebii Scripta historica*, iii. 654–656.

⁴⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 7.—On the owl as a bird of evil omen, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 12. 34–35.

Mariamme, and Drusilla), only one son, then in his seventeenth year, whose name also was Agrippa. The Emperor Claudius had been disposed to give over to him the kingdom of his father; but his advisers restrained him from carrying out his intentions. And so again the whole of Palestine, as formerly Judea and Samaria had been, was taken possession of as Roman territory, and its administration given over to a procurator under the supervision of the governor of Syria.⁴⁸ The younger Agrippa continued meanwhile to live in retirement.

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1—2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.—Bormann (*De Syriae provinciae Romanae partibus capita nonnulla*, 1865, pp. 3—5) assumes that Palestine during the period A.D. 44—49 was administered by a procurator independent of the legate of Syria; but in A.D. 49 was attached to the province of Syria, because, forsooth, Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 23, begins his narrative of the events of the year 49 with the words: "Ituræi et Judæi defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, provinciae Suriae additi." But it is evident that the narrative of Tacitus is very summary, and brings together things that in point of time lay quite apart from one another. Hence such a conclusion cannot be based upon his statement. Just in A.D. 44 or A.D. 45, immediately after the death of Agrippa I., the legate of Syria, Cassius Longinus, did interfere in the affairs of Judea. The independence of the procurator of Judea was therefore no greater then than it was subsequently, and it was subsequently no less than it was then. Compare generally above, p. 47; and especially against Bormann, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 411, note 11.

§ 19. THE ROMAN PROCURATORS, A.D. 44-66.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xx. 1 and 5-11; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11-14. ZONARAS, *Annales*, vi. 12-17 (summary from Josephus).

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HAUSRATH, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, ■ Aufl. ii. 362 ff., iii. 331-374, 423-426.

LEWIN, *Fasti sacri*, 1865, ad. ann. 44-46.

GERLACH, *Die Römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa*, 1865, p. 67 ff.

GRÄTZ, "Chronologische Präcisirung der Reihenfolge der letzten römischen Landpfleger in Judäa," etc. (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), 1877, pp. 401 ff., 443 ff.). Compare, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. p. 724 ff., where the treatise from the *Monatsschrift* is almost entirely reproduced.

ROHDEN, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae*, Berol. 1885, pp. 34-36.

KELLNER, "Die römischen Statthalter von Syrien und Judäa zur Zeit Christi und der Apostel." Zweiter Artikel. "Die kaiserlichen Procuratoren von Judäa" (*Zeitschrift für katholischen Theologie*, 1888, p. 630 ff.).

MENKE's *Bibelatlas*, Bl. V. Special Map of "Judea and neighbouring countries in the time of Felix and Festus."

WHEN we glance over the history of the Roman procurators, to whom once more the government of Palestine was entrusted, we might readily suppose that all of them, as if by secret arrangement, so conducted themselves as most certainly to arouse the people to revolt. Even the best among them,

to say nothing at all of the others who trampled right and law under foot, had no appreciation of the fact that a people like the Jews required, in a permanent degree, consideration for their prejudices and peculiarities. Instead of exercising mildness and toleration, they had only applied themselves with inexorable strictness to suppress any movement of the popular life.—As compared with those who followed, the words of Josephus are true regarding the first two procurators, that, “making no alterations of the ancient laws and customs, they kept the nation in tranquillity.”¹

1. The first procurator whom Claudius sent to Palestine was Cuspius Fadus (A.D. 44—?).² Immediately after he had entered upon his office he had an opportunity for affirming his determination to maintain order. When he arrived in Palestine the inhabitants of Perea were in a state of open war with the city of Philadelphia.³ The conflict had arisen over disputes about the boundaries of their respective territories. Inasmuch as the Pereans were the parties at fault, Fadus caused one of the three leaders of the party to be executed and the other two to be banished from the country.—But that Fadus with all his uprightness and love of justice had no appreciation of the peculiar characteristics of the Jewish people, is proved by his demand that the beautiful robe of the high priest, which in earlier times, A.D. 6—36, had laid under Roman keeping, and had been afterwards given up by Vitellius (see above, p. 88), should again be committed to the charge of the Romans.⁴ Thus, without any occasion whatever, by petty annoyances, the feelings of the people, which were most sensitive in matters of this sort, were outraged. Fortunately, Fadus and the governor of Syria, Cassius Longinus, who on account of this important affair had

¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2.

³ On Philadelphia, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 119—121.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1.

gone up to Jerusalem, were considerate enough as to at least allow a Jewish embassy to proceed to Rome, which by the mediation of the younger Agrippa obtained an order from Claudius that in the matter of the garments things should continue as they had been.⁵

More serious than this conflict was one which occurred at a later period, and led to open war and shedding of blood. One who pretended to be a prophet, Theudas by name, gathered a large multitude of followers after him, with whom he marched down to the Jordan, giving them the assurance that he by his mere word would part the stream and lead them across on dry land. This, indeed, was only to be a proof of his divine mission, and what he had mainly in view, the contest with Rome, would follow. At any rate this was how the matter was regarded by Fadus. He sent a detachment of horsemen against Theudas, which completely defeated him and slew a portion of his followers or took them prisoners; and when Theudas himself had been apprehended, they struck off his head and carried it to Jerusalem as a sign of their victory.⁶

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1-2. Compare xv. 11. 4.—The rescript of Claudius to the officials of Jerusalem, in which this decision of the emperor is communicated to them (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 2), bears date of 28th June A.D. 45, *Claud. tribunic. potest.* V., in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus. On these *Consules suffecti*, see Klein, *Fasti consulares*, p. 33.—Compare also: Kindlmann, "Utrum litterae, quae ad Claudium Tiberium imperatorem apud Josephum referuntur, ad eum referendae sint necne, quaeritur. Mährisch-Neustadt, *Progr.* 1884. This treatise I have had no opportunity of examining.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1 = Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 11.—The name Theudas is met with also elsewhere (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 2684, 3563, 3920, 5698; Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* on Acts v. 36; Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*, s.v.). Θεὺδᾶς is a contraction for Θεοδόσιος, Θεόδωρος, Θεόδαρος, or such like name derived from θεός. The contraction for εο into εϋ is very frequent in proper names connected with θεός and κλέος. Even in rabbinical works we find תודוס (Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 2565 sq.; Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 704; Schoettgen, *Horae hebraicae*, i. 423). But the name of the physician תידוס, Mishna, *Bechoroth* iv. 4, reads according to the best manuscripts תודרוס (as in the Cambridge

2. The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander, down to A.D. 48, descended from one of the most illustrious Jewish families of Alexandria, a son of the Alabarch Alexander, and nephew of the philosopher Philo.⁷ He had abandoned the religion of his fathers and taken service under the Romans. During the period of his government Palestine was visited by a sore famine.⁸ The one fact of any importance that is

manuscript and *cod. de Rossi*, 138).—Our rebel chief Theudas is well known from the reference made to him in Acts v. 36, where the allusion to him occurs in a speech of Gamaliel delivered a considerable time before the actual appearance of Theudas. Indeed, according to the representation of the narrative of the Acts, the appearance of Theudas is placed before that of Judas of Galilee in A.D. 6. But as many are unwilling that so serious an error should be attributed to the author of the Acts of the Apostles, several theologians have assumed the existence of two different rebels of the name of Theudas. But such an assumption is not justified in consideration of the slight authority of the Acts in such matters. Compare on the *pro* and *con* of this controversy: Sonntag, "Theudas der Anführer" (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1837, p. 622 ff.); Zuschlag, *Theudas, Anführer eines 750 R. in Palästina erregten Aufstandes*, Cassel 1849; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 90 f.; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, p. 101 ff.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 609 f.; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibelllexikon*, v. 510-513; Köhler in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xvi. 39-41; K. Schmidt in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xv. 553-557; Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1854, pp. 132-137; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 903, 933, 1469. The Commentaries on Acts by Kuinoel, De Wette, Meyer, Overbeck, Wendt, Nögen, and others. The older literature is given in Wolf, *Curæ philol. in Nov. Test.* on Acts v. 36.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2, xviii. 8. 1.—On the office of Alabarch, see Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.

⁸ Compare in regard to this famine, besides *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2, also *Antiq.* iii. 15. 3, xx. 2. 6; Acts xi. 28-30; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione* (1833), pp. 41-49; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 156-161; Karl Schmidt, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Bd. i. 1882, pp. 157-164.—Josephus refers the famine to the time of Tiberius Alexander, but states that it had its beginning in the days of his predecessor: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. The reading ἐπὶ τούτοις is confirmed by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 12. 1. In the connection in which it occurs, however, it is certainly not to be rendered *propter hæc* (as Credner, *Einleitung*, p. 330, does), nor even by *ad hæc* nor *post hæc* (as Keim does in his *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, p. 19, note), but by *horum temporibus*. On this incorrect use of ἐπὶ with the dative instead

recorded about him is that he caused James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee, to be crucified, ostensibly because they were entertaining schemes similar to those of their father.⁹

of the genitive, see Wahl, *Clavis librorum V. T. apocryph. s.v. ἐπί*. The narrative of the Acts is in agreement with this when it refers the famine to somewhere about the time of Agrippa's death in A.D. 44.—In all the three passages Josephus names Judea only as the district affected by the famine (xx. 5. 2 : τὴν Ἰουδαίαν; iii. 15. 3 : τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν; xx. 2. 6 : τὴν πόλιν). The author of the Acts of the Apostles describes it as extending over the whole world (xi. 28 : ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην), which is a generalization quite as unhistorical as that about the census of Quirinius. Certainly the reign of Claudius had been remarked by *assiduae sterilitates* (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 18). Besides the famine that occurred in Palestine we are told of the following : (1) A famine in Rome in the beginning of his reign (Dio Cassius, ix. 11 ; Aurel., *Victor Caesar*, 4 ; Coins in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 238 sq.); (2) Another famine in Greece in the 8th or 9th year of his reign (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 152 sq., in the Armenian and according to Jerome); and (3) yet another famine in Rome in the 11th year of his reign, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 43, or according to Eusebius, *Chronicon*, in the 10th or 9th year ; Orosius also, vii. 6. 17, giving the 10th year as the date. But a famine that extended over the whole world is as improbable in itself as it is unsupported by the statement of any authority.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2.—Tiberius Alexander served at a late period under Corbulo against the Parthians (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 28), was then made governor of Egypt (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 1, 18. 7, iv. 10. 6 ; Tacitus, *History*, i. 11, ii. 74, 79 ; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 6), and was the most distinguished and trusted counsellor of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6, vi. 4. 3). His full name is given in an edict which he issued as governor of Egypt : "Tiberius Julius Alexander" (*Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4957).—The conjecture of Bernays, that it is to him that the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *περὶ κόσμου* is dedicated, is highly improbable, although it has been accepted as an established fact by Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 494, 566. According to Zeller, that work is actually a production of Aristotle, and he to whom it is dedicated is Alexander the Great. See the literature given above in vol. i. p. 63.—On Tiberius Alexander compare generally : Rudorff, "Das Edict des Tiberius Julius Alexander" (*Rhein Museum*, 1828, pp. 64–84, 133–190) ; Franz, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4957 ; Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2 (1852), p. 1943 f. ; Renier in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. 1 (1867), pp. 294–302 ; Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Turin 1870), p. 216 sq.—The family of Tiberius Alexander continued

Although even the days of those first procurators did not pass without troubles and upheaval, these came to be regarded as altogether insignificant in comparison with the excitement and turmoil that followed. Even under the governorship of the next procurator Cumanus popular tumults, not without faults on both sides, broke out in far more formidable proportions.

3. The first rebellion against which Ventidius Cumanus, A.D. 48-52,¹⁰ had to contend was occasioned by the coarse insolence of a Roman soldier. This man had the presumption at the feast of the Passover, when to maintain order and preserve the peace a detachment of soldiers was always situated in the court of the temple,¹¹ to insult the festive gathering by assuming an indecent posture. The enraged multitude demanded satisfaction from the procurator. As Cumanus, however, attempted first of all to hush up the also in later times in the service of the Romans. A Julius Alexander, perhaps a son or grandson of the one of whom we have been speaking, served as legate under Trajan in the Parthian war (Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 30), was consul in A.D. 117, and member of the priestly College of the Arvales, A.D. 118-119. The Acts of the Arvales give his full name as Tiberius Julius Alexander Julianus (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 2078, 2079; compare also, Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, Index, p. 188). One Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος, commander of *cohors I Flavia* and agoranomos over the second city district of Alexandria, in the 21st year of Antoninus Pius, erected a statue to the great goddess Isis (*Annali dell' Istituto di corrisp. archeol.* 1875, p. 15).

¹⁰ Ventidius, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54; in Josephus called only Cumanus.—The date of Cumanus' entrance upon office may be discovered, though only approximately, from this, that Josephus at the same time reports the death of Herod of Chalcis in the 8th year of Claudius = A.D. 48 (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 2). Without sufficient ground Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 68, 126 f., fixes the date of Cumanus' entrance upon his office as late as A.D. 50; whereas, on the other hand, Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, p. 44; Gerlach, *Die römische Statthalter*, p. 71; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 415; Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 589; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1719; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, pp. 402-408 = *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 725-728; Rohden, *De Palaestina*, p. 35, assume the date A.D. 48.

¹¹ Compare *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11.

matter, he too was assailed with reproachful speeches, until at length he called for the intervention of the armed forces. The excited crowds were utterly routed; and their overthrow was so complete that, according to Josephus' estimate, in the crush which took place in the streets in consequence of their flight, 20,000 (!) men lost their lives.¹²

The fault in this case lay with the Romans, but in the next upheaval the occasion was given by the Jewish people themselves. An imperial official called Stephanus was attacked on a public road not far from Jerusalem, and robbed of all his belongings. As a punishment for this the villages which lay in the neighbourhood of the spot where the deed was committed were subjected to a general pillage. It was through a pure mischance that out of this pillage further mischief was very nearly occasioned; for a soldier, before the eyes of all, amid contumelious and reproachful speeches tore up a Thorah roll which he had found. In order to obtain revenge and satisfaction for such profanity, a mass deputation visited Cumanus at Caesarea, demanding the punishment of the offender. This time the procurator saw it to be advisable to give way, and so sentenced the offender to be put to death.¹³

Far more bitter and bloody was a third collision with the people under Cumanus, which though it did not indeed cost him his life, yet led to his loss of office. Certain Galilean Jews, who on their way to the feast at Jerusalem had to pass through Samaria, had been murdered in a Samaritan village. When Cumanus, who had been bribed by the Samaritans, took no steps to secure the punishment of the guilty, the Jewish people took upon themselves the duty of revenge. Under the leadership of two Zealots, Eleasar and Alexander, a great multitude of armed men made an attack upon

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 2.

Samaria, hewed down old men, women, and children, and laid waste the villages. But then Cumanus with a portion of his military force fell upon the Zealots; many were slain, others were taken prisoners. Meanwhile ambassadors from the Samaritans appeared before Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, and lodged a complaint with him about the robber raid of the Jews. At the same time, however, a Jewish embassy also came to Quadratus, and accused the Samaritans and Cumanus, who had accepted bribe from them. Quadratus, therefore, went himself to Samaria and made a strict investigation. All the revolutionists taken prisoners by Cumanus were crucified; five Jews, who were proved to have taken a prominent part in the struggle, were beheaded; but the ringleaders both of the Jews and of the Samaritans were sent along with Cumanus to Rome in order to answer for their conduct there. The Jews were indebted to the intercession of the younger Agrippa, who happened then to be in Rome, for their success in their securing their rights. The decision of Claudius was to this effect, that the ringleaders of the Samaritans, who had been discovered by him to be the guilty parties, should be executed, while Cumanus was to be deprived of his office and sent into banishment.¹⁴

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1-3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 3-7.—There is a divergence in regard to essential points between this representation of Josephus and that given by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54. According to the Roman historian, Cumanus was only procurator of Galilee, while during the same period Felix had the administration of Samaria, and indeed of Judea also (Felix . . . jam pridem Judaeae impositus . . . aemulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumanus, cui pars provinciae habebatur, ita divisae, ut huic Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae parerent). Felix and Cumanus were equally to blame for the bloody conflicts that took place. But Quadratus condemned only Cumanus, and even allowed Felix to take part in the trial as judge.—It is really impossible to do away with the contradiction between Tacitus and Josephus; for Josephus leaves no doubt of this, that, according to his understanding of the matter, Cumanus was the only governor in the territory of the Jews, and that Felix only went to Palestine as his successor. Compare especially the definite state-

4. At the request of the high priest Jonathan, one of the Jewish aristocracy whom Quadratus had sent to Rome,¹⁵ the Emperor Claudius transferred the administration of Palestine to one of his favourites, the brother of the influential Pallas, whose name was Felix (A.D. 52–60).¹⁶ This man's term of office constitutes probably the turning-point in the drama which had opened with A.D. 44 and reached its close in the bloody conflicts of A.D. 70. During the days of the first two ment that the high priest Jonathan, who was in Rome at the time of the deposition of Cumanus, had besought the emperor that he should send Felix (see note 15). But it seems a matter scarcely to be questioned that the very detailed narrative of Josephus deserves to be preferred to the indeterminate remarks made by Tacitus. So also thinks Wurm, *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1833, 1 Heft, pp. 14–21; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, pp. 88–90; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 67; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Felix;" Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1777.—In favour essentially of Tacitus: Nipperdey, *Anmerkungen zu Tacitus Annales*, xii. 54; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 403 ff. = *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. pp. 725–728; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 35; Kellner, *Zeitschrift für katholischen Theologie*, 1888, p. 639 f.

¹⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 6. Compare *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5: Αἰτησάμενος ἐκείνου παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεμφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον.

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28.—That Felix entered upon his office in A.D. 52 is probable for this reason, that Josephus immediately after making that statement mentions that Claudius after the completion of his twelfth year (τῆς ἀρχῆς δωδέκατου ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκώς), i.e. after the 24th January A.D. 53, bestowed upon Agrippa II., Batanea and Trachonitis (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 1). This indeed leaves the year 53 open as a possible date, which some actually adopt. But in favour of 52 is the fact that Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54, relates the deposition of Cumanus among the events of this year; no doubt with the assumption that Felix had been already before this, contemporary with Cumanus, carrying on the government of a portion of Palestine. Although, indeed, this assumption can scarcely be regarded as correct (see note 14), yet the year 52 must be firmly adhered to as the time of the deposition of Cumanus.

Compare on Felix generally: C. W. F. Walch, *De Felice, Judaeae procuratore*, Jenae 1747; Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iii. 443 f.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 368 f.; Paret in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. iv. 354 f.; K. Schmidt, *Herzog*, 2 Aufl. iv. 518 f.; Kellner in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. iv. 1311 ff.; Overbeck in Schenkel's *Bibelllexikon*, ii. 263 ff.

procurators things had continued relatively quiet; under Cumanus, indeed, there were more serious uprisings of the people; yet even then they were only isolated and called forth by particular occurrences; under Felix rebellion became permanent.

He was, like his brother Pallas, a freedman of the imperial family,¹⁷—a freedman probably of Antonia the mother of Claudius, and having therefore as his full name, Antonius Felix.¹⁸ The conferring of a procuratorship with military command upon a freedman was something unheard of, and is only to be accounted for by the influence which the freedmen had at the court of Claudius.¹⁹ As procurator of Palestine

¹⁷ Tacitus, *History*, v. 9; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28.

¹⁸ Antonius Felix, according to Tacitus, *History*, v. 9.—This name and the circumstance that Pallas, the brother of Felix, was a freedman of Antonia (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6), favours the hypothesis that Felix also was a freedman, not of Claudius, but of his mother Antonia (see Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 29 and xii. 54).—That Felix also bore the name Claudius (so e.g. Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. “Felix,” and Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 35) cannot be proved from the original documents; for in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1, as well as in Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. Κλαύδιος, instead of Κλαύδιον Φήλικα we should read Κλαύδιος Φήλικα (scil. πέμπει, resp. ἐπίστησεν). The reading of the manuscript in the Suidas passage is indeed Κλαύδιον; but the conjecture Κλαύδιος is rightly favoured by Bernhardt, and has been adopted by Bekker into the text. Compare in general on the name of Felix, Walch, *De Felice*, pp. 2–7.

¹⁹ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28, gives prominence to it as something unusual: “Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Judaeae praeposuit.” Compare in addition, Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 423.—Besides the freedman it is well known that in the latter years of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 49–54, his wife Agrippina also exercised an unwholesome influence. The Palestinian coins also of the 13th and 14th years of Claudius afford evidence of his powerful influence, since on them her name (Ἰουλία Ἀγριππῖνα) appears alongside of that of her husband (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 498; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 554; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 66, ii. 52; De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaique*, p. 149; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 151 sq.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 76 sq.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, p. 190 sq.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 184 sq.; Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen*

Felix proved worthy of his descent. "With all manner of cruelty and lust he exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave;" in these words Tacitus sums up his estimate of the man.²⁰

Felix was three times married. All the three wives, of whom two are known to us, belonged to royal families.²¹ The one was a granddaughter of the triumvir Marc Antony and Cleopatra, and by this marriage Felix was brought into relationship with the Emperor Claudius.²² The other was the Jewish princess Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa I. and sister of Agrippa II.; and the way in which the marriage with her was brought about serves to confirm the estimate of Tacitus quoted above. Drusilla at the time when Felix entered upon his office was fourteen years of age.²³ Soon after this she was married by her brother Agrippa II. to Azizus, king of Emesa, after the marriage with the son of King Antiochus of Commagene, to whom she had been before betrothed, had been broken off because he refused to submit to circumcision.²⁴ Soon after her marriage Felix saw the

Palästina-Vereins, vii. 1884, p. 213).—Probably also a town on the east of the Jordan is named after her, namely, one lying between the Mount Sartaba and the Hauran: Agrippina, אגריפינא. This is the reading of the Mishna, *Rosh-Hashana* ii. 4, according to the Cambridge manuscript edited by Lowe. A Hamburg manuscript and the *editio princeps* have *Agropina*; the Jerusalem Talmud and the *cod. de Rossi*, 138: *Gripina*; the common printed text: *Gropina*. The place is named only in that one passage in the Mishna. The Greek form would be *Αγριππινας*, after the pattern of *Τιβεριας* from טבריא.

²⁰ *History*, v. 9: "per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit."

²¹ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28, calls him *trium reginarum maritum*.

²² Tacitus, *History*, v. 9: "Drusilla Cleopatrae et Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset."—The name Drusilla is introduced through a confusion with the other wife of Felix.

²³ As appears evidently from *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1, according to which Drusilla, the youngest of the daughters of Agrippa I., was six years old at the time of his death.

²⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1.

beautiful queen, became inflamed with passion, and determined to possess her. By the help of a magician of Cyprus called Simon, he prevailed on her to marry him. In defiance of the law, which strictly forbade the marriage of a Jewess with a pagan, Drusilla gave her hand to the Roman procurator.²⁵

The public career of Felix was no better than his private life. As brother of the powerful and highly favoured Pallas, "he believed that he might commit all sorts of enormities with impunity."²⁶—It can be easily understood how under such a government as this the bitter feeling against Rome grew rapidly, and the various stages of its development were plainly carried out to the utmost extent under Felix and by his fault.²⁷

First of all, on account of his misgovernment the Zealots, who entertained so fanatical a hatred of the Romans, won more and more sympathy among the ranks of the citizens. How far Josephus had grounds for styling them simply robbers may remain undetermined. In any case, as their following from among the people shows, they were not robbers of the common sort; and their pillaging was confined wholly to the property of their political opponents. Felix, who was not very scrupulous about the means he used, contrived to get Eleasar, the head of the party, into his

²⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 2. Compare Acts of the Apostles xxiv. 24. Since Azizus died in the first year of Nero (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 4), the marriage with Felix must have taken place in the time of Claudius, in A.D. 53 or 54. Compare Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 80 f.—Drusilla bore a son to Felix called Agrippa, who, "together with his wife" (σὺν τῇ γυναίκί, it is certainly not Drusilla, but the wife of Agrippa that is meant), perished in an irruption of Vesuvius (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 2).—Compare on Drusilla, besides the articles in Winer, Herzog, and Schenkel, also Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, p. 68 f.

²⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54: "Cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tanta potentia subnixo."

²⁷ This appears most distinctly from the account given in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2-6, which is much more lucid and clear than that given in the *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5-6.

hands by means of treachery, and sent him, together with those of his adherents whom he had already in prison, to Rome. "But the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified was incalculable, as also that of the citizens whom he arrested and punished as having been in league with them."²⁸

Such preposterous severity and cruelty only gave occasion to still further troubles.²⁹ In the place of the robbers of whom Felix had rid the country, the Sicarii made their appearance, a still more fanatical faction of the patriots, who deliberately adopted as their special task the removal of their political opponents by assassination. Armed with short daggers (*sicae*), from which they received their name,³⁰ they mixed among the crowds especially during the festival seasons, and unobserved in the press stabbed their opponents (*τοὺς διαφόρους*, *i.e.* the friends of the Romans), and feigning deep sorrow when the deed was done, succeeded in thereby drawing away suspicion from themselves. These political murders were so frequent that soon no one any longer felt safe in Jerusalem. Among others who fell victims to the daggers of the Sicarii was Jonathan the high priest, who, as a man of moderate sentiments, was hated by the Sicarii as well as by the procurator Felix, whom he often exhorted to act more worthily in the administration of his office, lest he (Jonathan) should be blamed by the people for having recommended the emperor to appoint him governor. Felix wished to have the troublesome exhorter put out of the way, and found that this could be most simply accomplished by means of assassination, to which the Sicarii, although otherwise the deadly foes of Felix, readily lent themselves.³¹

²⁸ *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5.

²⁹ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54: "intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat."

³⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 10.

³¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 3; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5.—The Sicarii

With these political fanatics there were associated religious fanatics “not so impure in their deeds, but still more wicked in their intentions.” Advancing the claim of a divine mission, they roused the people to a wild enthusiasm, and led the credulous multitude in crowds out into the wilderness, in order that there they might show them “the tokens foreshadowing freedom” (σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας)—that freedom which consisted in casting off the Roman yoke and setting up the kingdom of God, or, to use the language of Josephus, in innovation and revolution. Since religious fanaticism is

are also referred to during the war, when they had in their possession the fortress of Masada. See *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 6, iv. 7. 2, 9. 5, vii. 8. 1 ff., 10. 1, 11. 1. The author of the Acts of the Apostles was also aware of their existence as a political party (Acts xxi. 38: τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων).—In Latin *sicarius* is the common designation for a murderer. Thus, for example, the law passed under Sulla against murderers is called “lex Cornelia de Sicariis” (Pauly’s *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 969, and generally the article “Sicarius” in the same *Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 1153 f.). It also occurs in the Mishna in this same general sense: *Bikkurim* i. 2, ii. 3; *Gittin* v. 6; *Machshirin* i. 6. In none of these passages is the term *Sicarii* used to designate a political party. In the passage *Machshirin* i. 6 the story told is this, that on one occasion the inhabitants of Jerusalem hid their fig-cakes in water from fear of the סיקרים. In the other passages a case is supposed in which a robber-murderer has violently appropriated to himself a piece of land. It is asked what is to be done in this case with reference to the taxes (*Bikkurim* i. 2, ii. 3), and whether one would be able by process of law to buy from the robber-murderer such a piece of land (*Gittin* v. 6). In reference to this last point it is said that since the war, which here clearly means the war of Hadrian, it had been decreed that the purchase would be valid only when the property had been first obtained from the lawful possessors and then from the robber who had taken it by force, but not when it had been bought first from the robber and then from the legal owners. Here we are to understand by the *Sicarii* rather non-Jewish than Jewish robber-murderers. Compare generally: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 422 f., who wrongly makes the *Sicarii* a Jewish political party; Derenbourg, *Historie de la Palestine*, pp. 280, 475 sqq.; Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 518.—The correct form סיקרים = *sicarii*, is found in *Machshirin* i. 6 (e.g. in the Cambridge manuscript edited by Lowe). But it is deserving of remark that in the other passages the best texts, e.g. the Cambridge manuscript, constantly have סיקריק, *sicaricon*, and that indeed as a mas. sing. = “the murderer.”

always the most powerful and the most persistent, Josephus is certainly right when he says that those fanatics and deceivers contributed no less than the "robbers" to the overthrow of the city. Felix also recognised clearly enough the dangerous tendency of the movement, and invariably broke in upon all such undertakings with the sword.⁸²—The most celebrated enterprise of this sort was the exploit of that Egyptian to whom Acts xxi. 38 refers. An Egyptian Jew who gave himself out for a prophet, gathered around him in the wilderness a great crowd of people, numbering, according to Acts, 4000, according to Josephus, 30,000, with whom he wished to ascend the Mount of Olives, because he promised that at his word the walls of Jerusalem would fall down and give them free entrance into the city. Then they would get the Roman garrison into their power and secure to themselves the government. Felix did not give the prophet time to perform his miracle, but attacked him with his troops, slew and scattered his followers or took them prisoners. But the Egyptian himself escaped from the slaughter and disappeared.⁸³

The result of this unfortunate undertaking was temporary strengthening of the anti-Roman party. The religious and the political fanatics (οἱ γόητες καὶ ληστρικοί) united together for a common enterprise. "They persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations; for they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait

⁸² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 4; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6.

⁸³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 5; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6: ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδρῶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. Undoubtedly the people believed in a wonderful deliverance and escape, and hoped for a return, to which even Acts xxi. 38 contains a reference.—Compare also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 21.

up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with their madness.”⁸⁴

Thus did the misgovernment of Felix in the end bring about this result, that a large portion of the people from this time forth became thoroughly roused, under the constant strain of this wild reign of terror, to wage war against Rome, and rested not until at last the end was reached.

Besides these wild movements of the popular agitators, internal strifes and rivalries among the priests themselves led to the increase of confusion. The high priests were at feud with the other priests, and in consequence of the illegal arrangements which prevailed in Palestine under Felix' government, they could even go the length of sending their servants to the threshing-floor, and carrying away by force the tithes which belonged to the other priests, so that many of these unfortunate priests actually died for want.⁸⁵

In the last two years of Felix occurred also the imprisonment of the Apostle Paul at Caesarea, of which an account is given in Acts xxiii., xxiv. We are familiar with the story of the personal interview which the apostle had with the Roman procurator and his wife Drusilla, at which the apostle did not fail to speak to both of that which it was specially fit that they should hear: “of righteousness and of temperance, and of judgment to come.”⁸⁶

While Paul lay a prisoner at Caesarea, a conflict arose there between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of the city over the question of equality in citizen rights (*ἰσοπολιτεία*). The Jews laid claim to the possession of certain advantages and privileges, since Herod was the founder of the city. The Syrians were naturally unwilling that any such preference

⁸⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 6; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6.

⁸⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 8.

⁸⁶ Acts of the Apostles, xxiv. 24 ¶

should be given to the Jews. For a long time both parties fought with one another in riots on the public streets. At last on one occasion, when the Jews had obtained an advantage, Felix stepped in, reduced the Jews to order by military force, and gave up some of their houses to be plundered by the soldiers. But when, nevertheless, the disorders still continued, Felix sent the most prominent of both parties to Rome, in order that the question of law might be decided by the emperor.⁸⁷ Before, however, the matter had been settled, Felix, probably in A.D. 60, was recalled by Nero.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 7.

⁸⁸ On the date of the recall of Felix and of Festus' entrance upon office, see the thoroughgoing researches of Wurm, *Tübinger Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1883, 1 Heft, pp. 8-25; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, pp. 88-106; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 66-99; Wieseler in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, 1 Aufl. xxi. 553-558; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, pp. 322-328; Wieseler, *Zur Geschichte der neutestamentlichen Schrift* (1880), p. 93 ff.; an anonymous paper, "St. Paul and Josephus," in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, new series, vol. vi. 1854, pp. 166-183; Lehmann, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1858, pp. 313-330; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. 72 sqq.; J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Thl. v. 1873, pp. 13-16; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 443 ff. = *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. p. 729 ff.; Aberle, *Zur Chronologie der Gefangenschaft Pauli* (*Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1883, pp. 553-572; Kellner, art. "Felix" in *Wetzer and Welte's Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. iv. 1311 ff. (1886); Kellner in the *Katholik*, 1867, 1 Hälfte, pp. 146-151; Kellner, *Zeitschrift für Katholisch-Theologie*, 1888, pp. 640-646; Schanz, "Das Jahr der Gefangennahme des heiligen Apostels Paulus" (*Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1887, pp. 199-222, with supplement by Kellner, pp. 222-224; Wandel, *Zeitschrift für kirchlichen Wissenschaft und kirchlichen Leben*, 1888, p. 169 ff.; V. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte der Exegese des 9. Kapitels des Römerbriefes*, 1889, pp. 177-197.—An exact and certain determination of the year in which Felix was recalled is clearly impossible. Most of recent investigators assume A.D. 60 as the most probable date (so Wurm, Anger, Wieseler, the anonymous writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Lewin, Hoffmann, Aberle, Schanz, Wandel). Some go a year or two farther back (Grätz, A.D. 59; Lehmann, A.D. 58). Only Kellner and V. Weber, after the example of some earlier scholars (Bengel, Süskind, Rettig, on whom see Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters*, p. 72), place the recall of Felix in the very beginning of Nero's reign: Kellner in November A.D. 54; Weber in the summer of A.D. 55. The grounds for

5. As successor of Felix, Nero sent Porcius Festus, A.D. 60-

this last hypothesis are : (1) In the Chronicle of Eusebius, according to the Armenian text, it is said that the recall of Felix took place in the last year of Claudius, A.D. 54 (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii, 152); in the Chronicle of Jerome it is placed in the second year of Nero (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii, 155). (2) When Felix after his recall was accused in Rome by the Jews, Pallas secured his acquittal (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9). Pallas had therefore at this time still great influence; but he had clearly fallen into disfavour in the beginning of Nero's reign, in A.D. 55 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 14). (3) The office of the procurators came to an end with the death of the emperor unless it were renewed by his successor. In answer to these statements it is to be remarked : (1) The statements in the Chronicle of Eusebius are often quite arbitrary, and so prove nothing. Moreover, the Armenian translation of the Chronicle can hardly contain the original text of Eusebius, since Eusebius himself in his *Ecclesiastical History* represents Felix as officiating under Nero (ii. 20. 1, 22. 1). (2) Josephus puts almost everything that he relates of the proceedings of Felix under the reign of Nero (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 1-9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8-14, 1). Felix must therefore have exercised his office for at least some years under Nero. If, therefore, Pallas was in favour with Nero at the time of Felix' deposition, he must then have been restored to favour. There is no difficulty in making such an assumption, since we also know from Tacitus that before the expiry of A.D. 55 he had been found not guilty of charges that had been brought against him (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 23). (3) The third argument made use of by Kellner falls to the ground before the statement of Josephus, that Felix officiated as procurator for a long while under Nero, and must therefore have been confirmed by him in office.—We can only fix with any degree of certainty upon the *terminus ad quem* of Felix' recall. It occurred at any rate in the summer, since the Apostle Paul, who, not long after the departure of Felix, was sent by ship to Rome, arrived in Crete about the time of the Great Day of Atonement in October (Acts xxvii. 9). But this summer cannot well have been later than that of A.D. 60. Seeing that the second successor of Felix, Albinus, arrived in Palestine late in the summer of A.D. 62, were we to assume that Felix left early in the summer of A.D. 61, we should be able to assign only one year to Festus, which in consideration of the incidents recorded as occurring in his time (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 9-11) is evidently too short. Very strange indeed is the argument in favour of A.D. 61 drawn from *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11. Because, forsooth, there in connection with an incident that occurred some time after Festus' entrance upon office, Poppea is spoken of as the wife of Nero, who was not married to her before A.D. 62 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 60), it has been maintained that Festus' entrance upon office cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 61. But there is nothing to prevent us from setting down that occurrence to a period more than a year after Festus' entrance upon office. Moreover,

62,³⁹ a man who, though disposed to act righteously, found himself utterly unable to undo the mischief wrought by the misdeeds of his predecessor.

Soon after Festus' entrance upon office the dispute between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea was decided in favour of the Syrians by means of an imperial rescript. The Jewish ambassadors at Rome had not been able to press their charges against Felix, because Pallas took the side of his brother. On the other hand, the two Syrian ambassadors succeeded by bribery in winning over to their interests a certain man called Beryllus, who was Nero's secretary for his Greek correspondence,⁴⁰ and by this means obtained an imperial rescript, by which even that equality with the

the marriage of Nero with Poppea did not take place till somewhere about the time of Festus' death, perhaps even somewhat later. Although that event had not occurred during Festus' lifetime, we can quite understand Josephus proleptically describing Nero's concubine as his wife.—Should we then accept the year 60 as the *terminus ad quem*, it is, on the other hand, not advisable to go much further back; for two years before the departure of Felix the imprisonment of Paul begins. But at the time of Paul's apprehension Felix is described as already in possession of his office ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν (Acts xxiv. 10). If we place the apprehension of Paul in the year 58, Felix was then already six years in office. Much less it could not have been. Also the chronology of the life of Paul in other particulars does not require that we place the apprehension of the apostle earlier. There is at least a possibility of assuming the year 57, and so it is evidently possible to assign the removal of Felix to A.D. 59. It is most correct to say with Wurm, at the earliest in A.D. 58, at the latest in A.D. 61, most probably in A.D. 60.

³⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.—Compare on Festus: Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 372 f.; Klaiber in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. iv. 394; Overbeck in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, ii. 275 ff.

⁴⁰ Instead of the name Beryllus given by all the manuscripts of *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9, the editions of Josephus since those of Hudson and Havercamp read Burrus. This conjecture, upon which some have built important chronological conclusions, is particularly foolish, for this reason, that the description given (παιδαγωγός δὲ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος, τάξιιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος) does not suit Burrus, the well-known *praefectus praetorio*, with whom Josephus is quite well acquainted as such (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 2).

Syrians, with which before they had not been satisfied, was now taken away from the Jews, and the "Hellenes" declared to be the lords of the city. The embittered feelings excited by this decision among the Jews of Caesarea burst forth a few years later, in A.D. 66, in violent revolutionary movements, which Josephus regards as the beginning of the great war.⁴¹

Festus, after repeated hearings, caused the Apostle Paul, whom Felix had left in prison (Acts xxiv. 27), at the apostle's own demand as a Roman citizen to be judged before the emperor, to be sent to Rome (Acts xxv., xxvi., xxvii. 1, 2; compare also, in addition, pp. 59, 74 of the present work).

The trouble in connection with the *Sicarii* continued under Festus just as great as it had been under Felix. During his government also a *deceiver*, so at least Josephus designates him, led the people into the wilderness, promising redemption and emancipation from all evils to those who should follow him. Festus proceeded against him with the utmost severity, but was unable to secure any lasting success.⁴²

Details in regard to a conflict between the priests and King Agrippa II., in which Festus took the side of Agrippa, will be given under the section that treats of the history of that king.

After he had held office for a period of scarcely two years,

⁴¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4.—The two representations of Josephus are inconsistent with one another in certain particulars. According to *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9, the ambassadors of the Jews of Caesarea did not go to Rome to make their complaint against Felix until after the entrance of Festus upon his office. According to *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 7 *fin.*, however, the ambassadors of both parties had been sent by Felix himself to Rome, which is probable for this reason, that even according to *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9 the ambassadors of the Syrians were also in Rome.—According to *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4, it would seem as if the decision of the emperor had not been given before A.D. 66. But this is not possible, since Pallas, who died in A.D. 62 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 65) played an important part in the proceedings.

⁴² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

Festus died while administering his procuratorship, and two men succeeded him, one after the other, who, like genuine successors of Felix, contributed, as far as it lay in their power, to intensify the bitterness of the conflict, and hurry on its final bloody conclusion.

In the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor, in A.D. 62, utter anarchy prevailed in Jerusalem, which was turned to account by the high priest Ananus, a son of that elder Ananus or Annas who is well known in connection with the history of Christ's death, in order to secure in a tumultuous gathering the condemnation of his enemies, and to have them stoned. His arbitrary government was not indeed of long duration, for King Agrippa, even before the arrival of the new procurator, again deposed him after he had held office only for three months.⁴³ James, the brother of Jesus Christ (ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ), is said to have been among those executed by Ananus. So at least the words run in our present text of Josephus; and the words had been read even by Eusebius in his copy of Josephus precisely as they occur in our manuscripts.⁴⁴ There is considerable ground, however, for suspicion of Christian interpolation, especially as Origen read in Josephus another passage regarding the death of James, in which the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple is described as a divine judgment in consequence of the execution of James. This passage occurs in some of our manuscripts of Josephus, and ought therefore certainly to be regarded as a Christian interpolation which has been excluded from our common text.⁴⁵ Also in the account given by Hegesippus of

⁴³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 21-24; literally the same as Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

⁴⁵ Origen makes reference three times to that passage in Josephus:—(1) *Comment. in Matth.* tom. x. c. 17 (on Matt. xiii. 55): "So high was the reputation of this James among the people for his righteousness, that

the execution of James it is brought into close connection with the destruction of Jerusalem. The year 62 cannot by any means be accepted as the date of his death.⁴⁶

Josephus in his *Antiquities*, when he is explaining the cause of the destruction of the temple, says, κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπηντηκέναι, διὰ τὰ εἰς Ἰάκωβον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετολμημένα. . . . Λέγει δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ λαὸς ταῦτα ἐνόμιζε διὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον πεπονθέναι." (2) *Contra Celsum*, i. 47: 'Ο δ' αὐτὸς . . . ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πτώσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ καθαιρέσεως . . . Φησὶ ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐκδόκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ περ δικαιοτάτον αὐτὸν ὄντα ἀπέκτειναν. (3) *Contra Celsum*, ii. 13 fin.: Τίτος καθεῖλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὥς μὲν Ἰώσηπος γράφει, διὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ.—In the same style as Origen, *contra Celsus*, i. 47, and presumably following him, the passage is quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 20. From Eusebius are derived the short statements in Jerome, *De viris illustr.* c. 2 and 13; *adversus Jovinianum*, i. 39 (*Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, ii. 301). The Greek translation of Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, is reproduced by Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. Ἰώσηπος.—Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 526, regards this passage of Josephus as genuine, after the example of some older critics!

⁴⁶ Eusebius has preserved for us (*Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 11—18) a literal transcript of the account given by Hegesippus. According to him, James was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple, then stoned, and at last beaten to death by a fuller (γυαφεύς) with a fuller's club. The narrative concludes with these words: Καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐσπασιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς. Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 1. 4, and Epiphanius, *Haer.* 78. 14, base their statements upon Hegesippus. The close connection in time between the execution of James and the destruction of Jerusalem is also emphasized by Eusebius in his own exposition (*Hist. eccl.* iii. 11. 1): μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυραὶν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Though much that is legendary is contained in the narrative of Hegesippus, it is nevertheless, from a chronological point of view, at least as deserving of consideration as the passage in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1, which is open to the suspicion of interpolation.—It should, however, be remarked, that the casting down from a height before the stoning, is a regular injunction of the Jewish law (*Mishna, Sanhedrin* vi. 4).—Compare generally on the year of the death of James, and on the genuineness of the statement in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; Clericus, *Ars critica*, p. iii. sec. 1, c. 14; Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, pp. 580—582 (against the genuineness); Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christliche Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, pp. 274—276 (similar to Credner); Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. (Edin. 1846) pp. 95—98; Koessing, *Dissertatio de anno quo mortem obierit Jacobus frater Domini*, Heidelberg. 1857; Gust.

6. The testimony of Josephus in regard to the new procurator Albinus, A.D. 62–64,⁴⁷ is to the effect that there was no sort of wickedness that could be mentioned which he had not a hand in. The leading principle of his procedure seems, however, to have been: To get money from whomsoever he might obtain it. Public as well as private treasures were subjected to his plunderings, and the whole people had to suffer oppression under his exactions.⁴⁸ But he also found it to his advantage to seek money as bribes for his favour from both political parties in the country, from the friends of the Romans, as well as from their opponents. From the high priest Ananias, inclined to favour the Romans, as well as from his enemies, the Sicarii, he accepted presents, and then allowed both of them without restraint to do as they liked. He made, indeed, a pretence of opposing the *Sicarii*; but for

Boettger, *Die Zeugnisse des Flavius Josephus von Johannes dem Täufer, von Jesu Christo und von Jakobus, dem Bruder des Herrn*, Dresden 1863; Gerlach, *Die Weissagungen des Alten Testaments in den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, 1863, p. 117 ff.; Ebben, *Genuinum esse Flavii Josephi de Jacobo fratre Jesu testimonium*, Cleve 1864; J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Thl. vii. 3 Abth. 1876, p. 4 f.; Wieseler, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1878, pp. 99–109; Volkmar, *Jesus Nazarenus*, 1882, pp. 345–348; Wandel, *Zeitschrift für kirchlichen Wissenschaft und kirchlichen Leben*, 1888, pp. 142–144; Kellner, "Der wahre Todestag [und das Todesjahr] Jakobus des Alphäiden" (*Katholik*, 1888, erste Hälfte, pp. 394–399).

⁴⁷ The date of Albinus' entrance upon his office may be discovered from *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 5. 3. According to the statement given there, Albinus was already procurator when, at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, four years before the outbreak of the war, and more than seven years and five months before the destruction of the city, a certain man, Jesus, son of Ananos, made his appearance, prophesying misfortune. These two indications of time carry us to the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 62. Hence Albinus entered upon his office, at the latest, in the summer of A.D. 62.—Our Albinus is very probably identical with Lucceius Albinus, who, under Nero, Galba, and Otho, was procurator of Mauritania, and, during the conflicts between Otho and Vitellius, was, in A.D. 69, put to death by Vitellius' party (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 58–59). Compare Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, iv. 1158; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

money any one who might be taken prisoner could secure his release. "Nobody remained in prison as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing."⁴⁹ The *Sicarii*, indeed, found out another means for securing the liberation of those of their party who had been taken prisoners. They were in the habit of seizing upon adherents of the opposite party only. Then at the wish of the Roman party, by whom also he was bribed, Albinus would set free as many of the *Sicarii* as they would of their opponents. Once on a time the *Sicarii* seized the secretary of the ruler of the temple, Eleasar, a son of Ananias,⁵⁰ and in return for the liberation of the secretary they secured the restoration of ten of their own comrades.⁵¹ Under such a government the anti-Roman party gained footing more and more, or, as Josephus puts it, "the boldness of those desirous of change became more and more obtrusive."⁵² And seeing that, on the other hand, their opponents also had full scope, utter anarchy soon prevailed in Jerusalem. It was a war of all against all. Ananias, the high priest, behaved in the most outrageous manner. He allowed his servants quite openly to take away from the threshing-floors the tithes of the priests, and those who opposed them were beaten.⁵³ Two noble relatives of King Agrippa, called Costobar and Saul, also tried their hand at the robber business,⁵⁴ and with them was associated the man who had committed to him the maintaining of law and order, even the procurator Albinus himself.⁵⁵ In such times it was indeed nothing calculated to excite surprise when on one occasion a high priest, Jesus, son of Damnaös, engaged in pitched battle in the streets with his

⁴⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

⁵⁰ Instead of 'Ανάου we should undoubtedly read 'Ανανίου. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 2, 20. 4; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 248, note 1.

⁵¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 3.

⁵² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

⁵³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 2.

⁵⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4.

⁵⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

successor, Jesus, son of Gamaliel, because he had no wish to give up to him the sacred office.⁵⁶

When Albinus was recalled, in order to do a pleasure to the inhabitants of the capital, and also to make the work of his successor as heavy as possible, he left all the prisons empty, having executed the ordinary malefactors, and set at liberty all the other prisoners. "Thus the prisons were left empty of prisoners, but the country full of robbers."⁵⁷

7. The last procurator, Gessius Florus, A.D. 64-66,⁵⁸ was at the same time also the worst. He belonged to Clazomenae, and had through the influence of his wife Cleopatra, who was a friend of the Empress Poppea, obtained the procuratorship of Judea. For the utter baseness which characterized his administration of his office, Josephus can scarcely find words sufficiently strong to express his feelings. In comparison with him, he thinks that even Albinus was extraordinarily law honouring (*δικαιοφάνης*). So unbounded was his tyranny, that in view of it the Jews praised Albinus as a benefactor. Whereas Albinus wrought his wickednesses at least in secret, Florus was impudent enough to parade them openly. The robbing of individuals seemed to him quite too small. He plundered whole cities, and ruined whole communities. If only the robbers would share their spoil with him, they would be allowed to carry on their operations unchecked.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4.

⁵⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 5.

⁵⁸ Seeing that Florus, according to *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1, had entered upon the second year of his administration when, in May A.D. 66 (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4), the war broke out, he must have entered upon his office in A.D. 64.—The name Gessius Florus is also attested by Tacitus, *History*, v. 10. In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is corrupted into Γέσσιος Φλάρος (the Greek form as given in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 637; in the Latin rendering of Jerome [Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 157], Cestius Florus); in the Armenian translation it is further converted into *Cestius filius Flori* (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 156, on the 14th year of Nero).

⁵⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 2.

By such outrages the measure which the people could endure was at last filled up to the brim. The combustible materials which had been gathering for years had now grown into a vast heap. It needed only a spark, and an explosion would follow of fearful and most destructive force.

SUPPLEMENT. AGRIPPA II., A.D. 50-100.

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 The inscriptions referring to Agrippa II. are collected from Waddington in the *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 248-255.
 On an addition to this list see vol. i. of this work, p. 30.

Agrippa II., son of Agrippa I., whose full name, as given on coins and inscriptions, was Marcus Julius Agrippa,¹ seems like almost all the members of the Herodian family, to have been educated and brought up in Rome. There, at least, we find him at the time of his father's death in A.D. 44, when Claudius

¹ Compare on the coins of Agrippa generally: Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 493-496; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 570-576; *Supplem.*

wished to appoint him as successor to his father.² That the emperor, at the instigation of his counsellors on the plea of Agrippa's youth, did not carry out this purpose has been already narrated above. The youth remained for a while at Rome, and found there abundant opportunities of being useful to his countrymen by making use of his influence and connections with the court. Notable instances of his successful intervention are those of the dispute about the high priest's robe³ and the conflict waged during the time of Cumanus.⁴ To him also it was mainly due that Cumanus did not escape the punishment he deserved. With this last-mentioned incident we are already brought down to A.D. 52. But even before this there had been bestowed upon him by Claudius, in compensation for the loss of his father's territories, another kingdom, though, indeed, a smaller one. After the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, whose life and history are given

viii. 280 sq.; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, pp. 127-130, pl. lx.-lxii.; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53 f., 61-64, ii. 38 f.; Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, p. 82; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 113-133; De Saulcy, *Etude chronologique*, 1869 (see above in the general list of literature); Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, p. 83 ff.; Mommsen, *Weiner Num. Zeitschr.* 1871, p. 449 ff.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 101-139; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 139-169 (containing the most complete list). The name Marcus on a coin of the time of Nero: *Βασιλέως (sic) Μάρκου Ἀγρίππου* (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 146). In accordance with this, probably an inscription at Helbon, not far from Abila, of Lysanias, may be filled out in the following manner: 'Ἐπὶ βασιλέως μεγάλου Μάρκου[υ . . . Ἀγρίππα Φιλο]κρίστου καὶ Φιλορωμαίων (sic), Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2552. The name Julius on an inscription at El-Hit, north of the Hauran: 'Ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ[ς . . . Ἰου]λίου Ἀγρίππα, Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2112. The reference of the inscription to Agrippa II. is not indeed certain, but it is highly probable. See *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, p. 250. Even without this witness the name Julius might *à priori* be assumed for Agrippa II., since the whole family had borne it. See above, p. 162.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 2; xv. 11. 4. Compare above, p. 167.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 3. Compare above, p. 173.

in detail in Appendix I, he obtained, though not probably just at once, but only in A.D. 50, his kingdom in the Lebanon, and, at the same time, what that prince also had had, the oversight of the temple and the right to appoint the high priests.⁵ Of this latter right he frequently availed himself by repeated depositions and nominations of high priests down to the outbreak of the war in A.D. 66. Probably after this gift had been bestowed upon him Agrippa continued still to reside for a while in Rome, where we meet with him in A.D. 52, and only after this date actually entered upon the government of his kingdom.

He can only seldom, or perhaps not even once, have revisited Palestine, when, in A.D. 53, in the thirteenth year of Claudius, in return for the relinquishment of the small kingdom of Chalcis, he received a larger territory, namely, the tetrarchy of Philip, including Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis, and the tetrarchy of Lysanias, consisting of Abila and the domains of Varus.⁶ This territory, after the death of Claudius, was

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1. Compare *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7: 'Ἐπεπίστευτο ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. There is indeed no mention of the conferring of the right of appointing the high priests, but only of the practical exercise of that right. Compare below, § 23. iv. That the gift of the kingdom was not made before A.D. 50, may be concluded from *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4, according to which Agrippa had reached the seventeenth year of his reign when, in the month Artemisios (Ijjar) of A.D. 66, the war broke out. His seventeenth year therefore began, if we count the reign of Agrippa II. as Jewish king, according to Mishna, *Rosh-hashana* i. 1, from 1st Nisan to 1st Nisan, on the 1st Nisan of A.D. 66, and his first year at the earliest on 1st Nisan A.D. 50, but probably somewhat later. Compare Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 48, note ■; *Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 68.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8. To the tetrarchy of Lysanias undoubtedly belongs also Helbon, not far from Abila Lysanias, where the inscription referred to in note 1 was found. Of the ἑπαρχία Οὐάρου Josephus gives us an explanation in his *Life*, c. xi.; for the Varus there referred to, the Noarus of *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6, whom Josephus describes as ἑκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Δίβανον τετραρχούντος, is

still further enlarged, through Nero's favour for him, by the addition of important parts of Galilee and Perea, namely, the cities of Tiberias and Tarichea, together with the lands around belonging to them, and the city Julias, together with fourteen surrounding villages.⁷

most probably to be identified with our Varus. Then, again, his father Soemus will be no other than the Soemus who, at the end of A.D. 38, obtained from Caligula τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν Ἀράβων (Dio Cassius, lix. 12), which territory he governed till his death in A.D. 49, when it was incorporated in the province of Syria (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 23). It may therefore be assumed that to his son Varus a portion of the territory on the Lebanon had been left for a time, and that this is the ἐπαρχία Οὐάρου which Claudius bestowed upon Agrippa.—Seeing then that Agrippa obtained the new territory in the thirteenth year of Claudius (that year including from 24th January A.D. 53 till the same day in A.D. 54), after he had ruled over Chalcis for four years (δυναστεύσας ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα), and seeing that further his fourth year, according to the reckoning we have accepted above, began on 1st Nisan A.D. 53, the gift must have been bestowed toward the end of A.D. 53.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2. In the latter passage Abila is spoken of as still in Perea. Compare on this point Div. II. vol. i. p. 105.—At what time this gift was bestowed cannot be with any certainty determined. On the later coins of Agrippa the years of his reign are reckoned according to an era which begins with A.D. 61. It is possible that this era has its distinctive basis in this, that Agrippa had in that year obtained the enlarged territory from Nero. This is the view of Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 58; but Wieseler opposes it in *Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 90–92. Then the abstraction of portions of Galilee and Perea spoken of have taken place immediately after the removal of Felix and Festus' entrance upon office. This perhaps is the meaning of a passing allusion in Josephus, according to which Tiberias remained under Roman rule μέχρι Φήλικος προϊσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας (*Life*, ix.). Yet this μέχρι does not of itself mean "down to the end of Felix's term of office." The hypothesis is therefore uncertain that it also marks an era of Agrippa beginning in A.D. 56. We might also take as the basis for this the enlargement of territory by Nero. This is the opinion of Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, pp. 344–349. He assumes as the basis of this era of A.D. 61 the rebuilding of Caesarea Philippi under the name of Neronias; which, however, is improbable, for this reason, that this incident might have been the beginning of a new system of chronology for the city Neronias but not for Agrippa. The era of A.D. 61 can be determined with certainty according to certain coins on which the 26th year of Agrippa is made to synchronize with the 12th consulship

Of Agrippa's private life there is not much that is favourable to report. His sister Berenice,⁸ who, from the time of the death of Herod of Chalcis in A.D. 48, was a widow (see under Appendix I.), lived from that date in the house of her brother, and soon had the weak man completely caught in the meshes of her net, so that regarding her, the mother of two children, the vilest stories became current. When the scandal became public, Berenice, in order to cut away occasion for all evil reports, resolved to marry Polemon of Cilicia, who, for this purpose, was obliged to submit to be circumcised. She did not, however, continue long with him, but came back again to her brother, and seems to have resumed her old relations with

of Domitian, *Dom. Cos.* xii. (in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 157 sq.), and according to another, on which the 25th year of Agrippa is also made to synchronize with the 12th consulship of Domitian (in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 157). De Sauley believes indeed that it is not the 25th and 26th years of Agrippa that are there meant, but the 25th and 26th years of an era belonging to the city of Caesarea Philippi. See *Étude chronologique*, 1869, and *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 315. But the date is given thus: *επὶ βα. Αγρ. ετ. κέ'*, which can only mean, under King Agrippa in his 25th year, etc. Seeing then that the 12th consulship of Domitian belongs to A.D. 86, the 26th year of Agrippa began also in that year, and consequently the era, according to which he reckons, began in A.D. 61.—An era beginning five years earlier is witnessed to by two coins and an inscription. The two coins bear the date *ἔτους αἶ' τοῦ καὶ ς* (the figure which represents the number VI.). See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 146. The eleventh year of the reign of Agrippa, according to the one era, is therefore identical with the sixth year according to the other era. Both of these eras are made use of upon an inscription found at Sanamen on the Hauran: *ἔτους λζ' τοῦ καὶ λβ' βασιλείας Ἀγρίππα* (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, p. 121 f. = *Archäol.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, viii. 1884, p. 189 f.). There, too, the one era begins five years before the other. Seeing then that we may there fairly assume that among the various eras of Agrippa the latest was, in later times, the one most commonly used, and seeing that, also according to the coins of A.D. 86, the era usually employed is that of A.D. 61, the one era must have begun in A.D. 56 and the other in A.D. 61.

⁸ Compare on Agrippa and Berenice, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 2352; Hausrath in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, i. 396–399.

him. At least this somewhat later came to be the common talk of Rome.⁹

In the matter of public policy Agrippa was obliged to give up even the little measure of independence which his father sought to secure, and had unconditionally to subordinate himself to the Roman government. He provided auxiliary troops for the Parthian campaign of A.D. 54;¹⁰ and when, in A.D. 60, the new procurator Festus arrived in Palestine, he hastened, along with his sister Berenice, surrounded with great pomp (μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας), to offer him a welcome.¹¹ His capital Caesarea Philippi was named by him Neronias in honour of the emperor, and the city of Berytus, which his father had adorned with magnificent specimens of pagan art, was still further indebted to his liberality.¹² His coins, almost without exception, bear the names and images of the reigning emperor: of Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. Like his father, he also caused himself to be styled βασιλεὺς μέγας φιλόκαισαρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλορώμαιος.¹³

That upon the whole he was attached to the Roman rather than to the Jewish side is made very evident from an incident which, in yet another direction, is characteristic of his indol-

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 3; Juvenal, *Satires*, vi. 156-160:—

“ adamas notissimus et Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior; hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges,
Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.”

¹⁰ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 7.

¹¹ Acts of the Apostles xxv. 13, 23.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4. The name of the city Neronias is also on the coins (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 343; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 315; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 116, 117; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 316, 318; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 145, 146. That the capital was not Tiberias, therefore, certainly Neronias, is quite clear from Josephus, *Life*, c. ix.

¹³ He is so named in an inscription given by Waddington, n. 2365 (see above, p. 162); also compare n. 2552.

ence and general feebleness. When he paid a visit to Jerusalem, he was wont to occupy the house that had formerly been the palace of the Asmoneans.¹⁴ This building, lofty even in its original form, he caused to be considerably heightened by the addition of a tower, in order that from it he might overlook the citadel and the temple, and to observe in his idle hours the sacred proceedings in the temple. This lazy onlooker was obnoxious to the priests, and they thwarted his scheme by building a high wall to shut off his view. Agrippa then applied for assistance to his friend, the procurator Festus, and he was very willing to give him any help he could. But a Jewish deputation, which went on its own authority about the business to Rome, managed by means of the mediation of the Empress Poppea to obtain permission to keep up the wall, so that Agrippa was obliged forthwith to abandon his favourite diversion.¹⁵

Notwithstanding his unconditional submission to Rome, Agrippa yet sought also to keep on good terms with the friends of Judaism. His brothers-in-law, Azizus of Emesa and Polemon of Cilicia, were required on their marriage with his sisters to submit to circumcision.¹⁶ The rabbinical tradition tells of questions pertaining to the law which were put by Agrippa's minister or by the king himself to the famous scribe Rabbi Elieser.¹⁷ Yea on one occasion we find even Berenice, a bigot as well as a wanton, a Nazarite in Jerusalem.¹⁸ Judaism was indeed as little a matter of heart conviction with Agrippa as it had been with his father.

¹⁴ This palace lay, according to *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11 and *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 3, on the so-called Xystus, an open plain, from which a bridge led directly to the temple (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 6, 2).

¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11.

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1, 3.

¹⁷ Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 252-254; Grätz, *Monatschrift*, 1881, pp. 483-493. Tradition names sometimes Agrippa's minister, sometimes Agrippa himself as the party in question.

¹⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 1.

The difference was only this, that as a matter of policy the father took up decidedly the side of the Pharisees, whereas the son with less disguise exhibited his utter indifference. When it is told in the Acts of the Apostles how Agrippa and Berenice desired out of curiosity to see and hear the Apostle Paul, while the king could make no other reply to the apostle's enthusiastic testimony on behalf of Christ than: "With little wouldest thou win me over to be a Christian," and therewith allows the matter to pass away from his mind, we can see not only that he was free from all fanaticism, but also that he had no interest whatever in the deeper religious questions of the time.¹⁹

His interest in Judaism extended only to external matters, and, indeed, only to merely trifling and insignificant points. In order to support the temple when its foundations had begun to sink, and to raise the buildings twenty cubits higher, he caused, at great expense, wood of immense size and fine quality to be imported from the Lebanon. But the wood, owing to the outbreak of the war in the meantime, was never put to that use, and subsequently served for the manufacture of engines of war.²⁰ He allowed the psalm-singing Levites, when they made the request of him, to wear the linen garments which previously had been a distinctive badge of the priests. For such an offence against the law, the war, as Josephus thinks,

¹⁹ On the meaning of the words of Agrippa in Acts xxvi. 28, see especially Overbeck on the passage. They were certainly not used ironically, but in thorough earnest. "The king confesses that with the few words that he had spoken Paul had made him feel inclined to become a Christian." But then his indifference is shown in this, that he does nothing further in the matter.—It should not indeed be left unrecorded that instead of *γενέσθαι* very good manuscripts (NAB) read *ποιῆσαι*, and instead of *πειθεῖς* one manuscript (A) has *πειθῶν*, which would give the translation: "With little thinkest thou to make me a Christian." But *πειθῶν* is too weakly supported, and unless we could adopt that reading the *ποιῆσαι* would be untranslatable.

²⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 5; *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3.

was a just punishment.²¹ When, in the time of Albinus, the building of the temple of Herod was completed, in order to secure employment for the multitudes of builders, Agrippa had the city paved with white marble.²² “And thus at least as costume maker, wood-cutter, pavier, and practical inspector of the temple, did he render his services to the sinking Jerusalem.”²³

When, in the spring of A.D. 66, the revolution broke out, Agrippa was in Alexandria, where he had gone to pay his respects to the governor of that place, Tiberius Alexander, while his sister Berenice remained in Jerusalem in consequence of a Nazarite vow.²⁴ Agrippa then immediately hastened back, and both brother and sister did all in their power to avert the threatening storm. But all in vain. Open hostilities were now begun in Jerusalem between the war and the peace parties, and the king's troops, which he had sent to help, fought on the side of the peace party. When this latter party had been defeated, and among other buildings, the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice had fallen victims to the popular fury,²⁵ he became the decided choice of that party. Unhesitatingly throughout the whole war he stood on the side of the Romans. Even when Cestius Gallus undertook his unfortunate expedition against Jerusalem, King Agrippa was found in his following with a considerable number of auxiliary troops.²⁶ As the further course of the revolt proved favourable to the Jews he lost a great part of his territory. The cities Tiberias, Tarichea, and Gamala joined the revolutionary party; but the king remained unflinchingly faithful to the Roman cause.²⁷ After the

²¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 6.—The combinations which Grätz (*Monatschrift*, 1886, p. 97 f.) makes in this connection are more than doubtful.

²² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7.

²³ Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 59.

²⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 17. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 18. 9, 19. 3.

²⁷ Further details regarding Agrippa's conduct during the war are given

conquest of Jotapata, in the summer of A.D. 67, he entertained the commander-in-chief Vespasian in the most magnificent manner in his capital of Caesarea Philippi,²⁸ and was able soon, after he had been slightly wounded at the siege of Gamala,²⁹ to take possession again of his kingdom; for at the end of the year 67 the whole of the north of Palestine was again subject to the Romans.

When, after the death of Nero, which occurred on 9th June A.D. 68, Titus went to Rome to pay his respects to the new emperor Galba, he took Agrippa with him also for the same purpose. On the way they received tidings of Galba's murder, which took place on 15th January A.D. 69. While Titus now returned with as great speed as possible to his father, Agrippa continued his journey to Rome, where for a time he continued to reside.³⁰ But after Vespasian had been, on 30th July A.D. 69, elected emperor by the Egyptian and

in Keim, *Bibellexikon*, iii. 60-63.—Agrippa was not present in Palestine during the interval between the defeat of Cestius Gallus and the advance of Vespasian. He gave over the administration of his kingdom to a certain Noarus or Varus, and, when this man began to indulge in the most despotic and high-handed procedure, to a certain Aequus Modius (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6; *Life*, c. xi. and xxxvi., compare also xxiv.).—Of the three cities named (Tiberias, Tarichea, Gamala), Gamala was of special importance as a strong fortress. It was at first held faithfully for the king by Philip, an officer of Agrippa (*Life*, c. xi.). But when Philip was recalled by Agrippa the city went over to the side of the rebels (*Life*, xxxv.-xxxvii.; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 4, 6, ii. 21. 7). Agrippa then ordered Aequus Modius to recapture Gamala (*Life*, xxiv.). But even a seven months' siege failed to secure this end (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 2). Another officer of Agrippa fought against Josephus (*Life*, lxxi.-lxxiii.).—Agrippa remained in Berytus till the spring of A.D. 67 (*Life*, xxxvi., lxxv., ed. Bekker, p. 342, 32), then waited in Antioch along with his troops the arrival of Vespasian's army (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 4), advanced with Vespasian to Tyre (*Life*, lxxiv.) and Ptolemais (*Life*, lxxv., ed. Bekker, p. 340, 19-25, and c. lxxiv.), and seems now to have taken up his quarters more generally in Vespasian's camp (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2, 9. 7-8, 10. 10, iv. 1. 3).

²⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 1. 3.

³⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 2; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 1-2.

Syrian legions, Berenice, who had been throughout a hearty supporter of the Flavian party, urged her brother to return without delay to Palestine to take the oath of allegiance to the new emperor.³¹ From this time forward Agrippa is to be found in the company of Titus, to whom Vespasian had entrusted the continued prosecution of the war.³² When Titus, after the conquest of Jerusalem, gave magnificent and costly games at Caesarea Philippi, King Agrippa was undoubtedly present, and as a Roman joined in the rejoicings over the destruction of his people.³³

After the war had been brought to an end Agrippa, as a faithful partizan of Vespasian, was not only confirmed in the possession of the kingdom which he had previously governed, but had also considerable additions made to his territories, though we have no more detailed account of the precise boundaries of his domains.³⁴ Josephus mentions only incidentally that Arcaia (Arca, at the north end of the Lebanon, north-east of Tripolis) belonged to the kingdom of Agrippa.³⁵

³¹ Tacitus, *History*, ii. 81.

³² *Ibid.* v. 1.

³³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 2. 1.

³⁴ Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, cod. 33, gives the following extract about Agrippa from Justus of Tiberias: παρέλαβε μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἡνέχθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Οὐέσπασιανου, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἔτι τρίτῳ Τραϊανοῦ.

³⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 1. Josephus there tells how that Titus, on the march from Berytus to Antioch, came upon the so-called Sabbath-river, which flows μέσος Ἀρκαίας τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας καὶ Ῥαφαναίας. A city therefore is intended which lay north of Berytus, and so undoubtedly the same Arcae which according to the old itineraries lay between Tripolis and Antaradus, 16 or 18 Roman miles north of Tripolis and 32 Roman miles south of Antaradus (18 *mil. pass.*: *Itinerarium Antonini*, edd. Parthey et Pinder, 1848, p. 68; 16 *mil. pass.*: *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, edd. Parthey et Pinder, p. 275 = *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, edd. Tobler et Molinier, i. 1879, p. 14; they agree in giving the distance from Antaradus at 32 *mil. pass.*). The name is retained to the present day in that of a village at the north end of the Lebanon on the spot indicated in the itineraries. In ancient times the city was very well known. The Arkites are named in the list of peoples in Gen. x. 17 (עַרְקִי). Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 6. 2, calls it:

We are therefore obliged to conclude that his new possessions stretched very far to the north. The omission on the part of

Ἀρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. Quite distinct from this is the Arce mentioned in *Antiq.* v. 1. 22, which lay much farther south. In *Antiq.* viii. 2. 3, Niese reads, indeed, Ἀκὴ; but for this *Antiq.* ix. 14. 2 has Ἀρκη. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 18. 74, and Ptolemy, v. 15. 21, simply mention the name. Stephen of Byzantium remarks: Ἀρκη, πόλις Φοινίκης, ἣ νῦν Ἀρκαὶ καλουμένη. Jerome explains Gen. x. 17 thus: "Aracaeus, qui Arcas condidit, oppidum contra Tripolim in radicibus Libani situm" (*Quaest. Hebr. in Genesin, Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, iii. 321). In the days of the empire, Arca was specially known as the birthplace of Alexander Severus (Lamprid. *Alexander Severus*, c. 1, 5, 13; Aurel. Victor, *Caesar*, c. 24). It was there also called Caesarea (Lamprid. *Alexander Severus*, c. 13: "Apud Arcam Caesaream;" Aurel. Victor, *Caesar*, c. 24: "Cui duplex, Caesarea et Arca, nomen est"). On coins this name occurs as early as the time of Marcus Aurelius (Καίσαρειων τῶν ἐν τῷ Λιβανῷ or Καίσαρειας Λιβανου). From the time of Heliogabalus, if not even earlier, it is ranked on the coins as a Roman colony: "Col. Caesaria Lib(ani)." An inscription, found by Renan in the neighbourhood of Botrys, refers to a dispute about a boundary between the Caesarians and the Gigartenians, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. n. 183 = Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 149: "Fines positi inter Caesarenses ad Libanum et Gigartenos de vico Sidonior[um] jussu . . .). From this, however, it should not be concluded that their regular frontiers touched one another. See Mommsen's remarks in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, and those of Renan in his work referred to. The situation of Gigarta may be determined from the order of enumeration in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 78: "Botrys, Gigarta, Trieris, Calamos, Tripolis." The plural form Ἀρκαί, used by Stephen of Byzantium, is also confirmed by the itineraries, by Jerome, Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* vii. 36); and Hierocles (*Synecdemus*, ed. Parthey, p. 43).—Compare generally, Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, first series, vol. xxxii. 1768, pp. 685–694; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1. 808 ff., 842; Robinson, *Later Researches in Palestine*; Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, ii. 672; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 1423 f.; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. 331 f.; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1073; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 86; Baudissin, art. "Arkiter" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. i. 645 f.; Knobel, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, 1850, p. 327 f.; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 115 sq.; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 1885, p. 18; Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, p. 299.—On the coins: Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, xxxii. (1768); Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 360–362; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 356–358; *Suppl.* viii. 255–257; De Saulcy, *Annuaire de la Société française de Num. et d'Archéologie*, iii. 2, 1869, pp. 270–275; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 117–120.

Josephus in *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5, to refer to these northern possessions, can be accounted for only by the hypothesis that at the time of the composition of that work this extension of territory had not yet taken place. As a matter of fact, Josephus does not refer to them there, because in that passage he does not propose to describe the whole kingdom of Agrippa, but only those districts which were inhabited more or less by Jews (compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 2). Of the southern possessions certain portions seem at a later period to have been taken away from Agrippa. At least, at the time when Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, i.e. in A.D. 93–94, the Jewish colony of Bathyra in Batanea no longer belonged to the territory of Agrippa.³⁶

In A.D. 75 the brother and sister, Agrippa and Berenice, arrived in Rome, and there those intimate relations begun in Palestine between Berenice and Titus were resumed, which soon became a public scandal.³⁷ The Jewish queen lived with Titus on the Palatine, while her brother was raised to the rank of a praetor. It was generally expected that there would soon be a formal marriage, which it is said that Titus had indeed promised her. But the dissatisfaction over the matter in Rome was so great that Titus found himself under the necessity of sending his beloved one away.³⁸ After the

³⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 2. In the *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5, Batanea is reckoned as still belonging to the territory of Agrippa.

³⁷ Even Titus' return to Palestine on receiving intelligence of Galba's death was ascribed by his defamers to his longing for the society of Berenice (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 2).

³⁸ Dio Cassius, lxi. 15; Suetonius, *Titus*, 7: "Insignem reginae Berenices amorem cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur."—Berenice had even already publicly assumed the name of Titus' wife (πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει, Dio Cassius, lxi. 15). Any suspected of having intercourse with her were rigorously punished by Titus. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 10: "Caecinam consularem adhibitum coenae, vixdum trichlinio egressum, ob suspicionem stupratae Berenices uxoris suae, jugulari jussit."—Compare also Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. iv. 52–55.

death of Vespasian, on 23rd June A.D. 79, she returned once more to Rome; but Titus had come to see that love intrigues were not compatible with the dignity of an emperor, and so left her unnoticed.³⁹ When she found herself thus deceived she returned again to Palestine.

Of her later life, as well as of that of Agrippa, we know practically nothing. We know indeed only this, that Agrippa corresponded with Josephus about his *History of the Jewish War*, praised it for its accuracy and reliability, and purchased a copy of it.⁴⁰

Numerous coins of Agrippa confirm the idea that his reign continued to the end of that of Domitian. The many inaccuracies which are found on these coins with reference to the imperial title have caused much trouble to numismatists. Yet, in reality, these inaccuracies are in various directions highly instructive.⁴¹

³⁹ Dio Cassius, lvi. 18; Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 10: "Ut subiit pondus regium, Berenicen nuptias suas sperantem regredi domum . . . praecepit." Suetonius, *Titus*, 7: "Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitum invitam."—Aurelius Victor and Suetonius speak only of a dismissal of Berenice after the enthronement of Titus; for even in Suetonius "statim" can be understood only in this sense. But Dio Cassius clearly makes a distinction between the two occurrences: the involuntary dismissal before his succession to the throne, and the non-recognition of Berenice after that event.—On her travels between Palestine and Rome, Berenice seems to have gained for herself a certain position in Athens which the council and people of the Athenians have made memorable by the following inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 361 = *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum*, iii. 1, n. 556; on the name Julia, see above, p. 162):—

Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ
ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χ' καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰου-
λίαν Βερενίκην βασιλίσσαν
μεγάλην, Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίππα βασι-
λέως θυγατέρα καὶ μεγάλων
βασιλέων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πό-
λεως ἔκγονον . . .

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Life*, lxxv.; *Against Apion*, i. 9.

⁴¹ For the literature on the coins, see above, p. 192.—The real facts of the case are as follows. Besides the coins of the time of Nero (see in regard to them above, pp. 193–194) there are coins of Agrippa—(1) of the

According to the testimony of Justus of Tiberias,⁴² Agrippa died in the third year of Trajan, in A.D. 100; and there is no reason for doubting the correctness of this statement, as

years of his reign, 14, 18, 26, 27, 29, with the inscription, *Αὐτοκρά(τορι) Οὐεσπασσι(ανῶ) Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ*; (2) of the years of Agrippa, 14, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27, 29, with the inscription, *Αὐτοκρ(άτωρ) Τίτος Καῖσαρ Σεβασ(τός)*; (3) of the years of Agrippa, 14, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 35, with the name of Domitian, and indeed down to the year 23 inclusive, only *Δομιτιανός Καῖσαρ*, in the year 24 with the addition *Γερμανικός*, in the year 35: *Αὐτοκρά(τορ) Δομιτιαν(ον) Καίσαρ Γερμαν(ικόν)*. For the fullest exhibition of the evidence, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 148–159.—The agreement in the year numbers on the coins of all the three Flavians puts it beyond doubt that on all these coins the same era is employed. Hence Agrippa in his fourteenth year has had coins stamped at the same time bearing the name of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian. But the era used can only be that of A.D. 61, which is employed on the bilingual coins of Agrippa of the 25th and 26th years of his reign (= *Domitian. Cos. xii., i.e. A.D. 86*). Compare what is said above at p. 194. From these data the following results may be deduced: (1) The coins of the years 26, 27, and 29 were stamped after the deaths of Vespasian and Titus; nevertheless, in the title of both emperors the term “divus” is wanting, suppressed probably on religious grounds. (2) The coins of the years 14 and 18 were stamped while Vespasian was still living; nevertheless Titus is already called *Σεβαστός*. Thus, incorrect as it is, it indicates in a striking manner how Titus had already gained in the East a supreme position. He was regarded even then as practically co-regent. (3) The title given to Domitian is so far correct, since he is called on the coins of the years 14–19 only *Καῖσαρ*, and on the coins of the year 24 (= A.D. 84) bears the title *Γερμανικός*, which, as a matter of fact, he did receive in A.D. 84. On the other hand, it was a great mistake to omit the title of *Σεβαστός*, and in some instances also the title *Αὐτοκράτωρ* from the coins of the years 23–25, which all belong to the period of Domitian’s reign, A.D. 83–95. The coins therefore show “that in Galilee they were not altogether *en rapport* with the mighty empire of this world” (Mommson). Only the bilingual coins of the year 26 have the correct Latin title: “Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Vesp. f(ilius) Domitian(us) Au(gustus) Ger(manicus).”—Several numismatists, especially De Saulcy and Madden, partly at least in order to get rid of these results, have, in the most extremely arbitrary manner, assumed for these coins from three to four different eras. The correct point of view has in the most convincing manner been indicated by Mommson (*Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, iii. 1871, pp. 451–457).

⁴² On Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 33, see vol. i. of this present work, pp. 68–69.

Tillemont and many modern writers have done.⁴³ Agrippa it would appear, left no children.⁴⁴ His kingdom was undoubtedly incorporated in the province of Syria.

⁴³ Tillemont, *Historie des empereurs*, t. i. (Venise 1732) pp. 646-648, note xli.; Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Bd. ii., Anhang, p. 103 f.; Brann, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1871, pp. 26-28; Grätz, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Jud.* 1877, pp. 337-352; Brüll, *Jahrbücher für jüdisch. Geschichte und Literatur*, vii. 1885, pp. 51-53. —The reason why some would reject altogether the report of Justus as given by Photius, while others would improve it by an alteration or modification of the text, is simply this, that it had been assumed that the Autobiography of Josephus was written immediately after his *Antiquities*, in A.D. 93 or 94. In that case then Agrippa must have died before the year 93; for when Josephus wrote his Autobiography, Agrippa was already dead (*Life*, lxv.). But that assumption is altogether untenable, since Josephus, at the end of the *Antiquities*, expresses his intention of continuing the work in another way than he afterwards actually did by appending the *Life*. On this question see vol. i. of this work, pp. 90-92. —The coins of Agrippa of the year 35 of his reign prove that, at least in A.D. 95, he was still alive. Compare in regard to the reckoning of the date, what is said in note 41. The inscription with the date $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \lambda\zeta'$ τοῦ καὶ $\lambda\beta'$ βασιλείας Ἀγρίππα, if we fix the latter date at A.D. 61 (compare above at note 7), will bring us to A.D. 92-93.

⁴⁴ Whether he was married or not, we do not know. In the Talmud (*bab. Succa* 27a) the story is told of the steward of Agrippa putting a question to R. Elieser, which seems to imply that the questioner had two wives. Founding upon this, many assign to Agrippa two wives, assuming that the steward put the question in the name of the king. So, for instance, Derenbourg, *Historie de la Palestine*, pp. 252-254, and Brann, *Monatsschrift*, 1871, p. 13 f. There is, however, no sufficient foundation for such an assumption. See Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1881, p. 483 f.

§ 20. THE GREAT WAR WITH ROME, A.D. 66-73.

SOURCES.

- JOSEPHUS, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14-vii.; *Life*, c. iv.-lxxiv. ZONARAS, *Annales*, vi. 18-29 (summary from Josephus).—On the so-called Hegesippus, see above, vol. i. pp. 100-102.
- On the non-extant works of Vespasian, Antonius Julianus, and Justus of Tiberias, see above, vol. i. pp. 63-69.
- Rabbinical traditions in DERENBOURG, pp. 255-295.
- On the coins which possibly date from the period of this war, see Appendix IV.

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- LEWIN, *The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*. With Journal of a recent Visit to the Holy City, and a general Sketch of the Topography of Jerusalem from the earliest Times down to the Siege. London 1863.—Compare *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1864, p. 721 ff.—Also, Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, London 1865, pp. 338-362.
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- DE SAULOY, *Les derniers jours de Jérusalem*. Paris 1886. Compare, *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1868, p. 899 ff.

1. THE OUTBREAK AND TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTION, A.D. 66.

THE ostensible occasion for the outbreak of the long threatened revolt was given by a deed of Florus which was not in itself any worse than many others committed by him, but to the people proved more intolerable because it was at the same time an outrage upon their religious sensibilities. Whereas before he had visited only the citizens with his plunderings, he now ventured to lay his hands upon the treasury of the temple, and to abstract from it seventeen talents. The people's patience was thus tried beyond endurance. They now rose in a great tumult; a couple of sarcastic wits hit upon a plan for throwing contempt upon the greedy procurator by sending round baskets and collecting gifts for the poor and unfortunate Florus. When the governor heard of this he immediately resolved to take bloody vengeance upon those who had thus insulted him. With a detachment of soldiers he marched to Jerusalem, and in spite of the weeping entreaties of the high priests and the principal inhabitants, he gave over a portion of the city to be plundered by his soldiers. A large number of citizens, including among them even Roman knights of Jewish descent, were seized at random, put in fetters, and then crucified. Even the humble pleadings of Queen Berenice, who happened to be present in Jerusalem at that time, had no effect in moderating the fury of the procurator and his soldiers.¹

This outrage was committed on the 16th Artemisios (Ijjar, May) of the year 66.²

On the day following Florus expressed the wish that the

¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 6-9, 15. 1.

² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 2; comp. ii. 14. 4; *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1 (in the twelfth year of Nero). Though Josephus uses the Macedonian names of the months we are really to understand by them the Jewish months, which only approximately correspond to the months of the Julian calendar. See further details in Appendix III.

citizens should go out to give a formal greeting to the two cohorts which were to enter the city from Caesarea, in order thereby to give a public proof of their submissiveness and of their penitent disposition. Although the people were not by any means inclined to do so, the high priests persuaded them to submit to this indignity lest something worse should befall them. In solemn procession the people went out to meet the two cohorts, and gave them a friendly greeting. But the soldiers, evidently guided by the instructions of Florus, refused to return their greeting. Then began the people to murmur, and to utter reproaches against Florus. The soldiers then seized their swords, and drove the people back amid incessant slaughter into the city. Then in the streets a violent conflict raged, in which the people succeeded in securing possession of the temple mount, and in cutting off the connection between it and the castle of Antonia. Florus could easily see that he was not strong enough to subdue the multitude by violence. He therefore withdrew to Caesarea, leaving behind only one cohort in Jerusalem, and announcing that he would hold the chief men of the city responsible for the quiet and order of the people.³

King Agrippa was at this time in Alexandria. When he heard of the disturbances he hastened to Jerusalem, summoned the people to an assembly on the Xystus, an open space in front of the palace of the Asmoneans, in which Agrippa resided, and from his palace addressed the people in a long and impressive speech, in order to urge them to abandon the utterly hopeless, and therefore unreasonable and disastrous struggle on which they were entering.⁴ The people declared

³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 3-6.

⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 1-5; comp. 15. 1.—The statistical details about the Roman empire which Josephus has woven into this speech of Agrippa, were probably borrowed from an official publication. Compare Friedländer, *De fonte quo Josephus B. J.* ii. 16. 4 *usus sit, Regimonti (Index lectionum)*, 1873.

themselves ready to return to their allegiance to the emperor. They began again to build up the galleries between the temple mount and the Antonia, which they had torn down, and they collected the outstanding taxes. But when Agrippa insisted that they should again yield obedience to Florus, this was more than the people could endure. His proposals were rejected with contempt and scorn, and he was obliged to withdraw without accomplishing his purpose in his kingdom.⁵

Meanwhile the rebels had succeeded in gaining possession of the fortress of Masada. At the instigation of Eleasar, son of the high priest Ananias, it was now also resolved to discontinue the daily offering for the emperor, and no longer to admit of any offering by those who were not Jews. The refusal to offer a sacrifice for the emperor was equivalent to an open declaration of revolt against the Romans. All attempts of the principal men, among the chief priests as well as among the Pharisees, to induce the people to recall this foolhardy resolution were in vain. They firmly adhered to the decision to which they had come.⁶

When the members of the peace party, to which, as might be expected, all discerning and judicious men belonged,—the high priests, the most distinguished of the Pharisees, those related to the house of Herod,—perceived that they were incapable of accomplishing any good, they resolved to have recourse to violent measures. They accordingly made application for assistance to King Agrippa. He sent a detachment of 3000 cavalry under the command of Darius and Philip, by whose help the peace party gained possession of the upper city, while the rebels continued to hold the temple mount and the lower city. A bitter strife now arose between the

⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 1.

⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 2-4.—On the fortress of Masada, see below at the end of this section.—On the daily sacrifice offered for the emperor, see the Second Division of the present work, vol. i. pp. 302-304.

two parties; but the royal troops were not strong enough to withstand the violent rage of the multitude, and were obliged to evacuate the upper city. In order to take vengeance upon their opponents, the rebels set fire to the palaces of the high priest Ananias, of King Agrippa, and Berenice.⁷

A few days after this, in the month Loos, that is, Ab or August, they also succeeded in storming the citadel of Antonia, and then they began to lay siege to the upper palace, that of Herod, in which the troops of the peace party had taken refuge. Here, too, it was impossible for the besieged to offer any effectual resistance. Consequently the troops of Agrippa were only too glad to submit on the condition of being allowed to pass out unhurt. The Roman cohorts had betaken themselves to the three strong towers of the palace, known respectively by the names Hippius, Phasael, and Mariamme, while all the rest of the palace was, on 6th Gorpaios, that is, Elul or September, set on fire by the rebels.⁸ On the following day the high priest Ananias, who had hitherto kept himself concealed, was apprehended in his hiding-place and put to death.⁹ The solitary feeble support which still remained to the peace party, was that of the Roman cohorts besieged in the three towers of the palace of Herod. These, too, were obliged at last to yield to the

⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 4-6.—The troops sent by Agrippa were ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ μὲν ἱππάρχῳ, στρατηγῷ δὲ τῷ Ἰακίμου Φιλίππῳ (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 4 *fin.*). Philip was therefore the commander-in-chief. He was grandson of the Babylonian Zamaris, who in the time of Herod the Great had founded a Jewish colony in Batanea (*Antiq.* xvii. 2. 3). Compare on him also, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 1, iv. 1. 10; *Life*, xi., xxxv., xxxvi., lxxiv.—On an inscription communicated by Waddington mention is made of a Δομήδης [Δ]αρήσιος ἑπαρχος βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππα (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, iii. n. 2135), who is probably identical with our Derius.

⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 7-8, comp. v. 4. 4.—The leader of Agrippa's troops, Philip, was subsequently called to account for his conduct (Josephus, *Life*, lxxiv.).

⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 9.

superior power of the people. Upon laying down their arms they were allowed to walk out uninjured. But the rebels, who were now masters of the whole city, celebrated their victory by general slaughter. The Roman soldiers were scarcely gone, leaving their weapons behind them, when they were treacherously fallen upon by the Jews, and were cut down to the last man.¹⁰

While thus the triumph of the revolution in Jerusalem was decided, bloody conflicts took place also in many other cities, where Jews and Gentiles dwelt together, especially within the borders of Palestine. Wherever the Jews were in the majority, they cut down their Gentile fellow-townsmen; and where the Gentiles predominated, they fell upon the Jews. The influence of the revolt in the mother country spread even as far as Alexandria.¹¹

At last, after long delay and preparation, Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, entered upon negotiations for the quieting of the disturbances in Judea. With the twelfth legion, 2000 chosen men from other legions, six cohorts, and four *alae* of cavalry, besides numerous auxiliary troops which the friendly kings, including Agrippa, had been obliged to place at his disposal, he started from Antioch, marched through Ptolemais, Caesarea, Antipatris, Lydda, where he arrived at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Tizri or October, and finally through Beth-horon to Gabao or Gibeon, 50 stadia from Jerusalem, and there pitched his camp.¹² A sally made by the Jews from Jeru-

¹⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 10. Compare *Megillath Taanith*, § 14: "On the 17th Elul the Romans withdrew from Judea and Jerusalem" (Derenbourg, pp. 443, 445; Hitzig, ii. p. 600).

¹¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 1-8; *Life*, vi.

¹² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 9-10, 19. 1.—Γαβαά is the Gibeon often referred to in the Old Testament, identified with El-Jeb north-west of Jerusalem. See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Gibeon;" Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii. pp. 136-138; Guérin, *Judee*, i. 385-391.

saalem put the Roman army into a position of great danger, but was at last driven back.¹³ Cestius then advanced nearer to the city, and laid siege to the so-called Scopus, 7 stadia from Jerusalem. Four days later, on the 30th Hyperborea-taios, that is, Tizri or October, he took possession unopposed of the northern suburb Bezetha, and set it on fire.¹⁴ But when he ventured upon the bolder task of storming the temple mount his enterprise failed. He thereupon desisted from all further attempts, and began to withdraw without accomplishing his object.¹⁵ Josephus is unable to explain the causes of this procedure. Probably Cestius perceived that his forces were insufficient for making an attack with any hope of success upon the well fortified and courageously defended city. With what determination and with what dauntless resolution the struggle was carried forward on the part of the Jews, was now to be proved to the Roman governor on his retreat. In a ravine near Beth-horon, through which he was pursuing his journey, he found himself surrounded on every side by the Jews, and attacked with such force, that his homeward march was turned into flight. Only by leaving behind him a great part of his baggage, including much valuable war material, which subsequently proved of great service to the Jews, did he succeed in reaching Antioch with a fragment of his army. Amid

¹³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 2.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 4.—Scopus is also referred to in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 7, v. 2. 3, 3. 2; *Antiq.* xi. 8. 5: εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφὶν [so the best manuscripts read] λεγόμενον τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν Σκοπὸν [so the best manuscripts] σημαίνει. ܣܦܝ is the Aramaic form for ܣܦܝܐ, as the place is called in Mishna, *Pesachim* iii. 8. Compare also Lightfoot, *Centuria Matthaeo praemissa*, c. 42 (*Opera*, ii. 202). From this point a beautiful view of the city was obtained (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, v. 2. 3).—The suburb Bezetha is also referred to in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 5, v. 4. 2, 5. 8. It is the most northerly suburb included by the so-called wall of Agrippa (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 2).

¹⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 5-7.

great rejoicings the returning conquerors entered Jerusalem on the 8th Dios, that is, Marchesvan or November.¹⁶

In presence of the excitement caused by victory which now prevailed in Jerusalem all peace counsels were forcibly silenced. After such decisive successes no proposals of compromise would be listened to. Even those inclined to oppose were driven along by the course of events. Those who were inalienably attached to the Romans left the city. All the rest were drawn into their own ranks by the rebels, partly by force, partly by persuasion (τοὺς μὲν βία τοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ).¹⁷ They now set about organizing the rebellion in a regular methodical fashion, and made preparations for the expected onslaught of the Romans. It is distinctively characteristic of the later period of the war that the men who now had the power in their hands belonged exclusively to the higher ranks. The chief priests, the most distinguished of the Pharisees, were those who directed the organization of the land defences. An assembly of the people, which was held in the temple, made choice of commanders for the provinces. Two men, Joseph, son of Gorion, and the high priest Ananus, were entrusted with the defence of the capital. To Idumea they sent Jesus, son of Sapphias, and Eleasar, son of Ananias, both belonging to the high priestly family. Nearly all the eleven toparchies into which Judea was divided had their own commanders. Finally, to Galilee was sent Josephus, son of Matthias, the future historian.¹⁸

There is no doubt but that the youthful Josephus had

¹⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 7-9.

¹⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 1-3.

¹⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 3-4; *Life*, vii. In the latter passage Josephus is impudent enough to declare that the purpose for which he was sent was to pacify Galilee (compare also, *Life*, xiv.).—As had been already shown, the conduct of the revolt was in the hands of the people of Jerusalem (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, *Life*, xii., xiii., xxxviii., xlix., lii., lx., lxv., lxx.), and as their representative the Sanhedrim (τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, *Life*, xii.).

thus one of the most difficult and most responsible positions assigned to him, for it was just in Galilee that the first attack of the Romans might be expected. Great results could scarcely be looked for in the conducting of warlike operations from a young man only thirty years of age; and he owed his appointment certainly less to his military capacities than to his friendship with the most distinguished personages. It was indeed a strange proceeding to send a young man, who in addition to his natural ability could at most only point to his rabbinical learning, to enlist an army with all haste from among the peaceful inhabitants of Galilee, and with it to hold his ground against the attack of veteran legions and circumvent the tactics of experienced generals! If we are to believe his own account, he set himself at least with zeal to the solving of the insoluble problem. For the governing of Galilee he appointed, in imitation of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, a council of seventy men, which had to decide on difficult points of law; while for less important disputes he established in every city a council of seven men.¹⁹ He intended to prove his zeal for the law by destroying the palace of Tiberias, which, contrary to the law, was adorned with animal images; but in this he was anticipated by the revolutionary party.²⁰ The military part of his task he endeavoured to carry out specially by strengthening the fortifications of the cities. All the more important cities of Galilee, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Sepphoris, Gischala, Mount Tabor, also Gamala in Gaulanitis, and many smaller towns were put more or less in a condition of defence.²¹ But with special pride he boasts of his labours

¹⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 5; *Life*, xiv.

²⁰ Josephus, *Life*, xii.

²¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6; *Life*, xxxvii. Compare in addition: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 757-771; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 387.—Among the above-named seven important places Sepphoris never took the side of the revolution, but, so long as it was without

in organizing the army. He sought to bring together no less than 100,000 men, and to have them drilled after the Roman style.²²

While Josephus thus prepared for war with the Romans, a violent opposition arose against him in his own province, which even went the length of openly drawing the sword upon him. The soul of this hostile movement was John of Gischala, a bold, reckless party leader, who was filled with glowing hatred toward the Romans, and had resolved to carry on the struggle against them to the uttermost. But while he had sworn death and destruction to the tyrants, he was himself no less of a tyrant within his own circle. It was intolerable to him to brook the idea of having others over him. Least of all could he yield obedience to Josephus, whose tame method of conducting the war seemed to him no better than friendship for the Romans. Hence he used every endeavour to get the man so hateful to him set aside, and to withdraw the allegiance of the people of Galilee from him.²³ His suspicion of Josephus was indeed not altogether without

Roman protection, assumed a vacillating position, hence even expending care on its fortifications; and then, so soon as Roman troops were available, taking sides with them. For further details, see Div. II., vol. i. p. 136.—Of the other six cities or fortresses, three, Tarichea, Tiberias, and Gamala, belonged to the territory of King Agrippa, and in part also joined the side of the revolution only after internal conflicts. See particularly on Tiberias, Div. II. vol. i. p. 143 f.; on Gamala, the present vol. p. 200.—Gischala took up a distinct position of its own, for there, John, son of Levi, the celebrated revolutionary hero of a later period, assumed to himself the government. He was dissatisfied with the lukewarm attitude of Josephus, and so refused to make over to him the fortress of the city, but took the command of it himself (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6; *Life*, x., xxxviii.). See especially on the attitude of Gischala, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 7. 10; *Life*, x., xiii., xvi.–xviii., xx., xxv., xxxviii.—All the seven places here mentioned will be again referred to in the history of the rearrangement of Galilee by the Romans. See references to them also in geographical works.

²² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6–8.

²³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 1–2; *Life*, xiii.

foundation. Josephus knew the Romans too well to entertain the notion that the rebellion could be really and finally successful. He was therefore necessarily only half-hearted in the business which he had undertaken, and sometimes unwittingly allowed this to appear. On one occasion certain youths from the village of Dabaritta had robbed an official of King Agrippa, and taken rich spoil. Josephus caused them to hand back what they had taken, and intended, if we may believe his own account of the affair, to restore them to the king on the first favourable opportunity. When the people perceived that this was his intention, the suspicion which John of Gischala had insinuated against him was increased, and now broke out into open rebellion. In Tarichea, where Josephus had his residence, a great tumult was made. They threatened the life of the traitor. Only by the most miserable and degrading self-humiliation and the exercise of low cunning could Josephus ward off the threatened danger.²⁴ Some time later at Tiberias, he escaped the assassins sent against him by John of Gischala only by precipitate flight.²⁵ At last John carried matters so far that he was able to obtain in Jerusalem a resolution to recall Josephus. Four of the most distinguished men were sent for this purpose to Galilee, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers numbering 2500 men, in order to carry out this decision by force if necessary. But Josephus knew how to frustrate the execution of this decree, and the four ambassadors were again recalled. When they refused compliance with that summons, he had them apprehended and sent them back to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Tiberias who continued in revolt were subjugated by force, and thus for the time peace was restored.²⁶

²⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 3-5; *Life*, xxvi.-xxx.

²⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 6; *Life*, xvi.-xviii.

²⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 7; *Life*, xxxviii.-lxiv., especially xxxviii.-xl., lx.-lxiv.

When, a few days later, the inhabitants of Tiberias again rose in revolt,—now, indeed, in favour of Agrippa and the Romans,—they were overcome once more by craft.²⁷

Meanwhile in Jerusalem they were by no means inactive. There, too, they were making preparations for meeting the Romans. The walls were strengthened, war material of all sorts was collected, the youth were exercised in the use of arms.²⁸

Amid such preparations the spring of A.D. 67 came round, and with it the time when the attack of the Romans was expected, and the young republic would have to pass through its fiery ordeal.

2. THE WAR IN GALILEE, A.D. 67.

The Emperor Nero had received in Achaia the news of the defeat of Cestius.²⁹ Since the continuance of the war could not have been committed to the defeated general,—he seems indeed soon afterwards to have died,³⁰—the difficult task of putting down the Jewish rebellion was made over to the well-proved hands of Vespasian. During winter Vespasian

²⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 8-10; *Life*, xxxii.-xxxiv.—In his autobiography (lxviii.-lxix.), Josephus relates that the *πρωτοι της βουλης* of Tiberias once at a later period sent entreating Agrippa for a garrison.—Tiberias, as might be expected from its mixed population, and as is expressly declared in the *Life*, ix., was in its sympathies partly Roman, partly anti-Roman, so that it is found sometimes in league with King Agrippa, sometimes in league with John of Gischala. On its precise position, however, it is difficult to say anything with confidence, since the statements in Josephus' autobiography are all made with a purpose. On the general question, see Div. I. vol. i. 143; and on Justus of Tiberias, see present work, vol. i. pp. 65-69.

²⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 22. 1.

²⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 1, iii. 1. 1.

³⁰ "Fato aut taedio occidit," says Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 10.—In the winter of A.D. 66-67, Cestius Gallus was still in the province. See Josephus, *Life*, viii., xliiii., lxv., lxvii., lxxi.

still pushed forward the preparations for the campaign. While he himself went to Antioch and there marshalled his army, he sent his son Titus to Alexandria, in order that he might bring to him from thence the fifteenth legion.³¹ So soon as the season of the year allowed, he marched from Antioch and advanced to Ptolemais, where he meant to await the arrival of Titus. But before Titus reached that place, ambassadors from the Galilean city of Sepphoris appeared before Vespasian and besought him to give them a Roman garrison.³² Vespasian hastened to comply with their

³¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 2-3.—According to the common text of *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 3, Titus was to have brought two legions from Alexandria, τὸ τε πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον. But of the return of Titus to Vespasian it is said, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2: καὶ ἐκσὶ (supply "to Ptolemais") καταλαμβάνων τὸν πατέρα, δυσὶ τοῖς ἄμα αὐτῷ τάγμασιν, ἔν δὲ τὰ ἐπισημώτατα τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ζεύγνυσσι καὶ τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκατον. This can only mean that to the two legions which he found with his father, the 5th and the 10th, he added the 15th, which was with him. With this also agrees the fact that Titus, according to Suetonius, *Tit.* iv., was during the war commander of one legion (*legioni praepositus*), that is, of the 15th. Accordingly the corrected reading in *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 3 will be: τὸ πεντεκαίδεκατον. So Renier, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscript. et belles-lettres*, t. xxvi. 1, p. 298, note 8.—Mommsen insists (*Römische Geschichte*, v. 533) that the Alexandria referred to here is not the celebrated Egyptian city, but the Alexandria situated on the Gulf of Issus. So, too, Pick in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xiii. 1885, p. 200. Mommsen's chief argument is "because the land march from Alexandria on the Nile to Ptolemais through the revolted district in the beginning of the Jewish war could not be that intended by Josephus." But of the coast cities only Joppa was among the insurgents, and even the case of Azotus and Jamnia is doubtful. See Div. II. vol. i. pp. 76-79. To march along by such a course was by no means so dangerous for a Roman army that Josephus would have been obliged to call attention to this. On the other hand, the "Alexandria" of the *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 3, 4. 2, is quite evidently the Egyptian. Any other Alexandria would have been more particularly distinguished by some epithet.

³² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 4.—Sepphoris had even before the arrival of Vespasian possessed a Roman garrison (*Life*, lxxi.; *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 4). Whether this garrison had meanwhile been withdrawn, or was now only relieved or strengthened, is not quite clear Compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 136.

request. A detachment of 6000 men under the leadership of Placidus was sent as a garrison to the city. Thus were the Romans, without drawing a sword, in possession of one of the most important and one of the strongest points in Galilee.³³ Soon after this Titus arrived with his one legion. The army now at the disposal of Vespasian consisted of 3 distinct legions, the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth, 23 auxiliary cohorts, 6 *alae* of cavalry, besides the auxiliary troops of King Agrippa, of King Antiochus of Commagene, of Soemus of Emesa, and of Malchus of Arabia: in all comprising somewhere about 60,000 men.³⁴

When all arrangements had been made, Vespasian advanced from Ptolemais and pitched his camp on the borders of Galilee. Josephus had before this set his camp at the village of Garis, twenty stadia from Sepphoris (*Life*, lxxi.), in order that he might there wait the attack of the Romans. The warlike qualities of his army were soon shown in a very doubtful light. When it became known that Vespasian was approaching, the majority of the Jewish troops became utterly dispirited, even before they had so much as come face to face with the Romans; they fled hither and thither; and Josephus found himself obliged to hasten with the remnant to Tiberias.³⁵ Without drawing a sword, Vespasian had thus obtained possession of the lowlands of Galilee. Only the strongholds now remained for him to take.

Josephus soon held communication with Jerusalem, and insisted that if they wished the war to be carried on they should send an army able to cope with the Romans, a petition which now indeed came too late.³⁶ The most of the

³³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 1; *Life*, lxxiv.—On Placidus, who had been in Galilee previous to the arrival of Vespasian, see also *Life*, xliii.

³⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2.

³⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 6. 2-3.

³⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 2.

army of Josephus had taken refuge in the strong fortress of Jotapata.³⁷ Even he himself entered that stronghold on the 21st (?) Artemisios, that is, Ijjar or May, so as to conduct the defence in his own person.³⁸ On the evening of the immediately following day, Vespasian with his army appeared before the city; and then began the celebrated siege of the certainly not unimportant stronghold, described with a self-glorifying amplitude of details by Josephus. The first attack led to no result. It was found necessary to have recourse to a regular siege. An obstinate struggle made the issue for some time doubtful. What on the one side was accomplished by art and the experience of war, was accomplished on the other by the courage of despair and the skill of the commander-in-chief. For although Josephus was indeed no general in the proper sense of the word, he was a past master in little tricks and stratagem. With profound satisfaction the vain man tells how he deceived the Roman generals as to the scarcity of water in the city by making his soldiers hang their clothes dripping with water over the battlements. He also tells how he managed to procure supplies of food by sending his men out by night clothed in the skins of beasts, so that they might

³⁷ Jotapata appears in the Mishna in the form יודפת (*Arachin* ix. 6; the Cambridge manuscript has ירפת with *Resh*, but the *editio princeps* and the *cod. de Rossi*, 138: יודפת, Jodaphath, also Aruch ירפת with *Daleth*). It is there spoken of as an ancient city, which had been, even in Joshua's time, surrounded with walls. Compare also: Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 203 sq.—Its situation has been again discovered in 1847 by E. G. Schultz, in the modern Jéfât, due north of Sepphoris. See E. G. Schultz, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Bd. iii. 1849, pp. 49 ff., 59 ff.; Ritter, *Erldkunde*, xvi. 764-768; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii. p. 105; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 476-487; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 289, 311-313; and also Sheet V. of the Large English Map. On the siege, compare also: Parent, *Siège de Jotapata*, 1866 (quoted by Renan *Der Antichrist*, p. 220).

³⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 3.—Since, according to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 33 and 8. 9, the siege lasted forty-seven days, and according to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 36, it ended on the 1st of Panemos, the date 21st Artemisios cannot be correct.

pass by the Roman sentinels. He further relates how he broke the force of the battering-ram upon the wall by throwing out bags filled with chaff; how he had boiling oil thrown upon the soldiers, or boiling fenugreek poured on the boards of the scaling ladders, so that those advancing on them slipped and fell back. But neither by such arts nor by the boldness of the sallies, in one of which Vespasian himself was wounded, could the fate of the city be averted. After the besieged had endured the utmost extremity of suffering, a deserter betrayed the secret, that in consequence of fatigue the very sentinels could no longer keep themselves awake till the morning. The Romans made use of this information. With perfect stillness, Titus one morning with a small detachment scaled the wall, cut down the sleeping watch, and pressed into the city. The legions followed in his track, and the outwitted garrison were aware of the entrance of the Romans only when they no longer had power to drive them back. All without exception who fell into the hands of the Romans, armed and unarmed, men and women, were ruthlessly slain or carried off as slaves; the city and its fortifications were levelled with the dust. It was on the 1st of the month Panemos, that is, Thamuz or July, A.D. 67, when this most important fortress of Galilee fell into the hands of the Romans.³⁹

Josephus with forty companions had taken refuge in a well which discharged itself into a cave. When he was discovered there, he was willing to surrender to the Romans, but was prevented doing so by his companions. These only offered him the choice of dying along with them, either by their hand or by his own. By some sort of stratagem, having persuaded them that they should fall upon one another in the order determined by the lot, and having by the fortune of the lot been himself reserved to the last, Josephus managed to extricate himself from their hands. and having made his escape,

³⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 4-36.

surrendered himself to the Romans.⁴⁰ When he was brought before Vespasian, he assumed the role of a prophet, and prophesied to the general his future elevation as emperor. This had for him at least this result, that although kept prisoner, he was dealt with in a generous manner.⁴¹

On the fourth day of Panemos, Vespasian advanced from Jotapata and marched next past Ptolemais to Caesarea, where he allowed the troops some rest.⁴² While the soldiers were refreshing themselves after the exertions of the siege, the general paid a visit to the friendly King Agrippa at Caesarea Philippi, and took part there in extravagant festivities lasting

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 1-8.

⁴¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 9; Dio Cassius, lxi. 1; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, c. 5. According to Zonaras, *Annales*, xi. 16, Appian also in the twenty-second book of his *Roman History* tells of the saying of the Jewish oracle with reference to Vespasian.—Our older scholars have earnestly investigated the story of Josephus' prophetic gift. Compare Olearius, *Fl. Josephi de Vespasianis ad summum imperii fastigium advehendis vaticinium*, 1699; Strohbach, *de Josepho Vespasiano imperium praedicente*, Lips. 1748. There may be some truth in the story. Probably Josephus has wittingly construed a couple of general phrases into a formal prophecy. It is noteworthy the rabbinical tradition ascribes this same prophecy to Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai. See Derenbourg, p. 282.—Upon this Holwerda (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der koninkl. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Tweede Reeks deel*, ii. 1872, p. 137 sq.) has made the remark that similar oracles were addressed to Titus and Vespasian by heathen priests. Thus Sostratus, the priest of Aphrodite at Paphos in Cyprus, revealed the future to Titus in secret conference when he inquired of the oracle there and sought for favourable omens (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 4: "petito secreto futura aperit." Still more distinctly, Suetonius, *Titus*, c. 5: "aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est"). The priest Basilides on Carmel declared to Vespasian on the ground of the sacrificial signs: "quidquid est, Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum" (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 78. Compare Suetonius, *Vespasian*, c. 5: "Apud Judaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur"). These heathen oracles, however, belong to a later period than the one referred to by Josephus.

⁴² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 1.

for twenty days. He then sent the legions by Titus from Caesarea by the sea and marched against Tiberias, where, at the sight of the Roman army, the people of their own accord opened their gates, and for Agrippa's sake received honourable treatment.⁴³ From this point Vespasian pursued his way onward to Tarichea.⁴⁴ By a bold stroke of Titus,

⁴³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7-8.

⁴⁴ Ταριχέαι or Ταριχέα (both forms of spelling are met with) had its name from the curing of fish which was carried on there (Strabo, xvi. 2. 45, p. 764). It is first mentioned in the time of Cassius, who, during this first administration of Syria in B.C. 52-51, took the city by force of arms (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 9), and, during his second administration, again visited it. He wrote to Cicero in B.C. 43, "ex castris Taricheis," *Cicero ad Familiares*, xii. 11.—According to Josephus, *Life*, xxxii., it lay thirty stadia from Tiberias; according to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 10. 1, it was situated upon the lake of Gennezaret at the foot of a hill (ὄψαπειος); according to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 15. 11, it lay at the south end of the lake (a meridie Tarichea). It is therefore to be sought on the site or in the neighbourhood of the present Kerak where the Jordan emerges from the lake. Thus Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 387; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 344 ff.; Cless in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, vi. 2, 1602 ff.; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 78; Conder, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*, 1878, pp. 190-192; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 275-280; Kasteren, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xi. 1888, pp. 215 ff., 241 ff.—Many recent writers are of opinion that the statements of Josephus require us to seek Tarichea to the north of Tiberias, somewhere about the site of the present Mejdél. So Quandt, *Judäa und die Nachbarschaft*, 1873, p. 107 f.; Wilson, *Quarterly Statements*, 1877, 10-13; Kitchener, *Quarterly Statements*, 1878, p. 79; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ii. 1879, pp. 55-57, xii. 1889, pp. 145-148; Grätz, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1880, pp. 484-487; Spiess, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* viii. 1885, pp. 95-99; Frei, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 1886, pp. 103-108; Öhlmann, *Die Fortschritte der Ortskunde von Palästina*, 1 Thl. (Norden 1887, Progr.) pp. 12-14. But the course of Vespasian's march described by Josephus by no means proves that Tarichea lay to the north of Tiberias. Vespasian evidently went from Scythopolis, therefore from the south, to Tiberias (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7). But there is no ground for supposing that he continued his march from thence still in a northerly direction. Rather after occupying Tiberias, he pitched his camp at Emmaus "between Tiberias and Tarichea," as appears from a comparison of *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 3 with iii. 10. 1. But seeing that the warm springs of Emmaus to this day lie south of Tiberias, it is evident that Vespasian, after the occupation of

this city also fell into the hands of the Romans in the beginning of the month Gorpiaios, that is, Elul or September.⁴⁵

In Galilee there now remained in the hands of the rebels only Gischala and Mount Tabor (Itabyrion), and in Gaulanitis the important and strongly fortified Gamala.⁴⁶ To the last-

Tiberias, again turned toward the south. It is thus really established by the statements of Josephus that Tarichea lay to the south of Tiberias. Those who place Tarichea to the north of Tiberias must also place Emmaus north of Tiberias, and then in consistency they must deny the identity of the Emmaus referred to by Josephus and the modern Hammam, which must nevertheless be regarded as a certain fact.

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 10. Suetonius, *Titus*, 4, ascribes to Titus the conquest of Tarichea and Gamala; the latter incorrectly.—After Tarichea had been taken by surprise, a portion of the inhabitants endeavoured to make their escape in a boat out upon the lake. Vespasian caused them to be pursued on rafts, and the fugitives all met their death, either by the sword or in the water. It has been conjectured that this is the "Victoria navalis," which was celebrated by coins or medals, and in the triumphal procession was made noticeable by a ship (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 5: *πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ νῆες εἴποντο*). Compare Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 330; Stange, *De Titi imperat. vita* (1870), p. 22. On the medals, see Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. i. 1880, p. 417 sq., n. 632-639 (Vespasianus), p. 460, n. 386-390 (Titus) p. 522 sq. n. 636-638 (Domitian); Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 223.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1.—Gamala (גמלא) is mentioned in the Mishna, *Arachin* ix. 6, among the cities which are said to have been surrounded with walls from the days of Joshua. Its existence is historically demonstrable from the time of Alexander Jannæus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8). According to the *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1, it lay opposite Tarichea in Lower Gaulanitis, therefore east of the Lake of Gennezaret. But any more particular determination of its site cannot now be given. The conjecture that it is identical with el-Hösn is not quite certain, still less can the notion recently favoured by many be maintained, that it was situated farther to the north. Furrer's conjecture is also improbable, that it is to be sought in the present Jamli on the eastern bank of the Nahr er-rukkad, a day's journey east of the Lake of Gennezaret. Compare Schumacher's map of Golan in the *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 1886. If it lay at such a distance from the lake, Josephus would not have been able to describe it as a πόλις *Ταριχείων ἀντικρὺς ὑπὲρ τῆν λίμνην καίμηνη* (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1). Compare generally: Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ii. 1879, pp. 70-72, xii. 1889, pp. 148-151; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 317-321; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 1881, pp. 161, 164, 168; Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift des*

named place Vespasian next directed his attention. The siege appeared soon to be successful. The Romans succeeded in storming the walls and forcing an entrance into the city. But there they encountered such bitter resistance that they were forced to retire with very heavy loss. The repulse was so severe that it required all Vespasian's influence and reputation to restore again the courage of the soldiers. At last, on the 23rd Hyperberetaios, that is, Tizri or October, the Romans again forced their way into the city, and were this time successful in making themselves complete masters of the situation.⁴⁷ During the siege of Gamala the Mount Tabor (Itabyrion) was also taken by a detachment sent thither.⁴⁸

Vespasian gave over the reducing of Gischala to Titus with a detachment of 1000 cavalry. He himself led the 5th and 15th legions into winter quarters at Caesarea, while he placed the 10th at Scythopolis.⁴⁹ Titus made light work of Gischala. On the second day after his appearing before the walls of the city, the citizens of their own accord opened the gates to him, John having secretly, during the previous night, with his Zealot comrades quitted the city and fled to Jerusalem.⁵⁰

DPV. viii. 242 f., and with it, ix. 358-360; Frei, *Zeitschrift des DPV* ix. 120 ff.; Kasteren, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xi. 220-225. The position of el-Hösn is minutely described; Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 327 ff., with plan and map.

⁴⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 2-10.

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 8.—On the position of Tabor and its history, see Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 223, 224; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 391-404; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Thabor;" Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 143-163; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 358 ff., 388 ff. (with plan, i. 388); together with Sheet VI. of the large English Map.

⁴⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 2. 1.

⁵⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 2. 2-5.—Gischala is in the Hebrew Gush-Chalab, גוש חלב, and is also mentioned in the Mishna among the cities which from the time of Joshua were surrounded with walls (*Arachin*

Thus by the end of A.D. 67 was the whole of the north of Palestine brought again into subjection to the Romans.

3. FROM THE SUBJUGATION OF GALILEE TO THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 68-69.

The unfortunate results of the first year of the war determined the fate of the leaders of the rebellion. On the part of the fanatical section of the people, and not without cause, the unfavourable turn that events had taken was attributed to the lack of energy in the mode of conducting the war hitherto. The men of the people therefore set themselves with all their might to get the reins into their own hands, and to set aside those who had been in command. And since these would not of their own accord withdraw, a fearfully bloody civil war, accompanied by acts of horrid cruelty, broke out during the winter of A.D. 67-68 in Jerusalem, which in its atrocities can only be compared to the first French revolution.

The head of the fanatical popular party, or, as they called themselves, the Zealots, was John of Gischala. After he had escaped the hands of Titus by flight, he went with his followers, in the beginning of November A.D. 67, to Jerusalem,

ix. 6). Its name signifies "fat or rich clod." In fact, it yielded abundance of oil (Josephus, *Life*, xiii. ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 2 ; *Tosefta Menachoth* ix. 5 ; *Bab. Menachoth* 85b ; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 230 sq.). In the Jewish traditions of the Middle Ages it was famous for its graves of Rabbis and its ancient synagogue (Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre-Sainte*, 1847, pp. 133 sq., 156, 184, 262, 380, 452 sq.).—It lay in the neighbourhood of the territory of Tyre (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 2. 3 *fin.*), and is undoubtedly to be identified with the present Eljish in Northern Galilee, somewhere about the same geographical latitude with the southern end of the Merom lake. Of the ancient synagogue there are still ruins to be found there. See generally : Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 770 f. ; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 778-780 ; Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 94-100 ; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 198. 224-226, and with it Sheet IV. of the large English Map.

and sought to win over the people to himself and to rekindle in their breasts a determination to continue the war in a bolder and more resolute spirit. He readily succeeded in gaining over the youth to his side. And since now on all hands the war-loving rabble from the country poured into the city, the party of the Zealots was soon in the ascendancy.⁵¹ They next proceeded to set aside those who were suspected of friendship for the Romans. Several of the most distinguished men, among them Antipas, who belonged to the family of Herod, were put under arrest, and were murdered in prison.⁵² Their next proceeding was to choose a new high priest by lot, for those who had held the office up to this time all belonged to the aristocratic party. The newly-elected high priest, Phannias of Aphtha, was not indeed in the least degree acquainted with the duties of the high priest's office. But he was a man of the people, and that was the main thing.⁵³

The men of order, Gorion, son of Joseph,⁵⁴ the famous Pharisee Simon, son of Gamaliel,⁵⁵ the two high priests, Ananus, son of Ananus, and Jesus, son of Gamaliel, sought on their part to resist the Zealots by force. They exhorted the people to put a stop to the wild schemes of that faction.⁵⁶ A discourse which Ananus delivered with this end in view⁵⁷ had indeed this result, that a section of the populace declared open hostilities against the Zealots. These enthusiasts were in the minority, and were obliged to retreat before the superior force of their opponents, and to take refuge in the

⁵¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 1-3.

⁵² *Ibid.* iv. 3. 4-5.

⁵³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 6-8. Compare Derenbourg, p. 269.

⁵⁴ So Josephus names him here. But he is probably identical with the Joseph, son of Gorion, mentioned above at p. 214. So also Derenbourg, p. 270.

⁵⁵ Compare on him also : Josephus, *Life*, xxxviii., xxxix., xliv., lx. ; Derenbourg, pp. 270-272, 474 sq.

⁵⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 3. 10.

inner court of the temple, where for a time they were carefully guarded, as the people would not violently attack the sacred gates.⁵⁸

In order to obtain support the Zealots secretly sent messengers to the war-loving Idumeans, and besought of them that they would form a confederacy on the pretext that the dominant party in Jerusalem had fallen away to Romans. The Idumeans appeared before the walls of the city, but were not admitted, for no one knew of their alliance with the Zealots.⁵⁹ On the night after their arrival a terrible hurricane burst forth. The storm raged, and the rain fell in torrents. Under shelter of this storm the Zealots succeeded in secretly opening the gates to their confederates and letting them in unobserved.⁶⁰ Scarcely had the Idumeans obtained a firm footing in the city, when they began the work of murder and robbery, in which the Zealots afforded them ready aid. The party of order was too weak to withstand the attack. The victory of the reign of terror in Jerusalem was complete. The rage of the Zealots and of the Idumeans in league with them was directly mainly against the distinguished, respectable, and well-to-do. All those who had previously been leaders of the revolution were now made away with as suspected friends of the Romans. Conspicuous above all the other victims of their murderous zeal were the high priests Ananus and Jesus.⁶¹ In order to lend to their wild scheme the semblance of legal sanction, the comedy of a formal process at law was on one occasion enacted. But when the court of justice convened for that purpose pronounced the accused, Zacharias, son of Baruch, innocent, he was cut down by a couple of Zealots with the scornful declaration: "Here hast thou also our voices."⁶²

⁵⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 12.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 4. 1-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 4. 5-7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* iv. 5. 1-3.

⁶² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 5. 4.—Some have sought wrongly to

When the Idumeans had been satiated with murder, and had, besides, observed that what had been styled threatened treason was only a calumnious charge trumped up against order-loving citizens, they would have no more partnership with the Zealots, and so took their departure.⁶³ All the more unrestrainedly did the Zealots now pursue their rule of terror. Gorion also now fell under their lash. The party of the well-doing and order-loving had been by this time so sadly thinned that there could no longer be any thought of resistance. John of Gischala was supreme potentate in the city.⁶⁴

At this period, if not even earlier than this, occurred the flight of the Christian community from Jerusalem. The Christians left the city "in consequence of a divine admonition," and migrated to the city of Pella in Perea, which as a heathen city was undisturbed by the war.⁶⁵

Vespasian's generals were of the opinion that they should take advantage of these circumstances, and that now was the time to begin the attack upon the capital. They thought that in consequence of the internal conflicts within the city the task before them would be easily accomplished. Not so Vespasian. He regarded it as more prudent to allow his enemies to waste their strength in the civil strife, and to consume one another.⁶⁶ In order that the inhabitants of the capital might have time to carry out their work of self-destruction, he directed his attention meanwhile to Perea. Even before the favourable season had arrived, he marched from Caesarea

identify this Zacharias with the one mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51.

⁶³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 5. 5, 6. 1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 6. 1.

⁶⁵ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 5. 2-3; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 29. 7; *de mensuris et ponderibus*, § 15. The migration took place κατά τινα χρησμόν τοῖς αὐτοῖσι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα κ.τ.λ. (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* iii. 5. 3).—On Pella, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 113-115.

⁶⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 6. 2-3.

on the 4th Dystros, that is, Adar or March, of A.D. 68, invested Gadara, in order to guard against the elements in the city hostile to the Romans, left there a garrison, and then turned back again to Caesarea.⁶⁷ A detachment of 3000 infantry and 500 cavalry, which he left behind him under the command of Placidus, completed the subjugation of all Perea as far as Machärus.⁶⁸ When the more suitable season came round,⁶⁹ Vespasian advanced with the greater part of his army from Caesarea and invested Antipatris, took Lydda and Jamnia, drew up the 5th legion before Emmaus, made a successful raid through Idumea, then turned again northward upon Emmaus, pressed through Samaria to Neapolis (Shechem), and thence past Corea, where he arrived on 2 Daisios, that is Sivan or June, to Jericho.⁷⁰ At Jericho and Adida he left Roman garrisons, while Gerasa (?) was taken and then destroyed by a detachment sent against it under Lucius Annus.⁷¹

The country was now so far subdued that it only remained to begin the siege of the capital. Vespasian therefore turned back to Caesarea, and was actually busying himself with preparations for the siege of Jerusalem when the news reached him of the death of Nero, which had taken place on 9th June A.D. 68. By this event the whole situation was suddenly changed. The future of the empire as a whole was uncertain. Vespasian therefore suspended all warlike undertakings, and concluded to wait for the further develop-

⁶⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 7. 3. 4.—On Gadara, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 100-104.

⁶⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 7. 4-6.

⁶⁹ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος, Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1.

⁷⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1.—On Corea, see present work, vol. i. p. 320. The other cities are well known.

⁷¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 1.—On Adida, see present work, vol. i. p. 252.—Gerasa cannot be the celebrated Hellenistic city of Decapolis, for it certainly continued faithful on the side of the Romans.

ment of affairs. When the news of Galba's elevation to the throne arrived, which was not till the middle of the winter of A.D. 68-69, he sent his son Titus to Rome in order to convey his greetings to the new emperor, and to receive from him his commands. But Titus had proceeded no farther than Corinth when he received tidings of the murder of Galba, which occurred on 15th January A.D. 69, whereupon he returned to Caesarea to his father. Vespasian was now inclined to wait without committing himself to see how things would go.⁷²

Circumstances, however, soon obliged him again to take decisive action. A certain Simon Bar-Giora, that is, son of the proselyte,⁷³ a man of like spirit to John of Gischala, inspired by an equally wild enthusiasm for freedom, and just as little able to brook the presence of any one over himself, had taken advantage of the cessation of hostilities to gather around himself a crowd of supporters, with which he overran the southern parts of Palestine, robbing and plundering wherever he went. Everywhere the course which he and his horde had taken was marked by devastation. Among other successes he managed to surprise Hebron, and to carry off from it abundant spoil.⁷⁴

Vespasian therefore found it necessary to secure possession of Judea in a more thorough manner than had hitherto been accomplished. On the 5th Daisios, that is, Sivan or June, of the year 69, after a whole year had passed without armed interference, he again advanced from Caesarea, subdued the districts of Gophna and Acrabata, the cities of Bethel and

⁷² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 2.—See further details regarding the journey of Titus in Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 1-4.

⁷³ Josephus always designates him *υἱὸς Γιάρα*. The form *Βαργιορᾶς*, Bargiora, occurs in Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7, and Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12. Tacitus erroneously ascribes this cognomen to John. *בִּנְיָרָא* is the Aramaic form for *בָּנִי*, the proselyte. See Div. II. vol. ii. p. 316 f.

⁷⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 3-8.

Ephraim, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, while his tribune Cerealis conquered and destroyed the city of Hebron, which had offered opposition. With the exception of Jerusalem and the fortresses of Herodium, Masada, and Machärus, all Palestine was now subject to the Romans.⁷⁵

Even before Simon found himself prevented by this expedition of Vespasian from continuing his robber raids through Idumea, the gate of the capital had been flung open to receive him. Up to the spring of A.D. 69, John of Gischala had there played the part of the omnipotent tyrant. Of the ruinous confusion and lawlessness that prevailed in Jerusalem under his rule Josephus has given a thrilling and horrible description.⁷⁶ The inhabitants, who had long desired to be rid of his supremacy, looked with favour upon the arrival of Simon Bar-Giora as a means of freeing them from him who now acted the tyrant over them. On the suggestion of the high priest Matthias, Simon was invited to come into the city. He most readily accepted the invitation, and made his public entrance into Jerusalem in the month Xanthicus, that is, Nisan or April, of the year 69. But, although the hope had been entertained that he would free them from the tyranny of John, it was now found that they rather had two tyrants in the city who fought against one another, both regarding the resident citizens as their common enemies.⁷⁷

Vespasian had scarcely returned back to Caesarea when the news came that Vitellius had been raised to the throne as emperor. The idea then took possession of the legions in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria that they had as much right to nominate the emperor as had their comrades in the West, and that Vespasian was more worthy of the throne than the glutton

⁷⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 9.—On Gophna and Acrabata, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 158. On Bethel and Ephraim, see present work, vol. i. p. 236 and p. 246.

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 10.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 9. 11-12. Compare v. 13. 1.

Vitellius. On 1st July A.D. 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Egypt. A few days afterwards the Palestinian and Syrian legions made the same proclamation. Before the middle of July, Vespasian was acknowledged as emperor throughout the whole East.⁷⁸

He had now something else to engage his attention than the prosecution of the war against the rebellious Jews. After he had received at Berytus the embassies from various Syrian and other cities, he marched on to Antioch, and from thence sent to Rome by road Mucianus with an army.⁷⁹ He then went himself to Alexandria. During his residence there he obtained the intelligence that his interests had prevailed in Rome, and that Vitellius had been murdered on 20th December A.D. 69. He himself still remained in Alexandria till the beginning of the summer of A.D. 70;⁸⁰ while his son Titus, to

⁷⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 2-6; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 79-81; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 6. That the Egyptian legions were the first to proclaim Vespasian emperor is stated by Tacitus and Suetonius; according to Josephus, the Palestinian legions had the precedence. The proclamation, in any case, was made in Palestine, according to Tacitus, "*quintum Nonas Julias*;" according to Suetonius, "*V. Idus Jul.*"—After his appointment as emperor he gave to Josephus a free pardon in thankful remembrance of his prophecy (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 7).

⁷⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 6, 11. 1; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 81-83.

⁸⁰ According to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 5, Vespasian wished to march to Rome *λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος*. According to Tacitus, he waited in Alexandria till the time of the summer winds, and till he had assurance of being able to make the voyage by sea (*Hist.* iv. 81: "*statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur*"). On the route of his journey, see especially Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 2. 1. He did not, however, reach Rome until after the middle of the year 70. See Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 500; Chambalu, "*Wann ist Vespasian im J. 70, Titus im J. 71 aus dem Orient nach Rom zurückgekehrt?*" (*Philologus*, Bd. xlv. 1885, pp. 502-517). Chambalu holds that Vespasian did not leave Alexandria before August, and that he arrived in Rome in October A.D. 70. This latter statement must certainly be adopted, since Titus did not obtain word of Vespasian's happy arrival in Italy until November, when he was celebrating his father's birthday (17th November) in Berytus (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 3. 1; compare 4. 1).

whom he had committed the continuing of the Jewish war, marched at the head of the army to Palestine.⁸¹

In Jerusalem, by this time, the internal feuds had advanced one step further. Instead of the two parties of John and Simon there were now three, for from the party of John a new section had broken off under Eleasar, son of Simon. Simon had in his power the upper city and a great part of the lower city, John held the Temple Mount, and Eleasar the inner Court of the Temple. All three continued incessantly at war with one another, so that the city from day to day presented the aspect of a battlefield. In their mutual hatred of one another they became so foolish that they destroyed by fire the immense store of grain which had been gathered up in the city, lest their rivals should profit by it, without considering that thereby they robbed themselves of the means of sustaining a siege.⁸² While thus Jerusalem was tearing its own flesh, Titus was carrying on the preparations for his attack.

4. THE SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 70.⁸³

The army which Titus had at his disposal consisted of four legions. Besides the three legions of his father, the 5th, 10th,

⁸¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 5.—On the legal position of Titus during the war, see Pick, "Der Imperatortitel des Titus," in *Sallet's Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, pp. 190-238. Pick deals with the time preceding Titus' appointment as emperor.

⁸² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 1-5; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12. See also Rabbinical traditions about the destruction of the collection of grain in Derenbourg, p. 281.

⁸³ Compare, in regard to what follows, the monographs on Titus: Stange, *De Titi imperatoris vita*, part i. Breslau 1870; Double, *Vie de l'empereur Titus*, Paris 1876 (reviewed in the *Revue archéol.* n. s. xxxiii. 1877, pp. 279-282; Steinwenter, *Titus Flavius Vespasianus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Graz 1876 (reviewed in the *Zeitschrift für die oesterreich. Gymn.* xxviii. 1877, p. 70); Otto Adalb. Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi temporibus recte definiendis*, Marburg 1883. Against Hoffmann's view, that the months used as dates in Josephus are to be taken from the Julian calendar, see Appendix III.

and 15th, he had also the 12th, which had already been in Syria under Cestius, and had so unfortunately begun the war. In addition to these, he had also the numerous auxiliary troops of the confederate kings.⁸⁴ The commanders of the legions were—Sextus Cerealis over the 5th legion, Larcius Lepidus over the 10th, Tittius Frugi over the 15th. The commander of the 12th legion is not named. As principal adviser, we would call him Chief of the Staff, Tiberius Alexander, afterwards procurator of Judea, accompanied Titus.⁸⁵ While a part of the army received orders to push on to meet him before Jerusalem, Titus himself advanced with the main body of his forces from Caesarea,⁸⁶ and a few days before the Passover, 14th Nisan or April, of A.D. 70, arrived before the walls of the Holy City.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 1.

⁸⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 3. On the generals here named, see Léon Renier, "Mémoire sur les officiers qui assistèrent au conseil de guerre tenu par Titus, avant de livrer l'assaut du temple de Jérusalem" (in the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. pt. i. 1867, pp. 269-321).—The commander of the 15th legion is called, not Titus Frugi, as our editions of the text of Josephus give it, but M. Tittius Frugi. See Léon Renier, p. 314.—Renier's remarks on Cerealis are to be corrected by reference to Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraph.* iv. 499, and Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 37. Renier confounds two of the name of Cerealis with one another. Our Cerealis is mentioned also in *Inscript. Regni Neap.* n. 4636 = *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. x. n. 4862.—Tiberius Julius Alexander is described by Josephus as τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀρχῶν (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6), πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχων (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 3). In accordance with this, Mommsen fills up the gaps in the inscription of Aradus, *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* t. iii. p. 1178, n. 4536 f. = *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, p. 644: Τιβερίῳ 'Ιουλίῳ Ἀλ[εξάνδρου ἐπ]άρχου τοῦ Ἰουδαί[κ]ου στρατοῦ]. Tiberius Julius Alexander was therefore "chief of the staff of the general." The position of this officer of equestrian rank, in an army commanded by a senatorian general, was similar to that of the *praefectus praetorio* in the army commanded by the emperor himself. See Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. v. p. 578, at n. 1344; Mommsen, *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, p. 644 ff.; Pick in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, p. 207 f.

⁸⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6.

⁸⁷ As appears from v. 3. 1 compared with v. 13. 7.—The elder Pliny

Titus had hurried on in advance of the legions with 600 cavalry in order to obtain information about the country by spies, and had in this got so far ahead of the main body, that he exposed himself most seriously to the danger of being fallen upon by the Jews, and, indeed, owed his safety wholly to his own personal bravery.⁸⁸ The Romans, from the moment of their arrival, had painful experience of the daring spirit of their opponents. While the 10th legion, which had advanced from Jericho to Jerusalem, was still occupied with the strengthening of its camp on the Mount of Olives, it was attacked with such violence that it had well-nigh suffered an utter defeat. Only by the personal interference of Titus was the yielding legion brought again to a stand, and enabled to ward off the attack.⁸⁹

The conflict of parties within the city, however, was not even yet by any means abated. Even when the Romans were lying before the gates, during the Passover festival, a carnage of one party by the other was going on within the city. The faction of Eleasar had opened the gate of the temple court for those who had gone up to attend the feast. John of Gischala took advantage of this in order to smuggle in his people with concealed weapons, and to fall on Eleasar and his followers when least expected. Those who were thus taken by surprise were not strong enough to sustain the conflict, and were obliged to admit John's adherents into the court. From this time forward there were again two parties in Jerusalem, that of John and that of Simon.⁹⁰

held a position in the army of Titus, and was indeed ἀντεπίτροπος of Tiberius Julius Alexander, according to Mommsen's skilful rendering of the inscription of Aradus, *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* t. iii. p. 1178, n. 4536 f. With reference to this, Pliny, in the dedication of his *Natural History* to Titus, says: "nobis quidem qualis in castrensi contubernio." See for further particulars, Mommsen, *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, pp. 644-648.

⁸⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 2. 1-2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* v. 2. 4-5.

⁹⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 3. 1; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12 fin.

In order to understand the siege operations that followed, it is necessary to form for oneself at least a general idea of the situation of the city.⁹¹ Jerusalem lay upon two hills, a higher one to the west and a smaller one to the east, which were separated by a deep ravine running from north to south, the so-called Tyropoeon. On the larger western hill lay the upper city, on the smaller eastern hill the lower city. The latter was also called Acra, because there in former days down to the times of the Maccabees the citadel or castle of Jerusalem had been placed.⁹² North of the Acra lay the site of the temple, the area of which had been considerably enlarged by Herod. Attached to the temple site on its northern side was the castle of Antonia. The temple site was surrounded on all its four sides by a strong wall, and thus even by itself alone formed a little fortress. The upper and the lower cities were surrounded by a common wall which was attached to the western wall of the temple site; it then ran on to the west, stretched in a great curve southward over the upper and lower cities, and finally ended at the south-eastmost corner of the temple site. But, further, the upper city must have been separated from the lower city by a wall running from north to south reaching to the Tyropoeon. For Titus

⁹¹ Compare the designation in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4.—Of the almost incalculable literature on the topography of Jerusalem the more important works are referred to in vol. i. p. 19. The hypotheses of recent investigators about the old topography are shown in a special map in Menke's *Bibelatlas*, Sheet V., and still more completely by Zimmermann, *Karten und Pläne zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, Basel 1876. The best plans of modern Jerusalem are those of Zimmermann-Socin and Wilson. See vol. i. p. 19.

⁹² The situation of the Acra and the lower city is the one point most disputed in the topography of Jerusalem. By a careful expression and estimation of the sources, however, it seems to me that the above statement may be accepted with certainty. Compare vol. i. p. 206. The history of the siege by Titus confirms this. For Titus, who pressed on from the north, came into possession of the lower city only after he had taken the site of the temple, and so the lower city must have lain south of this. It reached as far as Siloah (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 7. 2).

was obliged, after he had gained possession of the lower city to direct an attack against the wall of the upper city.—On the west, south, and east, the walls stood upon the edge of lofty precipices; only on the north did the ground run down tolerably low. Thus was there with a northern curve a second wall which enclosed the older suburb; and then in a still wider curve to the north, a third wall, which had been begun by Agrippa I., but was completed only when found urgently needed during the rebellion. This third wall enclosed the so-called new city or suburb of Bezetha.⁹³

As the very situation of the city demanded, Titus directed his attack against the north side, hence first of all against the third wall, or to speak from the standpoint of the besiegers, the first. It was only now, when the battering-ram began their work at three points, the civil war was stilled. Then the two factions, those of John of Gischala and of Simon Bar-Giora, banded together to make a common attack. In one of these onslaughts they fought with such success that the preservation of the engines of war were wholly due to the interference of Titus, who with his own hand cut down twelve of the enemy.⁹⁴ After fifteen days' work one of the most powerful of the battering-rams had made a breach in the wall, the Romans pressed in, and on the 7th Artemisios, that is, Ijjar or May, were masters of the first wall.⁹⁵

The attack was now directed against the second wall. Five days after the taking of the first this one also had to

⁹³ On Bezetha, compare also this point, vol. ii. p. 213.—Josephus says in *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 2: Βεζεθά, ὃ μεθερμηνεύμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσση καὶ νῦν λέγεται ἂν πόλις. That is impossible. For Βεζεθά can be nothing else but בית זית, "Place of Olives." In the statement of Josephus therefore this much may be correct, that Bezetha was also called the New City.

⁹⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 6. 2-5; Suetonius, *Titus*, 5: "duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus."

⁹⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 7. 2.

yield before the blow of the Roman battering-rams. Titus pressed in with a chosen band, but was driven back again by the Jews. Four days afterwards, however, he once more secured his position, and this time succeeded in maintaining it permanently.⁹⁶

He now raised earthworks at one and the same time against the upper city and against the Antonia, two against the one, and two against the other; each of the four legions had to build one. Simon Bar-Giora conducted the defence of the upper city; John of Gischala that of the Antonia.⁹⁷ While the works were in progress, Josephus, apparently without success, was made to summon the city to surrender.⁹⁸ The want of the means of support was already beginning to be felt, and in consequence of this many of the poorer inhabitants went out of the city in search of victuals. Whenever any of them fell into the hands of the Romans, he was crucified in sight of the city, in order to strike terror into the heart of the besieged, or was sent back with his members mutilated.⁹⁹

On the 29th Artemisios, that is, Ijjar or May, the four ramparts were completed. Simon and John had only wished their completion, in order that they might direct all their energies to destroy again the works produced by incredible exertion and wearisome toil. Those over against the Antonia were destroyed by John of Gischala in this way: he dug a subterranean passage under them, supported it with pillars and then set fire to the supports, so that the ramparts fell in and were consumed in the fire. Two days later Simon Bar-Giora destroyed by fire those directed against the upper city.¹⁰⁰

Before Titus attempted the building of a new rampart, he

⁹⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 7. 3-4, 8. 1-2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* v. 9. 2; comp. 11. 4.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* v. 9. 3-4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* v. 10. 2-5, 11. 1-2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* v. 11. 4-6.

made use of another device. He caused the whole city to be surrounded with a continuous stone wall (τείχος), in order to cut off all escape and to reduce the city by famine. With marvellous smartness this work was finished in three days. Numerous armed watchmen guarded it so that no one could pass it.¹⁰¹ In consequence of this the famine reached a terrible height in the city; and if even but the half is true which the inventive imagination of Josephus has recorded, it must certainly have been horrible enough.¹⁰² That under such circumstances John of Gischala should have applied the sacred oil and the sacred wine to profane uses, can be regarded only by a Josephus as a reproach to him.¹⁰³

Meanwhile Titus caused ramparts again to be built, and this time four against the Antonia. The wood used in their construction, owing to the complete devastation of all the district around, had to be carried a distance of 90 stadia

¹⁰¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 1-2; Luke xix. 43. Similar circumvallations are often spoken of. The most celebrated is that of Alesia by Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* vii. 69: "fossamque et maceriam sex in altitudinem pedum praeduxerant; ejus munitionis, quae ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus XI milium passuum tenebat." Also before an attempt was made to attack it, Masada was surrounded by such a wall (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 2). Large remnants of it are to be seen to this day. It was erected of unhewn stones without the use of mortar. See *Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs, iii. 421, and generally the literature mentioned in note 133. Compare also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 509.

¹⁰² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 3, 13. 7, vi. 3. 3. Compare *Aboth derabbi Nathan* c. 6 (in *Derenbourg*, p. 285). Well known is the tragical history of that Mary of Beth-Esôb, who was driven by hunger to devour her own child. See *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 3. 4; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 6; Hieronymus, *ad Joëlem*, i. 9 ff. (*Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, vi. 178); and the passages from the Talmud and Midrash in Grätz, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. p. 537 (2 Aufl. p. 401).—A mother's devouring of her own child belongs to the traditional and customary descriptions of the horrors of war, as well in threatenings: Lev. xxvi. 29, Deut. xxviii. 53, Jer. xix. 9, Ezek. v. 10, as in history: 2 Kings vi. 28, 29; Lam. ii. 20, iv. 10; Baruch ii. 3.

¹⁰³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 13. 6.

(four and a half days' journey).¹⁰⁴ After twenty-one days' work they were completed. An attempt which John of Gischala made to destroy them on 1st Panemos, that is, Thammuz or July, was unsuccessful, since it was not carried out with the earlier energy, while the Romans had redoubled their vigilance.¹⁰⁵ Scarcely had the Jews retired back again, when the battering-rams began to beat against the walls. At first they had no considerable success. The walls, however, were so shattered by the blows, that soon they sank of themselves at the points where the wall-breakers had been at work. But even yet the storming of the city was a work of difficulty, since John of Gischala had already managed to erect a second behind it. After an encouraging speech of Titus on the 3rd Panemos, that is, Thammuz or July, a Syrian soldier named Sabinus, with eleven comrades, made the attempt to scale the walls, but fell in the struggle with three of his companions.¹⁰⁶ Two days afterwards, on the 5th Panemos, some twenty or thirty others banded together to renew the attempt. They mounted the wall secretly by night and cut down the first sentinels. Titus pressed as quickly as possible after them, and drove the Jews back as far as the temple site. Thence the Romans were indeed beaten back again, but they held the Antonia, which was soon razed to the ground.¹⁰⁷

In spite of war and famine the daily morning and evening sacrifices had up to this time been regularly offered. On the 17th Panemos, that is, Thammuz or July, these had to be at last discontinued; but even then not so much on account of the famine, but rather "from the want of men."¹⁰⁸ Seeing that a renewed summons to surrender by Josephus proved again

¹⁰⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 1. 1-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 1. 3-6.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* vi. 1. 7-8, 2. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1; Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6 : בְּשַׁבָּעָה

עֶשֶׂר בְּתַמּוּז בְּמֵל הַתָּמִיד. Compare on the daily morning and evening sacrifices, *Div. II.* vol. i. pp. 273 ff. and 278 ff.

unsuccessful, and an attack by night of a select detachment of the army on the temple site proved a failure,¹⁰⁹ Titus now made preparations for a regular siege so as to take the temple by storm. The temple site formed a pretty regular square, which was completely surrounded by strong walls, along which on the inside ran a series of corridors. On the inside of this great space the inner court, surrounded on all sides by strong walls, formed a second position capable of being defended, which afforded to the besieged even after the loss of the outer space a place of safety. Titus was obliged first of all to make himself master of the outer wall. Again four ramparts were erected, for which he was now obliged to carry the material from a distance of 100 stadia (five hours' journey).¹¹⁰ While they were working at these, a number of Romans met with their death on the 27th Panemos in this way: they allowed themselves to be deceived by the withdrawal of the Jews from the heights of the western corridors into scaling those heights. But they had been beforehand filled by the Jews with inflammable materials. So soon then as the Romans had reached the top the Jews set fire to the vaults, and the fire spread with such rapidity that the soldiers could not escape, but were enveloped in the flames.¹¹¹

When the ramparts were completed on the 8th Loos, that is, Ab or August, the rams were again set to work, and the siege operations began. But on the immense walls they could make no impression. In order to obtain his end Titus caused fire to be placed at the gates, and so opened up the entrance to the outer temple space.¹¹² On the next day, the 9th Ab, when the gates had been completely burnt down, Titus held a council of war, at which it was resolved that the temple should be spared.¹¹³ But when on the day following,

¹⁰⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1-6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* vi. 3. 1-2.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* vi. 4. 3.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* vi. 2. 7.

¹¹² *Ibid.* vi. 4. 1-2.

the 10th Ab, the Jews made two onslaughts rapidly one after the other from the inner court, and on the second occasion were driven back by the soldiers who were occupied with the quenching of the flames in the corridors, a soldier cast a blazing brand into one of the chambers of the temple proper.¹¹⁴ When this was reported to Titus he hastened to the spot, followed by the generals and the legions. Titus gave orders to quench the fire; but in the wild conflict that now raged around the spot his commands were not heard, and the fire got ever a firmer hold upon the edifice. Even yet Titus hoped to save at least the inner court of the temple, and renewed his orders to quench the flames; but the soldiers in their excitement no longer listened to his commands. Instead of quenching the flames, they threw in new firebrands, and the whole noble work became a prey to the flames beyond redemption. Titus managed to inspect the inner court before the fire reached it.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 4-5.

¹¹⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 6-7.—According to the account given above, the burning of the temple took place on the 10th Loos = Ab, as also Josephus in *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 5, expressly states. The Rabbinical tradition places the destruction of the temple on the 9th Ab (Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6: *בַּחֲשֵׁעָה בָּאֵב חָרַב הַבֵּית בְּרֵאשִׁיטָה וּבַשְּׁנִיָּה*), and indeed early on the evening before that day (*b. Taanith* 29a: *עַרְב חֲשֵׁעָה*; *בֵּאֵב*, Derenbourg, p. 291); that is, in our way of reckoning, on the 8th Ab. It therefore regards as the day of destruction the day on which Titus caused fire to be laid to the gates. According to Rabbinical tradition it was Sabbath evening, *מוֹצָאֵי שַׁבָּת*, when the temple was destroyed. See vol. i. p. 41, and Derenbourg, p. 291. According to Dio Cassius, Jerusalem was destroyed *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ*.

According to the representation of Josephus, which we have followed, Titus had expressed a wish to spare the temple proper (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 3). Divergent from this is the narrative of Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, ii. 30: "Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse, an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur, aedem sacratam ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non oportere deleri, quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praeberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum in primis templum censebant, quo plenius Judaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur:

While the Romans slaughtered indiscriminately all that fell into their hands, children and old men, priests and people, and intentionally fanned the terrible conflagration, so that nothing escaped the flames, John of Gischala succeeded, along with his Zealot following, to escape into the upper city. Even before the temple had been burnt down, the legions planted their standards in the temple court, and greeted their general as Emperor.¹¹⁶

quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, isdem tamen ab auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judaeis extitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram." Orosius, vii. 9. 5–6, from a somewhat different point of view, ascribes the destruction to Titus. Seeing that Sulpicius Severus, as Bernays has proved, elsewhere bases his statements on Tacitus, Bernays has concluded that on this point also his statement rests on the history of Tacitus, which for this period is no longer extant, and served as model for Josephus, who wishes to free Titus from the *nota crudelitatis* (Bernays, *Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, 1861, pp. 48–61, in his *Gesammelte Werke*, ii. 159–181). The following also agree with Bernays: Stange, *De Titi imperatoris vita*, P. 1, 1870, pp. 39–43; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 399; Thiaucourt, *Revue des études juives*, t. xix. 1889, p. 65 sqq. The following vacillate: Renan, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 405–410; and Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 538 f. Against Bernays: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. p. 538 f., and Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. iii. 474. Only general assertion without reference to original sources is given by Illhardt, *Titus und der jüdische Tempel* (Philologus, Bd. xl. 1881, pp. 189–196). Titus, he says, had intended to preserve the temple for a time until he had seen it and plundered it, and then to destroy.—It is in fact probable that Sulpicius Severus drew upon Tacitus; but that does not prove that it was the model according to which Josephus constructed his account. This remains a mere possibility. Even the former supposition is rendered suspicious by its being based upon an alleged resolution impossible in the mouth of Titus.

¹¹⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 5. 1–2. The greeting of Titus as Emperor: *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 6. 1; Suetonius, *Titus*, 5; Dio Cassius, lxi. 7; Orosius, vii. 9. 6. On the significance of this procedure, see especially Suetonius, *l.c.* Titus was suspected of having fallen away from Vespasian, and of having wished to set up as an independent ruler of the East.—Further details by Teuffel in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2. 2490; Mommsen, *Imperatortitel des Titus* (*Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, pp. 458–478); F. J. Hoffmann, *Quomodo quando Titus imperator factus sit*, Bonnae 1883; Chambalu, *Der Verfassungsstreit zwischen Titus und Vespasian* (Philologus, Bd. xlv. 1885, pp. 123–131);

The work of the conqueror, however, was by no means completed with the overthrow of the temple. The upper city, the last refuge of the besieged, had yet to be taken. Titus once again called upon Simon and John to surrender. But the besieged wished to stipulate for liberty to go forth untouched, which would not be granted them.¹¹⁷ By order of Titus the parts of the city now in the possession of the Romans—the Ophla, the depository of the archives, the council house, the lower city down to Siloah—were set on fire, while at the same time the tyrants in the upper city continued their work of murder and plunder.¹¹⁸

Seeing then that there was no hope of securing the voluntary surrender of the besieged, it was necessary once more to resort to the erection of ramparts. They were constructed partly at the north-western corner of the upper city near the palace of Herod, partly at the north-eastern corner, in the neighbourhood of the so-called Xystus. On the 20th Loos (Ab, August) the buildings were begun; on the 7th Gorpiaeus (Elul, September) they were finished. The battering-rams soon made a breach in the walls, through which the soldiers with little difficulty forced their way, because the besieged in their despondent condition could no longer offer a vigorous and determined opposition.¹¹⁹ One portion of them made the attempt to break away through the besiegers' lines and to force through the cordon which surrounded them at Siloah; but they were driven back, and rushed again into their subterranean hiding-places. Meanwhile the whole of the upper city was taken possession of by the Romans. The military standards were planted and the song of victory

Pick, "Der Imperatortitel des Titus," in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, pp. 109-238. Add to these: Schiller in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, Bd. lii. pp. 17-25; Mommsen, "Zu den Münzen des Titus," in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiv. 1887, pp. 31-35.

¹¹⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 6. 2-3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* vi. 6. 3, 7. 2-3.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* vi. 8. 1-5.

was sung. The soldiers passed through the city murdering, burning, and plundering. After a five months' siege, after having been obliged laboriously to press on step by step, gaining one position after another, the whole city at last, on 8th Gorpiaeus (Elul, September), fell into the hands of the conquerors.¹²⁰

Those of the inhabitants who had not already fallen victims to the famine or the sword were now put to death, or sent to labour in the mines, or reserved for the gladiatorial combats. The handsomest and most powerful of the men were spared to grace the triumph. Among the fugitives who were driven by hunger to go forth out of their subterranean hiding-places was John of Gischala. When he begged for mercy he was granted his life, but was sentenced to life-long confinement in prison. It was not, however, until a considerably later period that Simon Bar Giora was apprehended. He was reserved as a victim for the triumph.¹²¹ The city was then razed to the ground. Only the three gates of the palace of Herod — Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme — and a portion of the wall were left standing; the former as monuments of the original strength of the city, the latter as a protection for the garrison that was left in charge. The victory, won by hard fighting, and at the cost of many victims, was celebrated by Titus in an address of thanks to the army, the distribution of rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in battle, the presenting sacrifices of thanksgiving, and a festive banquet.¹²²

¹²⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 8. 5, 10. 1.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* vi. 9. 2, 4, vii. 2. 1-2.

¹²² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 1. 1-3.—Of the three gates of the palace of Herod, only one is preserved to the present day under the name of "David's Tower," commonly identified with Hippicus, but by Schick with Phasael. A minute description is given by Schick in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 226 ff. Illustrations of it may be seen in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, i. 210, in art. "Burg," and in Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, Bd. i. p. 9.

5. THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR, A.D. 71-73.

Leaving behind him the tenth legion as a garrison in Jerusalem, Titus proceeded with the rest of his army to Caesarea-on-the-Sea, where the spoil was deposited, and the prisoners consigned to safe keeping.¹²³ Thence Titus marched to Caesarea Philippi, where a portion of the prisoners were forced to engage in combat with wild animals, and to take part in the gladiatorial shows.¹²⁴ At Caesarea-on-the-Sea, to which he returned, he celebrated the birthday of his brother Domitian, 24th October, with games on a magnificent scale.

¹²³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 1. 2-3.—The tenth legion in the time of Dio Cassius, in the beginning of the third century after Christ, still remained in Judea, Dio Cassius, iv. 23. Not until the time of Eusebius is it spoken of as the garrison at Aela on the Red Sea (Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 210). Inscriptions, in which it is referred to, have been found recently in considerable numbers in Jerusalem. (1) A short and fragmentary one is described in full detail by Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'année*, 1872, pp. 163-170. The same is also given in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1871, 103; *Ephemeris epigraphica*, ii. p. 292, n. 345; *The Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem*, p. 427. (2) Another, somewhat more complete, is particularly treated by Zangemeister, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x. 1887, pp. 49-53, xi. 1888, p. 138. The same is also given in Merrill, *Quarterly Statements*, 1886, 73. (3) Also seals with the impression upon them, *Leg. X. Fretensis*, have been brought to light from under the heaps of rubbish. See Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1872, pp. 158-163; *Ephemeris epigraphica*, ii. p. 293, n. 346, v. p. 618, n. 1441; Guthe, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1882, Taf. x. fig. A; Merrill, *Quarterly Statements*, 1885, 133. In modern tombs "numerous relics of the tenth legion" have been found (Merrill, *Quarterly Statements*, 1886, 72). The richest contribution has been made by a large, catacomb-like series of tombs on the Mount of Olives, in which numerous seals have been found with the impression *LXF* or *LXFre*, which were used as a covering for particular graves. See Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xii. 1889, pp. 198, 199. (4) On a medal of the *L. X. F.*, which was found in Jerusalem, see De Saulcy, *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xx. 1869, pp. 251-260; *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 83, sq. pl. v. n. 3.

¹²⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 2. 1.

At Berytus also he celebrated in a similar manner the birthday of his father Vespasian, on 17th November. After a lengthened stay in Berytus,¹²⁵ Titus proceeded to Antioch, giving public entertainments in the cities through which he passed, at which the Jewish prisoners were set to slay one another in gladiatorial contests. After a short stay in Antioch, he passed on to Zeugma on the Euphrates; and from thence he returned again to Antioch, and from thence proceeded to Egypt. At Alexandria he disbanded the legions. Of the prisoners there were 700 specially distinguished by their handsome appearance; and these, together with the rebel leaders John and Simon, were reserved for the triumph.¹²⁶ Titus now sailed for Rome,¹²⁷ was received by his father and by the people with joyful demonstrations, and in common with his father and brother celebrated, in A.D. 71, one triumph, though the Senate had assigned one separately to each of them.¹²⁸ During the triumph Simon Bar Giora,

¹²⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 3. 1: χρονιωτέρων ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν.

¹²⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 1-3.

¹²⁷ The arrival of Titus in Rome is set down "somewhere about the middle of June A.D. 71" by Chambalu, *Philologus*, xliv. 1885, pp. 507-517.

¹²⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 3-7; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7. The Jewish spoils which were borne along in the triumphal procession are to be seen to the present day on the relief work on the Arch of Titus. Compare Reland, *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano Romae conspicuis*, Ultraj. 1716. New edition by Schulze 1775. Also in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, t. ix. An engraving and a description of the Arch of Titus, which was not erected *divo Tito* until after the death of Titus, is given by many; among others, by Reber, *Die Ruinen Roms und der Campagna*, 1863, pp. 397-400. On the relief, see Philippi, "Ueber die römischen Triumphalreliefe und ihre Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte" (*Abhandlungen der philol.-hist. Classe der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* Bd. vi. 1874, pp. 245-306; with illustrations: Tafel ii.-iii.).—In the inscription on the Arch of Titus (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi. n. 945) no mention is made of the Jewish war. But another Arch of Titus, destroyed in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, which had stood in the Circus Maximus, bore the following pompous and, so far as it deals with the earlier history of Jerusalem, untrue inscription, bearing date A.D. 81, preserved in a manu-

the rebel leader, was in accordance with an old custom carried away from the festal procession to prison and executed there.¹²⁹

The conquest of the capital had certainly given to Titus the right to the celebration of the triumph. The whole of Palestine, however, was not yet by any means subdued. The strongholds of Herodium, Machärus, and Masada were still in the hands of the rebels. The reduction of these fortresses was the work of the governor of Palestine at that time, Lucilius Bassus. In regard to the Herodium, this seems to have been accomplished by him without difficulty.¹³⁰ The siege of Machärus occupied a longer time.¹³¹ Yet even this strong-

script at Einsiedeln: "Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f. Vespasiano Augusto . . . quod praeceptis patri(is) consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Judaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit" (Piper, *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* 1876, pp. 52-54; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 944; Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, t. i. 1880, p. 35 sq.; on its genuineness: Mommsen, *Berichte der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. philol.-hist. Cl.* 1850, p. 303).—The coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian with the superscription: *Ιουδαίας εαλωμένης*, *Judaea evicta*, *Judaea capta*, and such like, are given most fully in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 207-229. Compare also De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, p. 155 sq.; *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 79 sq.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, pp. 45-55; *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 183-197.

¹²⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 6; Dio Cassius, lxi. 7.—Simon was dragged to the place over against the Forum (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 6: *εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσῦπερο τόπον*). Upon this statement Havercamp correctly remarks: "scil. carcerem, quem Livius dicit Foro imminere." The *carcer Mamertinus* lay near the Forum. There, and indeed in its lower part, the *Tullianum*, were, e.g., Jugurtha and the Catilinian conspirators put to death. It was the common practice to put prisoners of war to death there by strangling. Trebellius Pollio, *Tyranni triginta*, c. 22 (in: "Scriptores Historiae Augustae, ed. Peter): "strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more." On the *Carcer*, see also Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Tullianum," and Gsell-Fels, *Rom.* (1 Aufl.) ii. 200 ff.

¹³⁰ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1.—On the situation of the Herodium, see vol. i. of this work, p. 435.

¹³¹ Machärus in Greek: *Μαχαίρους* (so Josephus, *Strabo*, xvi. 2. 40, p.

hold, before it was taken by storm, yielded by a voluntary surrender. The decision to surrender was finally taken in consequence of the apprehension of a youth called Eleasar, who had particularly distinguished himself in the defence. Bassus threatened to crucify him in view of the city, and in order to prevent this the Jews gave over the fortress.¹³² In the meantime Lucilius Bassus died. To his successor, Flavius Silva, fell the task of taking Masada.¹³³ In that fortress the Sicarii, under

763; Stephanus Byzant. s.v.) is in the Semitic languages *Mechawar*, מכור, or מכבא. In the Mishna, *Tamid* iii. 8, the *editio princeps*, the Cambridge Manuscript, and *cod. de Rossi*, 138, have מכור; *Aruch* has מכבר. Both forms also occur elsewhere, but מכור is more common. The pointing of the word מכור, *Mechawar*, as in *cod. de Rossi*, 138, is confirmed by the reading מכאור, which a Munich Manuscript, *Joma* 39a, has. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 111 f. Also generally: Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 582. Besides this Semitic form, we have the following: Μαχαβέρας (Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatumum*, 1866, p. 93) and *Machaveron*, as an accusative form, Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 1879, p. 326.—According to *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2, Machärus had been fortified as early as in the days of Alexander Jannäus. Gabinius demolished the fortress (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5). Herod the Great fortified it anew (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). On its importance, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16. 72: “Machaerus secunda quondam arx Judaeae ab Hierosolymis.”—It lay on the southern border of Peraea (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 3), and in the time of Herod Antipas is said to have belonged to the king of Arabia (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1). Undoubtedly it is the modern *Mkaur*, east of the Dead Sea. See Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, ii. 330 ff., iv. 378 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 577 f.; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 264; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 335 ff.; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, I Aufl. i. 329 f.; Parent, *Machaerous*, Paris 1868; Tristram, *The Land of Moab*, 2nd ed. 1874, p. 253 sqq.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer morte, à Petra et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, Paris, s. a. [1874], Atlas, Sheets 36–39; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, p. 317.

¹³² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1, 4.

¹³³ On Masada, i.e. מצדה, mountain stronghold, in Strabo, xvi. 2. 44, p. 764, corrupted into *Μασάδα*, see especially the comprehensive monograph of Tuch, *Masada, die herodianische Felsenfeste, nach Fl. Josephus und neueren Beobachtungen*, Leipzig 1863, p. 4.—It had indeed been fortified even by the high priest Jonathan (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3), and was spoken of as an important stronghold as far back as the time of Hyrcanus II. about B.C. 42 (*Antiq.* xiv. 11. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 1), and during

the leadership of Eleasar, the son of Jairi, and a descendant of Judas of Galilee,¹³⁴ had established themselves at the commencement of the war, and had continued to maintain their position. The siege proved a very difficult business, since the rock upon which the fortress was built rose on all sides so high and steep that it was almost impossible to bring the engines of destruction near. Only at one point, and even there only by means of difficult and ingenious preparatory operations, was it possible to secure a place for a battering-ram. But by the time that this machine had made a breach in the wall, the besieged had already erected behind that wall another bulwark of wood and earth, which, owing to its elasticity, could not be destroyed by the battering-ram. The enemy, however, by the use of fire succeeded in setting this obstacle also aside. When Eleasar saw that there was no longer any hope of resisting the attack, he held a council

the invasion of Palestine by the Parthians served as a safe retreat for the members of the family of Herod (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 8 f., 14. 6, 15. 1 f.; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 7 f., 15. 1, 15. 3 f.). Herod the Great fortified it anew (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3).—According to *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3, it lay near to the western bank of the Dead Sea; according to *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 7. 2, it was not far from Engedi. So, too, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17. 73: “Inde (*scil.* ‘from Engedi’) Masada castellum in rupe et ipsum haut procul Asphaltite.” According to this, and according to the description which Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3, gives of the locality, there can be no doubt that it is to be identified with the modern Sebbeh on the western bank of the Dead Sea south of Engedi, as Smith and Robinson were the first to recognise. The siege works of the Romans of A.D. 73 are still to be distinctly seen in that place. See generally: Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 241 ff.; Wolcott and Tipping in the *Bibliotheca sacra*, New York 1843; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1, p. 655 ff.; De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, Paris 1853, Bd. i. p. 199 ff., with atlas, pl. xi.-xiii.; Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran et aux bords de la mer morte exécuté pendant les années*, 1857 et 1858, Paris; atlas, pl. xxv.-xxvi.; Tuch, *Masada*; Sepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*, 2 Aufl. Bd. i. 1873, p. 821 ff., with plans and illustrations; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, pp. 298-300, with plan; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 418-421, with two plans and an illustration; and there-with Sheet xxvi. of the large English Map.

¹³⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 9, vii. 8. 1

with the garrison, in which he urged that they should first of all slay the members of their own families, and then put one another to death. This, therefore, was done. When the Romans entered, they beheld with horror that no more work was left for them to do. Thus was the very last stronghold of the rebellion conquered in April A.D. 73.¹³⁵

After the fall of Masada disturbances were made by the Jews in Alexandria and in Cyrene, which in the former place resulted in the closing of the temple of Onias at Leontopolis.¹³⁶ But these after-vibrations of the great revolution in the mother country are scarcely worthy of being mentioned alongside of the original movement. The fate of Palestine was sealed by the overthrow of Masada. Vespasian retained the country as a private possession, and the taxes levied went into his own purse.¹³⁷ Only to 800 veterans did he distribute grants of land at Emmaus near Jerusalem.¹³⁸ The former

¹³⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 1-7, 9. 1-2.—According to vii. 9. 1, the self-slaughter of the garrison of Masada took place on the 15th Xanthicus (Nisan, April). The year is not mentioned. But since in an earlier passage, vii. 7. 1, the fourth year of Vespasian is mentioned, which began on 1st July A.D. 72 (comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 79), the conquest of Masada must have occurred in the spring of A.D. 73. Compare Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 614.

¹³⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 10-11; *Life*, lxxvi.

¹³⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6: *κελεύων πᾶσαν γῆν ἀποδόσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων· οὐ γὰρ κατέκτισεν ἐκεί πόλιν, ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν φυλάττων*. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 539 f. note, discovers in those words a contradiction. But such there would be only if we were to take *ἀποδόσθαι* in the sense of "to sell." It means, however, also "to farm out." The country immediately surrounding Jerusalem had been given over to the tenth legion (Josephus, *Life*, lxxvi.).

¹³⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6: *ὀκτακοσίους δὲ μόνοις ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφειμένοις χαρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους τριάκοντα*. The reading here vacillates between *τριάκοντα* and *ἑξήκοντα*. Since the two best manuscripts have *τριάκοντα*, and since *ἑξήκοντα* is evidently an emendation in accordance with Luke xxiv. 13, the former is to be regarded as the correct reading. Accordingly our Emmaus cannot be the same as that Emmaus otherwise known, situated somewhere about 20 or 21 miles from Jerusalem, which, from the time of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century

temple-tax of two drachmas was henceforth exacted of all

after Christ, was called Nicopolis. On it see Div. II. vol. i. p. 159; Henderson, *Handbook on Palestine*, pp. 165-167; Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 5-7. Sozomen distinctly declares that the latter: μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νίκην, had the name of Nicopolis (*Hist. eccl.* v. 21); and the coins of Emmaus-Nicopolis are supposed to have an era from about A.D. 70. See, with reference to this point, Belley in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, alte serie, Bd. xxx. 1764, pp. 294-306; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 454; Mionnet, *Description de médailles ant.* v. 550 sq., *Suppl.* viii. 376; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 172-175, 406, pl. vi. 3-5; De Saulcy in *Annuaire de la Société française de Num. et d'Archéol.* t. iii. 2, 1869, pp. 275-278; De Saulcy in *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, p. 147 sq. For this reason, in spite of the indication of distance in Josephus, the military colony of Vespasian is by many identified with Emmaus-Nicopolis. So e.g. Kuhn, *Die Städt. und bürgerl. Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 356 f.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. ■ Aufl. 1881, p. 428; Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 5-7; with hesitation: Grotefend in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iii. 115. But the assertion of Sozomen, who only casually throws out this suggestion, and probably hastily draws this conclusion only from the name Nicopolis, is confronted by the definite and positive statement of Eusebius and other chroniclers, according to which Nicopolis had not been founded earlier than the time of Julius Africanus, and only then received this name. According to Eusebius, *Chronicon. ad ann. Abr.* 2237, ed. Schoene, ii. 178 sq. = *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 499, in the time of Helesgabalus; according to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 676, in the time of Alexander Severus. Compare also generally: Jerome, *De viris illustriis*, c. 63 = *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, ii. 903, and an anonymous writing, probably from the Church history of Philip of Side, dating about A.D. 430, which De Boor has edited according to a *Codex Baroccianus* [*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, edited by Gebhardt and Harnack, v. 2, 1888, pp. 169, 174 f.]. Yet another is given in Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 759. The chief passage in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 178 sq., runs as follows in the Armenian: "In Palestina antiqua Emmaus restaurata est Nicopolisque vocata cura [praefectura] et interpellatione Julii Africani chronographi ad regem;" according to Jerome: "In Palaestina Nicopolis quae prius Emmaus vocabatur urbs condita est, legationis industriam pro ea suscipiente Julio Africano scribtoire temporum;" according to the *Chronicon Paschale*: Παλαιστίνης Νικόπολις ἢ πρότερον Ἑμμαοῦς ἐκτίσθη πόλις, πρεσβεύοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ προϊσταμένου Ἰουλίου Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ τὰ χρονικά συγγραψαμένου. That this is correct, and that the statement of Sozomen is false, is further proved by this, that writers before Heliogabulus are acquainted only with the name Emmaus. So Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70; Ptolemy, v. 16. 7. In the *Itinerarium Antonini* it is not met with at all. Also Josephus, who frequently mentions this Emmaus, never makes

Jews for the temple, Jupiter Capitolinus.¹⁸⁹ The inhabitants of Palestine became impoverished, and by the seven years' war their numbers had been terribly reduced. A Jewish magistracy, of the kind formerly possessed, no longer existed. The one gathering point which still remained for the people was

the remark that it is now called Nicopolis, whereas elsewhere he does not omit such notices. The existence of coins of the Palestinian Nicopolis before Heliogabulus, and with an era from about A.D. 70, is, however, very questionable indeed. See the critical remarks by De Saulcy in *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 172-175, and Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. v. 1884, p. 619. The coin described by De Saulcy in the Appendix, p. 406, is very uncertain as to reading. In the *Mélanges de Numismatique*, ii. 147 sq., De Saulcy reports that he had received from Jerusalem a copy of the coin described by Belley of the year 72 *aer. Nicop.*, which was minted after the death of Faustina, who died A.D. 141. But the place of its discovery being Jerusalem, does not prove that the coin belonged to the Palestinian Nicopolis. It may, *e.g.*, have belonged to the Egyptian city of that name. It may even be matter of question whether we should not read PO=170, instead of BO=72, according to the era of Augustus. We have therefore no dependable testimony of the founding of an Emmaus-Nicopolis about A.D. 70. Against the identification of the military colony of Vespasian with this Emmaus-Nicopolis, it may be alleged, besides Josephus' account of its distance, that the military colony of Vespasian is not called Nicopolis by Josephus, and that, on the other hand, every characteristic feature of a colony is wanting in Emmaus-Nicopolis. Our Emmaus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6) is most probably rather to be identified with the New Testament Emmaus, Luke xxiv. 13, although the distance in the two cases, respectively 30 and 60 furlongs, are only approximately correct. It has been shrewdly conjectured that our Emmaus, in which Vespasian founded a Roman colony, is identical with the modern Culonie near Jerusalem. So Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. i. 54-73; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 553, 612; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, ii. 623; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 242; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 306; Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, ii. 107 ff. Fr. W. Schultz in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xi. 771. In an inscription found at Emmaus-Nicopolis mention indeed is made of a *mil(es)* [*leg. V.*] Mac, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. v. p. 620, n. 1446. But the designation as *miles*, instead of as *veteranus*, is against the conjecture that it can refer to one of the veterans settled by Vespasian. In A.D. 68 a fortified camp of the fifth legion was placed at Emmaus, and remained a long time, probably until A.D. 70 (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1, v. 1. 6.).

¹⁸⁹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6; Dio Cassius, iv. 8. 1. Compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 251.

the law. Around this they gathered now with anxious and scrupulous faithfulness, and with the indomitable hope that some day, under an established civil government, and even among the nations of the world, it would come again to have a recognised place and practical authority.

§ 21. FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO THE OVERTHROW OF BAR-COCHBA.

1. THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PALESTINE FROM VESPASIAN TO HADRIAN.

THE separation of Judea from the province of Syria, which had been resolved upon at the time when Vespasian was sent thither (see above, vol. i. p. 369), continued in force also after the conclusion of the war. Judea—and indeed under that very name—formed from this time forth an independent province.¹ Since it had as a garrison only one legion, the *legio X. Fretensis* (see above, p. 248), alongside of which were only auxiliary troops (see above, p. 56), the commander of that legion was at the same time governor of the province. It appears that, as a rule, the position was held by men of praetorian rank. It was only at a later period that the province came to be administered by men of consular rank, probably after the time of Hadrian, since even then the *legio*

¹ The name *Judaea* occurs, e.g., on the military diploma of A.D. 86 (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 857, Dipl. xiv.), on the inscription of Julius Severus (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830), on the coin which celebrates Hadrian's visit to Judea (*adventui Aug. Judaeae*, in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 231), on the inscription of an otherwise unknown "proc(urator) Aug(usti) provincia(e) Jud(aeae) v(ices) a(gens) l(egati)" in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* iii. n. 5776, and elsewhere. At a later date, somewhere after Hadrian, the prevailing designation is *Syria Palaestina*, which occurs even as early as in Herodotus (see Division II. vol. ii. p. 193. Yet even then the name Judea had not altogether passed out of use. The geographer Ptolemy sets both alongside of each other (Ptolemy, v. 16. 1). Compare Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 421, note 2; P. von Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae*, 1885, pp. 1-3.

VI. *Ferrata* was stationed in Judea, and the governor was not of an order superior to the commander of a legion.²

From the series of governors only certain names are now known to us.³ The first of these who exercised their functions during the war of A.D. 70-73 have already been briefly referred to:—

1. Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis, who at the siege of Jerusalem commanded the fifth legion (see above, p. 236). He remained after the departure of Titus as commander of the garrison troops, that is, of the tenth legion and of the detachments joined with it, and gave them over to Lucilius Bassus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1). His full name is given in an inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. x. n. 4862).

2. Lucilius Bassus, who took the strongholds of Herodium and Machärus (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1-6). He died as governor (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 1). The procurator serving under him, L. Laberius (not *Λιβέριος*) Maximus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6), is also mentioned in the Acts of the Arval priesthood: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi.

² Proofs of what is said above are given by von Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, p. 30 sq. On an inscription found recently in Jerusalem, dating from the time of Caracalla, one M. Junius Maximus "leg(atus) Augg. (i.e. duorum Augustorum) leg(ionis) X. Fr(etensis)" is mentioned. Seeing that he is designated as *leg. Augg.*, Zangemeister had assumed on his first examination of the inscription (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x. 1887, pp. 49-53) that this commander of the legion was also governor. But he has himself rightly, in his appendix to that article (*Zeitschrift*, xi. 138), correctly observed that in that case the designation *pro praetore* would not have been wanting. The person referred to was therefore only commander of the legion.

³ Compare the collection of passages in: Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, ii. 184 f.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. p. 419 f.; von Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, pp. 36-42; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Bd. i. 1888, pp. 239-244.—Grätz, "Die römischen Legaten in Judäa unter Domitian und Trajan und ihre Beziehung zu Juden und Christen" (*Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenth.* 1885, pp. 17-34), gives only rabbinical legends.

n. 2059, and in the military diploma of A.D. 83 (*Ephemeris epigraphica*, v. p. 612 sq.). According to the latter authority, he was the governor of Egypt.

3. L. Flavius Silva, the conqueror of Masada (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8-9). He was consul in A.D. 81. His full name is given as L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus in the *Acta Arvalium*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi. n. 2059. Compare Henzen, *Acta Arvalium Index*, p. 186.

4. M. Salvidenus, about A.D. 80, is witnessed to by a Palestinian coin of Titus, with the superscription *ΕΠΙ Μ. ΣΑΛΩΤΙΔΗΝ(ΟΤ)*, Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 218. He is certainly identical with the M. Salvidenus, who, according to a coin of Domitian, was proconsul of Bithynia (Mionnet, *Supplement*, v. p. 2).

5. Cn. Pompeius Longinus, A.D. 86. In a military diploma of Domitian of A.D. 86 the veterans of two *alae* and four cohorts are referred to "qui . . . sunt in Judaea sub Cn. Pompeio Longino" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, iii. p. 857, Dipl. xiv.). We have no other information with reference to these governors of Judea.—From some statements of the diploma Henzen thought himself justified in drawing the conclusion, that at that time warlike operations were being carried on in Judea. The premises, however, do not by any means sustain such a conclusion.⁴

⁴ Henzen, *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, xiii. 1848, pp. 34-37. He is followed by : Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, i. 1880, pp. 37-41; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 532. Against this view : Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 38 (in accordance with a communication from Mommsen).—Henzen's reasons are : (1) The *cohors I. Augustana Lusitanorum*, mentioned on the diploma, was shortly before stationed in Pannonia. It must therefore have been sent for from thence in order to strengthen the garrison of Judea. (2) The veterans, according to the diploma, received indeed the rank of citizens, but not a full discharge (*honesta missio*). It was therefore thought that they might still be needed. The latter argument is not decisive, and the *cohors I. Augusta Lusitanorum* mentioned on the inscription, is demonstrably different from the *cohors I. Lusitanorum* settled in Pannonia in A.D. 85.

6. Atticus, about A.D. 107. In two fragments of Hege-sippus, which are quoted by Eusebius, it is reported that Simeon, said to be the second bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, died a martyr's death "under the Emperor Trajan and the governor Atticus" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 32. 3: ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ; iii. 32. 6: ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ). In the Chronicle of Eusebius this event is placed in the tenth year of Trajan, A.D. 107 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. p. 162 sq.); in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 471, in the consulship of Candidus and Quadratus, A.D. 105. Neither of these statements, indeed, has the value of traditional testimonies, least of all the statement in the *Chronicon Paschale*, which has only the authority of Eusebius. Our Atticus is supposed to be identical with the similarly named father of Herod Atticus. The designation of ὑπατικός is remarkable, since other governors of Judea had held this office before their consulship.—Compare generally: Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, p. 192 sq.; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii. 1878, pp. 67–89.

7. Pompeius Falco, about A.D. 107 and onwards. The inscription in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. x. n. 6321, gives the *cursus honorum* of this man, who is known from the letters of the younger Pliny. According to this document he was also "leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) [Judaee] et leg(ionis) X. Fret(ensis)." The supplied word *Judaee* is warranted here by the fact that the command of the tenth legion was attached to the governorship. According to Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 22, this governorship dates probably from A.D. 107 to A.D. 110, for in the letter written about that time Pliny commends a friend to Falco for the place of a tribune. But this, according to the other date of the *cursus honorum*, could only have happened during the period of his governorship of Judea.—The epistles addressed by Pliny to Pompeius Falco are Pliny, *Epist.* i. 23, iv. 27, vii. 22,

ix. 15. Compare generally: Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii. 1869, p. 51; Pliny, *Epist.* ed. Keil, p. 422 (Index by Mommsen); Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, pp. 202–204; Rohden, p. 39; Liebenam, *Forschungen*, i. 94 ff.; Petersen and Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien* (1889), p. 123.

8. Tiberianus, about A.D. 114.—In Joannes Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 273, the express language of a writing is quoted, which Tiberianus, the governor of *Palaestina prima*, addressed to Trajan during his stay in Antioch, A.D. 114 (ἐν τῷ δὲ διατρίβειν τὸν αὐτὸν Τραϊανὸν βασιλέα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας βουλευόμενον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸν Τιβεριανός, ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστίνων ἔθνους, ταῦτα). In it Tiberianus calls the attention of the emperor to the fact that the Christians in a foolish manner deliver themselves up to martyrdom, and desires directions as to how he should proceed. In reply Trajan commanded him and all other magistrates throughout the whole empire to suspend the persecutions. This same story is told in a somewhat different way by John of Antioch (in Müller, *Fragmenta hist. graec.* iv. 580, n. 111). The statement of the latter is literally reproduced by Suidas in his Lexicon, s.v. *Τραϊανός*. Both stories, which are in thorough agreement on all essential points, are in respect of contents highly suspicious. Even the partition of Palestine into *Palaestina prima* and *secunda* did not take place before the end of the fourth century. Against the historicity of the narrative, see Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 1, 4 Aufl. p. 129; Overbeck, *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche*, i. 122; Görres, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1878, p. 38 f.; Keim, *Rom und das Christenthum*, 1881, p. 526 f. In favour of it: Wieseler, *Die Christenverfolgungen der Caesaren*, 1878, p. 126 ff. The stories of Malalas and John of Antioch in this and in many other instances have so much that is common, that evidently the one must have borrowed from the other. Since both probably wrote about the beginning

of the seventh century, it is a question to whom the priority belongs. The style of the particular passage before us speaks in favour of the view now prevalent, that Malalas was the older, for Malalas communicates the letter of Tiberianus in the very words of the writer, whereas John of Antioch only describes its contents.^{4a}

9. Lusius Quietus, about A.D. 117.—This distinguished general, after he had put down the outbreak of the Jews in Mesopotamia, was appointed governor of Judea (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2. 5: 'Ιουδαίας ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη. Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164; in Greek, in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 657, at the 18th year of Trajan [2131 Abr.]: ἡγεμὼν τῆς 'Ιουδαίας διὰ τοῦτο καθίσταται). Dio Cassius merely says that he administered the government of Palestine after his consulship of A.D. 115 (Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 32: ὑπατεύσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξαι). That Trajan sent to Palestine a consular legate, not merely one of praetorian rank, was occasioned by the peculiarly difficult condition of affairs at that time.—By Hadrian, Lusius Quietus was recalled (*Spartian. vita Hadriana*, c. 5: "Lusium Quietum . . . exarmavit"), and soon thereafter put to death (*ibid.* c. 7; Dio Cassius, lxxix. 2).—Compare generally: Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, i. 500 sq.

10. Tineius Rufus, A.D. 132.—When the revolution of Barcochba broke out, one Rufus was governor of Judea (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1: 'Ροῦφος ἐπάρχων τῆς 'Ιουδαίας).

^{4a} Compare: C. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* iv. 536, in favour of the priority of John of Antioch.—Gutschmid, *Grenzboten*, 22 Jahrg. 1863, 1 Semester, 1 Bd. p. 345 f., in favour of the priority of Malalas.—Momm- sen, *Hermes*, vi. 1872, pp. 323–383; Nicolai, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, iii. 56 f., 96 f.; Stokes in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. 787 sq.; Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 74, 228 ff., ii. 129, in favour of the priority of Malalas; Sotiriadis, "Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiochia," in *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, 16 Supplementbd. 1888, pp. 1–126, especially pp. 68–83, going back again to the idea that John of Antioch is the older.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius he is called Tineius Rufus (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 166 sq. *ad. ann. Abr.* 2148; in Greek, in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 660: ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Τίννιος Ροῦφος; in Latin, in Jerome: "tenente provinciam Tinnio Rufo"). In Jerome on Daniel c. 9, s. *fin.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 695: Timo Rufo; on Zechariah viii. 16 sqq. ed. Vallarsi, vi. 852: T. Annio Rufo (so the earlier editions; the reading *Turannio Rufo* is only a conjecture of Vallarsi). Undoubtedly the correct form is Tineius Rufus, as is proved by Borghesi. For one Q. Tineius Rufus, who was consul under Commodus, is referred to on several inscriptions. He may have been son or grandson of one Rufus. See Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, iii. 62–64, viii. 189 sq.; Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 192 sq.; and also *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi. n. 1978.

In order to suppress the rebellion, Publicius Marcellus, who up to that time had been governor of Syria, was also sent into Judea (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*, n. 4033 = *Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn Jahrg.* ix. 1885, p. 118: ἡνίκα Πουβλίκιος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκει ἀπὸ Συρίας; the same statement also is found in *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4034). This strengthening of the fighting forces in Judea is also referred to by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1: στρατιωτικῆς αὐτῷ συμμαχίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως πεμφθείσης. Compare *Chronicon ad. ann. Abr.* 2148).

11. Julius Severus, A.D. 135.—The suppression of the Jewish revolution was thoroughly completed only by Julius Severus, who was sent to Judea from Britain, where he had been up to that time governor (Dio Cassius, lxix. 13). The *cursus honorum* of this man is given in the inscription, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. iii. n. 2830, where the higher offices are enumerated in the following order: "leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) provinciae

Daciae, cos. leg. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae inferioris, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Britanniae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Judeae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Suriae." This therefore confirms the statement of Dio Cassius that he came from Britain to Judea. On the other hand, the statement of Dio Cassius, or rather that of his unskilful epitomizer Xiphilinus, that after the conclusion of the Jewish revolt he was made governor of Bithynia (Dio Cassius, lxi. 14), is the result of a confusion between him and another Severus. Our Julius Severus, who was consul in A.D. 127, was called Sextus Julius Severus (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* iii. p. 874, Dipl. xxxi.), but the governor of Bithynia was *Tl. Σεουῆρος* (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4033 and 4034), or, according to a more recent copy of one of these inscriptions, *Il. Σεουῆρος* (*Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, ix. 118 = *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4033). Compare, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 353; Rohden, p. 42.⁵

⁵ In the list of governors of Judea we also find one *Cl(audius) Pater(nus) Clement(ianus)*, who, according to an inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 5776), was "proc(urator) Aug(usti) provincia(e) Jud(aeae) v(ices) a(gens) l(egati)," therefore procurator or administrator in place of the deceased or recalled governor. The date of this inscription, however, is altogether unknown. For from the circumstance that the province is named, not Syria Palästina, but Judea, it cannot with certainty be concluded that the inscription is earlier than the time of Hadrian, as Rohden, p. 41, thinks he may conclude.—Just as little explanation is obtained from the rabbinical legends about a Roman ἡγεμὼν, who is said to have proposed captious questions to Jochanan ben Saccai, at the end of the first century after Christ. For the corrupt condition of the text makes it impossible even to determine his name with certainty. He is called, *jer. Sanhedrin* 196 (Cracow edition), אַגְנִיטוֹס, *Agnitos* (*Egnatius?*), 19 c. *Antoninus*, and at 19a, *Antigonus*. In other places we also find other forms. The Hegemon *Agnitos* (אַגְנִיטוֹס הֶגֶמוֹן) who, according to Sifre on Deut. § 351, is said to have put a similar question to Gamaliel II. in the beginning of the second century after Christ, is certainly the same *Agnitos*. See generally: Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 316 sq.; Levy, *Neuhebraisches Wörterbuch*, i. 104b, 108a ("art." אַגְנִיטוֹס and אַנְטוֹנינוֹס); Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 1884, p. 39 f. = *Monats-*

The residence of the imperial governor, as in earlier times that of the procurators had also been, was not Jerusalem, but Caesarea, the important coast town built by Herod the Great.⁶ It was formed by Vespasian into a Roman colony, and bore the official name *col(onia) prima Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Caesarensis* or *Caesarea*.⁷ Jerusalem had been so completely razed to the ground "that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited."⁸ It was first of all only a Roman camp, in which, if not the whole of the tenth legion, yet at least the chief portion of it, had its headquarters, together with its baggage and followers.⁹

In regard to the other changes made upon the organization of the Palestinian city communities we have only scattered notices. To what extent Vespasian held the country as a private possession cannot be very clearly understood from the indefinite statements of Josephus (see above, p. 253). His private possessions seem to have extended not merely to the town domains of Jerusalem, but to all Judea — that term being understood in its proper and more restricted sense (*πᾶσαν γῆν τῶν Ἰουδαίων*). The only new town which Vespasian here founded was the military colony of Emmaus (see above, p. 253). In Samaria, Flavia Neapolis, which rapidly grew and flourished, was then founded. For that its founding belongs to the time of Vespasian is proved not only by its name and by the reference in Pliny, but also by

schrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft der Judenthums, 1882, p. 159 f.; Gratz, *Monatsschrift*, 1885, p. 17 ff.

⁶ After Flavius Silva had conquered Masada he went back again to Caesarea (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 10. 1).—Tacitus also describes Caesarea as *Judaeae caput* (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 78).

⁷ For further particulars, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 84.

⁸ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 1. 1: τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες ὥς μηδὲ πώποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πιστὴν ἂν εἴη παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι.

⁹ Compare the details as given by Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, p. 477 ff.

the era of the city, the starting-point of which is to be reckoned about A.D. 72.¹⁰ It lay upon the site of a place which was previously called Mabortha or Mamortha, in the immediate vicinity of Shechem, so that it soon came to be identified with Shechem.¹¹ In the later days of the empire it was one of the most important cities of Palestine.¹² The inhabitants were wholly or predominantly pagan, as their modes of worship witnessed to by coins prove. Upon not a

¹⁰ The full name in Justin Martyr's *Apology*, i. c. 1: ἀπὸ Φλαυτίας Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης. Similarly: Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 12. So, too, on the coins. On the coins and on the era, see Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, v. 5. 2 (ed. Lips. pp. 537-552); Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 433-438; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 499-511, *Supplem.* viii. 344-355; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 244-274, pl. xii.-xiv.

¹¹ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1: παρὰ τὴν Νεάπολιν καλουμένην, Μαβορθὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 13. 69: *Neapolis quod antea Mamortha dicebatur*.—Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 290: Συχέμ ἢ καὶ Σίκιμα ἢ καὶ Σαλήμ· πόλις Ἰακώβ νῦν ἔρημος· δείκνυται δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν προαστείοις Νέας πόλεως. *Ibid.* p. 274, s.v. Λουζά· παρακειμένη Συχέμ ἀπὸ θ' σημείου Νέας πόλεως; instead of which Jerome gives in his text more correctly: *in tertio lapide Neapoleos*; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 72. 23: ἐν Σικίμοις τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει. So, too, *Haer.* 80. 1.—Jerome, "Peregr. Paulae," in Tobler, *Palaestinae descriptiones*, p. 23 (=Jerome, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, i. 703): "Sichem, non ut plerique errantes legunt Sichar, quae nunc Neapolis appellatur."—Compare generally: Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 1004-1010; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 95-136; Williams in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 411, 412; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 637-658; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 56, 355, 356, 364; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. ii. 37-66; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 390-424; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, p. 342 ff.; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, ii. 203-210, and Sheet xi. of the large English Map.—The articles on Shechem in the Bible dictionaries of Smith, Kitto, and Fairbairn; and "Sichem" in those of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm.

¹² By Septimius Severus it was deprived of the *jus civitatis* (*Spartian. vita Severi*, c. 9), but the same emperor at a later period again restored to it that privilege (*Spartian. vita Severi*, c. 14: "Palaestinis poenam remisit quam ob causam Nigri meruerant"). Under Philip the Arabian, according to the evidence of the coins, it was made into a Roman colony. Ammianus Marcellinus designates it as one of the greatest of the cities of Palestine (*Ammian.* xiv. 8. 11).

few of these coins, later than the time of Hadrian, Gerizim is represented, and on its top a temple which was dedicated, according to Damascius, to *Ζεὺς ὑψίστος*.^{12a} The festive games of Neapolis during the second century, and certainly even at a later date, were regarded as amongst the most important in Palestine.^{12b}—The founding of Capitolias in Decapolis belongs to the time of Nerva or Trajan; its era begins in A.D. 97 or 98.¹³ Hadrian founded Aelia on the

^{12a} On the numerous extant coins, from Domitian down to the middle of the third century, we meet with Serapis, Apollo, the Ephesian Diana, and other deities. In regard to the temple on Gerizim, see "Damascius" in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 242, ed. Bekker, p. 345b: ἐν ᾧ Διὸς ὑψίστου ἀγιάτατον ἱερὸν. Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 222. On the earlier and later history of the worship on Gerizim, see Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 434.—The flourishing condition of Hellenistic culture and religion in Neapolis is also proved by a marble basis of a tripod recently found there. On the relief of this marble are represented the battles of the gods and the heroes, especially of Theseus and Hercules. According to an inscription discovered there, the tripod, probably also the marble basis, had been brought by the founder from Athens. See *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vi. 230 f., vii. 136 f.

^{12b} See the inscription of the time of Marcus Aurelius in Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. 2, n. 1620b, communicated literally and in full in Div. II. vol. i. p. 24.

¹³ Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 328 sq.—For the literature on Capitolias, which possibly may be identical with Raphana, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 106.—Capitolias is mentioned in Ptolemy, v. 15. 22; *Itinerarium Antonini*, ed. Wesseling, pp. 196 sq., 198; *Tabula Peutinger. Hieroclis Synecdem.* ed. Wesseling, p. 720; *Geogr. Ravennas*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, p. 84; Acts of Councils in Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, iii. 715 sq.; Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 941 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 210; *ibid.* t. x. n. 532; *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. iv. p. 331 (*D II.*), t. v. pp. 211–398; coins from Marcus Aurelius down to Macrinus.—Many (e.g. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung*, ii. 372) erroneously refer to our Capitolias the notice of the jurist Paulus in *Digest.* l. 15. 8. 7: *similes his Capitulenses esse videntur*, i.e. like Caesarea, which, as a colony, had not the full *jus Italicum*. Capitolias was, according to the coins, *αὐτόνομος*, and therefore not a Roman colony. Paulus means *Aelia Capitolina*, that is, Jerusalem, as the parallel passage in Ulpian (*Digest.* l. 15. 1. 6) proves: "In Palestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra jus Italicum habet." The correct view is given in Noris, *Annus epochae Syromacedonum*, iii. 9. 4, ed. Lips. 326; Deyling, *Observationes*

site of Jerusalem, the history of which is given below in the account of the war. Other new foundings of Palestinian cities belong to a period later than that of which we treat such as that of Diocaesarea = Sepphoris (known under its new name from the time of Antonius Pius, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 136), Diospolis = Lydda, Eleutheropolis (both under Septimius Severus),¹⁴ Nicopolis = Emmaus (under Helio-gabulus).

The destruction of Jerusalem brought about a violent revolution in the inner life of the Jewish people. No longer a Sanhedrim and no longer a sacrificial service,—the loss of those two great institutions was of itself sufficient to produce a profound change in the conditions of Jewish life. But it has first of all to be established that the sacrificial service actually did cease.¹⁵ Not only the Epistle to the Hebrews, the date of the composition of which is uncertain, but also Clement of Rome and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, who undoubtedly wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, speak as if in their time the Jewish sacrificial worship was still maintained.¹⁶ And Josephus also expresses himself quite to the same effect. Not only where he describes the Jewish sacrificial worship in accordance with the Old Testament,¹⁷ but also where he apparently speaks of the customs and practices of his own time, he employs the present

sacrae, v. 475 ; but Deyling erroneously names Noris as maintaining the contrary opinion.

¹⁴ Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, p. 553.

¹⁵ Compare the careful demonstration in Friedmann and Grätz, "Die angebliche Fortdauer des jüdischen Opfercultus nach der Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels" (*Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1848, pp. 338–371).—Against them : Friedenthal in *Fürst's Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1849, col. 328–322.—Against him again : Friedmann in *Literaturblatt*, 401, 433, 465, 534, 548.—In reply : Friedenthal, *Literaturblatt*, 492, 524, 573, 702.—Derenbourg, *Historie de la Palestine*, pp. 480–483.

¹⁶ Clemens Romanus, c. 41 ; *Epist. ad Diognetum*, c. 3.

¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 9–10.

tense.¹⁸ It is indeed the fact that when speaking of the sacrifices for the Roman people and for the Roman emperor he makes use of this mode of expression, although this was purely a later custom, and was not a prescription of the Old Testament.¹⁹ Besides this, we have also scattered allusions in the rabbinical literature, which seem to indicate the continuance of the sacrificial service after A.D. 70.²⁰ It is not to be wondered at that many on the basis of such material should have maintained the continuance of the sacrificial worship. In itself this was quite a possible thing. In an interesting passage in the Mishna,²¹ R. Joshua testifies: "I have heard that one ought to present sacrifice even if there be no temple; that one should eat that which is sanctified [on this see Division II. vol. i. p. 236], even though there be no wall around the court; that one may eat what is holy in a lower degree [see on this Division II. vol. i. p. 240] and the second tithe, even if there should be no wall around Jerusalem; for the first consecration has sanctified, not only for its own time, but for all future time." It was not therefore in utter opposition to the views of the Rabbis that men should continue after the destruction of the temple to offer sacrifices in holy places. But as a matter of fact this was not done. In the enumeration of the unfortunate days of Israel it is distinctly said that on 17th Thammuz the daily

¹⁸ Josephus, *Treatise against Apion*, ii. 23.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Treatise against Apion*, ii. 6, *s. fin.*: "facimus autem pro eis continua sacrificia; et non solum quotidianis diebus ex impensa communi omnium Judaeorum talia celebramus, verum solis imperatoribus hunc honorem praecipuum pariter exhibemus."

²⁰ The most deserving of attention is *Pesachim* vii. 2, where the question is discussed whether one should roast the paschal lamb on a gridiron. "R. Zadok said: Once Rabban Gamaliel spoke to his slave Tabi: Go and roast us the paschal lamb on the gridiron." Since a slave Tabi is elsewhere named as servant of Gamaliel the second, about A.D. 90-110 (*Berachoth* ii. 7; *Succa* ii. 1), it would seem that this later Gamaliel is the one intended in this place.

²¹ *Edujoth* viii. 6.

sacrifice was abolished (בְּטֵל הַזֶּהֱבִיר),²² while there is nowhere any reference made to its restoration. In the description of the Passover in the Mishna, the enumeration of the dishes that had to be set upon the table is concluded with the remark: "During the time that the temple was standing the Passover offering also was served."²³ This implies that after the destruction of the temple it was no longer offered. In speaking of the legal enactments for determining the new moon it is said: "So long as the temple remained standing those who had seen the new moon were allowed to violate the Sabbath by going to Jerusalem, in order to testify thereto, for the sake of the observance of the sacrifice on the festival of the new moon."²⁴ The harmonious testimony of those passages of the Mishna is confirmed by others in the Babylonian Talmud of a character yet more direct, if that were possible, which assume even in regard to the times of Rabban Jochanan ben Saccai, Rabban Gamaliel II. and R. Ishmael, *i.e.* the first decade after the destruction of the temple, that the whole sacrificial worship had ceased.²⁵ Finally, Justin also appears as a witness on behalf of this view. He says to his opponent Trypho: "God never appointed the Passover to be offered except in the place where His name was to be called upon, knowing that after the passion of Christ the days would come, when even Jerusalem would be given over to our enemies, and all sacrifices should cease."²⁶ And in another passage Trypho himself says in answer to Justin's question as to whether it was not then still possible to observe all the commands of Moses: "By no means, for we know well that it

²² *Taanith* iv. 6. Compare what is said above, p. 242.

²³ *Pesachim* x. 3.

²⁴ *Rosh hashana* i. 4.

²⁵ *Rosh hashana* 31^b, *Pesachim* 72^b, *Sebachim* 60^b, in Friedmann and Grätz, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1848, p. 349 ff.

²⁶ Justin, *Dialogus cum Trypho*, c. 40: εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑμῶν παραδοθήσεται καὶ παύσονται ἅπασαι ἀπλῶς προσφοραὶ γινόμεναι.

is not allowable to slay the paschal lamb nor the goats for the Day of Atonement, nor generally to present any of the other offerings in any other place.”²⁷—If, then, Christian writers and Josephus, even long after the destruction of the temple, still speak of the presenting of sacrifices in the present tense, they only describe thereby what is still allowable, but a right that was no longer actually exercised. Precisely the same view is presented in the Mishna from the first page to the last, for all institutions that are legally correct are described as existing customs, even although their observance owing to the circumstances of the time was impossible.²⁸

Two facts, therefore, of the highest importance and most widely influential are well established: the abolition of the Sanhedrim and the cessation of the sacrificial worship.²⁹ In the Sanhedrim there had been embodied the last remnant of the political independence of Judaism, and consequently also the last remnant of the power of the Sadducean nobles. The influence of the Sadducean nobility even since the times of Alexandra had been waning before the advancing strength of the Pharisees. They still managed, however, to exert a very considerable influence so long as the Sanhedrim continued to exist. For the jurisdiction of that aristocratic senate of Judea was down to the time of the procurators pretty extensive, and at its head stood the Sadducean high

²⁷ Justin, *Dialogus cum Trypho*, c. 46: Οὐ γνωρίζομεν γὰρ ὅτι, ὡς ἔφης, οὔτε πρόβατον τοῦ πάσχα ἀλλαχόσε θύειν δυνατόν οὔτε τοὺς τῇ νηστείᾳ κελευσθέντας προσφέρειν χιμάρους οὔτε τὰς ἄλλας ἀπλῶς ἀπάσας προσφοράς.

²⁸ In the statement about Gamaliel and his slave Tabi it is indeed Gamaliel I. that is intended, and the name of Tabi has crept in by mistake. It may, however, be conjectured that Tabi as a youth had served the grandfather and as an old man the grandson (so Derenbourg), or that the name Tabi had come to be hereditary in the family of the slave just as Gamaliel in the family of the master (so Friedmann and Grätz).

²⁹ On the suppression of the Sanhedrim, see also *Sota* ix. 11, quoted literally in Div. II. vol. i. p. 173.

priest. With the destruction of Jerusalem this Jewish council was immediately brought to an end; the Roman provincial constitution was enforced in a stricter form. With the disappearance of the Sanhedrim, Sadduceanism also disappears from history.—The overthrow of the city, however, led also to the suppression of the sacrificial worship, and therewith the gradual recession of the priesthood from public life. This was only carried out by degrees. It could not for a long time be believed that the disastrous circumstances in which the people were placed were to continue. It seemed to be only a question of the time when the priests should be able again to resume their services. Naturally, all dues were exacted after as well as before the catastrophe. Only the taxes which had been contributed directly for the maintenance of the temple and of the public sacrifices were declared by the Rabbins to be suspended. The contribution devoted to the personal support of the priests continued after as well as before a duty according to the law, and where there were priests, were given over directly to them.³⁰ But notwithstanding all this, the priesthood, now that it could no longer perform its service, lost its importance. It was a memorial

³⁰ *Shekalim* viii. 8: "The Shekalim or tax of two drachmas and the Bikkurim or first-fruits of the produce of the fields were presented only while the temple stood, but the tithe of the grain and the tithe of the cattle and the first-born were presented all the same, whether the temple stood or not."—These three imposts are here mentioned only by way of example as the most important. There remained in force, e.g. also the Teruma (*Bikkurim* ii. 3) and the tax of the three pieces of the slaughtered victims, namely, the right fore-leg, the cheeks, and the stomach (*Chullin* x. 1). Further details on all these imposts are given in Div. II. vol. i. pp. 230–236.—The priest's due of the right shoulder is witnessed to as a custom of his time by the Emperor Julian in Cyrill. *adv. Julian*, p. 306 A: καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὄμω διδόναι ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, where it is not to be translated as by Neumann (*Kaiser Julians Bücher gegen die Christen*, 1880, p. 39) "the right shoulder," but "the right fore-leg," for it rests not upon Lev. vii. 32, but upon Deut. xviii. 3. Compare also Friedmann and Grätz, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1848, p. 359 ff.

of a past age, which indeed, as time went on, sank more and more into obscurity and decay.

The Pharisees and the Rabbis now entered into the heritage of the Sadducees and priests. They had an admirable preparation for entering upon this heritage. During two centuries they had been making steady progress toward dominant power. And now for a time they entered upon the enjoyment of absolute sovereignty. The overthrow of Jerusalem means nothing more or less than the passing over of the people to Pharisaism and the Rabbis; for the factors which had hitherto stood in opposition to these had now sunk into utter insignificance.

After the overthrow of Jerusalem, Jamnia (Jabne) seems in a special way to have become a centre of literary activity. There, during the first decade after the destruction of the temple, wrought Rabban Jochanan ben Saccai, and, at the end of the first and beginning of the second century, Rabban Gamaliel II., gathering around them a whole band of scholars. The most celebrated of the contemporaries of Gamaliel were R. Josua ben Chananja and R. Elieser ben Hyrcanus, the latter of whom had his residence at Lydda. Younger contemporaries and pupils of these men were R. Ishmael, R. Akiba, and R. Tarphon. See in regard to all these scholars and their contemporaries, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 366-379.

By these men and by their numerous colleagues and scholars, the interpretation of the law was carried on with greater zeal than ever. It was as though, after the political overthrow, the whole strength of the nation had concentrated itself upon the care of the law as its own highest and proper task. Everything pertaining to it, the criminal and the civil law, and the manifold religious statutes and ordinances, were dealt with by these scholars with painful particularity, and drilled into the memories of the scholars by their teachers.

It did not matter in the least whether the circumstances of the time allowed these ordinances to be put in practice or not. All the minutiae of the temple service, the entire ritual of the sacrificial worship, were discussed as diligently and as earnestly as the laws of purifying, the Sabbath commandment, and other religious duties, the observance of which was still possible. There is nothing so fitted to produce before us a lively picture of the faith of the people in their future as the conscientiousness with which the prescriptions about the temple service and the sacrificial worship were treated by the guardians of the law. The time of desolation might continue for a longer or shorter period, but once again the day of restoration would surely dawn. And hence, in the cataloguing by the scribes in the second century of the Jewish law in the *corpus juris* or Mishna, there are included a topography of the temple in the tract *Middoth* and a description of the distribution of the priests in the daily service in the tract *Tamid*. Their descendants, to whom was to be granted the privilege of a restored worship, were to be told how it had previously been conducted in the days of the fathers.

The scholars who after this fashion cared for the highest interests of Israel formed now even more exclusively and unrestrictedly than before the rank of the highest authorities among the people. The priests, who had previously been the most influential in the direction and practice of religious duties, were now relegated to a condition of inactivity. All the energies of the pious had now to be restricted to the doing of that which the Rabbins prescribed to them. There was no need of any external compulsion. Whatever the most distinguished teachers had laid down was regarded by the pious without any further question as obligatory. Indeed, they were not only recognised as lawgivers in spiritual and temporal things, but in all matters of dispute they were appealed to as judges, even in questions of *meum* and *tuum*.

During this period it was indeed no uncommon occurrence to see, *e.g.*, R. Akiba, purely by means of his spiritual authority, condemning a man to pay 400 denarii compensation, because he had on the street uncovered his head to a woman.³¹

The court of law at Jamnia enjoyed the highest reputation toward the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century after Christ, a college of learned men, which can scarcely have had any formal recognition from the Roman authorities, but yet actually stepped into the place of the old Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, as the supreme court of law for Israel. The enactments passed by Rabban Jochanan ben Saccai in Jamnia after the destruction of the temple, in order to adapt certain legal requirements to the altered circumstance of the times, were regarded as binding.³² Rabban Gamaliel II. and his court of justice watched over the correct reckoning of the contents of the calendar. To its decisions the elder R. Josua submitted, even if he considered them to be erroneous.³³ As a rule the decisions on points of law issuing from Jamnia were treated as constituting the authoritative standard.³⁴ Indeed, the succession of Jamnia to the privileges of Jerusalem was so generally acquiesced in, that where this was not the case, it was pointed to as an exception to the rule.³⁵ Even in regard to the number of members, they seem to have copied the pattern of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem. At least there occurs in one place a statement to the effect that "the seventy-two elders" appointed as presi-

³¹ *Baba kamma* viii. 6.

³² *Sukka* iii. 12; *Rosh hashana* iv. 1, 3, 4; *Menachoth* x. 5. Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 304 sq.

³³ *Rosh hashana* ii. 8-9.—According to *Edujoth* vii. 7, once in Gamaliel's absence the year was declared to be an intercalary year, on the condition that he would confirm this opinion when he returned.

³⁴ *Kelim* v. 4; *Para* vii. 6. Compare also *Bechoroth* iv. 5, vi. 8 (how they were wont to do in Jamnia in making inspection of the first-born).

³⁵ *Sanhedrin* xi. 4; *Rosh hashana* iv. 2

dent R. Eleasar ben Asariah.^{35a}—We may assume that this court of justice at Jamnia was voluntarily accepted by the Jewish people as authoritative, not only in the domain of the ceremonial law, but also in the domain of the civil and criminal law. In reference to the civil law it may indeed have received actual authorization, in accordance with the general procedure in legislation. For the Roman legislation, so far as we can understand it, recognised the authority of the Jewish communities in the Dispersion to administer the law in civil suits among their countrymen, wherever the contending parties chose to bring their disputes before their own communal court.³⁶ But in criminal matters this jurisdiction bore the character of a usurped authority, rather than of one conferred by the emperor. Origen very vividly, and at the same time authentically, describes to us the state of matters which then prevailed. In vindicating the story of Susanna and Daniel, he endeavours to prove that the Jews might quite well have had their own judicatories during the Babylonian exile. In proof of this he refers to the state of matters in Palestine in his own days, of which he knew from his own observation. The power of the Jewish Ethnarch (so Origen designates him) is so great, that he is in no respect different from a king (*ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν βασιλεύοντος τοῦ ἔθνους*). "There are also secret legal proceedings in accordance with the law, and many are condemned to death without any general authority having been obtained for the exercise of such functions, and without any attempt to conceal such

^{35a} *Sebachim* i. 3 ; *Jadajim* iii. 5, iv. 2. Compare Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 370, 372.

³⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 17 ; *Codex Theodosianus*, ii. 1. 10 : *ex consensu partium in civili duntaxat negotio*. Compare Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 263, 269.—According to *Edujoth* vii. 7, Gamaliel II. once made a journey to the governor (Hegemon) of Syria (it should be "of Judea") "in order to obtain a permission from him" (למול רשות מהגמון בסוריא). It is possible it had to do with an investiture, or extension, or execution of legislative functions.

doings from the governor.”⁸⁷ This was the state of matters during the third century. In the first decades after the destruction of Jerusalem, they would not have ventured to go so far. Yet this was the direction in which things were tending.—To this Jewish central court in Palestine, whose president subsequently received the title of Patriarch, were also paid the contributions of the Jews of the Dispersion, so far as these continued to be collected after the destruction of the temple. At least for the period of the later days of the empire this can be proved to demonstration. In this matter also the Rabbis take the place of the priests. For previously the contributions were cast into the central treasury of the priests at Jerusalem. It was now a rabbinical board which made the collection by means of their *apostoli*, and superintended its proper distribution. See Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 269, 288.

All zeal for the law of their fathers in this later time, at least among the great majority of the pious, had its motive power in the belief in a glorious future for the nation. Such was the case even before the great catastrophe; and so it continued in a yet more exaggerated degree after that terrible event. If now, more zealously than ever, the people occupied themselves with the scrupulous fulfilment of the commandments of God, certainly the most powerful motive working in this direction was the wish to render themselves thereby worthy of the future glory in which they so confidently believed. In regard to this religious movement during the first decades after the overthrow of the holy city, the Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra, which had their origin in that very period, afford us a lively as well as an authentic picture. On these Apocalypses see Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 83–114. The immediate consequence of the terrible slaughter was

⁸⁷ Origen, *Epistola ad Africanum*, § 14. given literally in Div. II. vol. i. p. 173.

indeed a profound and paralyzing shock to the feelings. How could God permit this disaster to befall His own chosen people? But this grand mystery was only a particular instance of the universal mystery: How is the misfortune of the righteous generally and the good fortune of the unrighteous possible? Through the darkness of this latter problem the pious consciousness of Israel had long ago successfully struggled. So now also a satisfactory answer was soon found. It is a chastisement which God has inflicted upon His people because of their sin. It has its own appointed time. When the people by means of it shall have learned righteousness, the promised day of redemption will soon dawn for them. This is the fundamental idea of both of these apocalypses, and their purpose is to comfort the people in their distress, to inspire them with courage and with holy zeal by visions of the redemption that will come to them surely and soon. The confident belief in this future was therefore only intensified, confirmed, and inflamed by the sore sufferings and sad disasters of the time. Out of the grief for the overthrow of the sanctuary, the Messianic hope drew new nourishment, new strength. This was also, from a political point of view, important, and productive of serious consequences. For this Messianic hope was a wonderful blending of religious and political ideals. The political aspirations of the nation had never been abandoned, and the element of danger just lay in the combination of them with religious motives. The political freedom of the nation, which the people longed for, was now represented as the end of the ways of God. The more firmly this was believed, the more readily did the people set out of view the cool calculations of what is humanly possible, the bolder became their resolve to dare even the impossible. It was this feeling which even in the time of Nero had broken out in rebellion. In it there also still lay hidden elements that yet would lead to new and frightful catastrophes.

Under the emperors of the Flavian dynasty (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, down to A.D. 96) there does not seem to have been any more serious development of these tendencies. Sufficient occasion, however, was presented for giving expression to those already present. For the command to contribute what had been the temple-tax to the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome (see above, p. 255), was an outrage upon the religious sensibilities of the Jews, which every year, on the levying of the tax, must afresh have roused the feeling of resentment. Under Domitian this tax was levied with great strictness, as generally this emperor posed as a decided enemy of the Jews, and conversion to Judaism was punished by the imposition of severe penalties.³⁸

Eusebius speaks of an actual persecution of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, even during Vespasian's reign, referring to Hegesippus as his authority. Vespasian, as well as Domitian and Trajan, is said by Hegesippus to have hunted for and executed all Jews of the house of David with great rigour, in order that the royal family, on which the Jews rested their hopes, should be rooted out.³⁹ This order led to a great persecution of the Jews under Vespasian.⁴⁰ We have no longer any means of determining how far this story is historical. It can scarcely be altogether without foundation, for that a Messiah descending from the house of David was expected is beyond dispute. The existence, therefore, of descendants of David might actually be looked upon as a source of political danger. This "persecution," however, cannot have been of

³⁸ Enforcement of the tax, Suetonius, *Domitian*, 12; prohibition of conversions to Judaism, Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 14. Both passages are quoted in full in Div. II. vol. ii. p. 267.

³⁹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 12 (Vespasian); *ibid.* iii. 19-20 (Domitian); *ibid.* iii. 32. 3-4 (Trajan); reference being made in all cases to Hegesippus.

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 12: Οὐεσπασιανὸν μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαβὶδ . . . ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάξει, μέγιστός τε Ἰουδαίους αὐθις ἐκ ταύτης διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθῆναι τῆς αἰτίας.

great dimensions and importance, since it is not taken notice of by any other writer.—Whether political uprisings occurred in Judea under Domitian is certainly very questionable. From certain hints in a military diploma of A.D. 86, some have supposed that such disturbances must have taken place. Meanwhile, these conclusions have not by any means been satisfactorily proved. See above, p. 259.—On the other hand, the outbursts which occurred, first outside of Judea and afterwards in Judea itself, under Trajan and Hadrian spread widely, and led to scenes of terrible violence.

2. THE WAR UNDER TRAJAN, A.D. 115–117.

SOURCES.

DIO CASSIUS, lxxviii. 32.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq.

OROSIUS, vii. 12, almost wholly according to Jerome's Latin reproduction of the Chronicle of Eusebius.

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SCHILLER, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 2 (1883), p. 561 f.

MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. v. (1885) pp. 542-544. Compare p. 397 ff.

Trajan, during the last years of his life, A.D. 114-117, was incessantly occupied in bold expeditions of conquest in the farthest eastern parts of the empire.⁴¹ While he was, in A.D. 115, engaged in the conquest of Mesopotamia, the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, "as if driven along by the wild spirit of revolution, began to make riots against the non-Jewish inhabitants of the land."⁴² The rebellion reached such dimensions in the following year, A.D. 116, that it assumed the character of a formal war.⁴³ The Roman governor of Egypt, M. Rutilius

⁴¹ On Trajan's wars in the East, compare, besides the above-named works of Volkmar, H. Francke, *Zur Geschichte Trajan's* (2 Ausg. 1840), pp. 249-300; Dierauer, "Beiträge zu einer kritischen Geschichte Trajan's," pp. 152-186 (in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*, Bd. i. 1868); De la Berge, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan* (Paris 1877), pp. 149-190; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 2 (1883) pp. 555-563; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 397 ff.; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer* (1888), pp. 140-146.

⁴² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2: "Εν τε γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ προσέτι κατὰ Κυρήνην ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινὸς καὶ στασιῶδους ἀναρρίπισθέντες ὤρμητο πρὸς τοὺς συνοίκους Ἕλληνας στασιάζειν. —With reference to the war in Egypt, the oldest witness, though very brief, is Appian, *Civ.* ii. 90. Appian there relates how that Caesar had dedicated a sanctuary at Alexandria to the memory of Pompey; and then proceeds: ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρεΐφθη.—Undoubtedly the reference is to this period in a fragment of Appian in which he tells how he had been obliged to flee from Egypt at the time of the war with the Jews (*Revue archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, t. xix. 1869, pp. 101-110 = Müller, *Fragmenta hist. graec.* (v. 1, p. lxxv.).

⁴³ The chronology is not quite certain. Dierauer and Schiller assume

Lupus, seems not to have been aware of the strength of the Jews. In an engagement the rebel Jews conquered the "Greeks," and compelled them to fly to Alexandria. There,

for the Jewish revolt only the one year A.D. 117; Mommsen, the years 116-117; Clinton (*Fasti Romani*, t. i.), de la Berge, and others, the years 115-117 (the first beginning in 115, and extending more widely in 116). The latter view is the correct one. For Eusebius, not only in his *Chronicon*, whose dates are often quite arbitrarily given (*Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164, *ad ann. Abr.* 2131), but also in his *Church History*, definitely characterizes the eighteenth year of Trajan as the time when the revolt began (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2: ἥδη γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτωκαίδεκατον ἐλαύνοντος, αὐθις Ἰουδαίων κινήσεις ἐπαναστάσα κ.τ.λ.). But the eighteenth year of Trajan reaches from the end of January 115 down to the end of January 116. (On the day of Nerva's death, see Dierauer, p. 27 f.) In the following year, that is, 116, and, indeed, while Lupus was governor of Egypt, the rebellion assumed larger proportions (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2: αὐξήσαντές τε εἰς μέγα τὴν στάσιν τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πόλεμον οὐ μικρὸν συνῆψαν, ἡγουμένου τῆνικαῦτα Λούπου τῆς ἀπάσης Αἰγύπτου).—The correctness of this statement is confirmed by the chronology of the governors of Egypt, which for these years can be determined with tolerable accuracy (comp. Franz in *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* t. iii. p. 312).

(1) On the inscription of a temple in the oasis of Thebes, M. Rutilius Lupus is referred to as governor of Egypt during the nineteenth year of Trajan, i.e. A.D. 116 (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, i. 120 sq. = *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4948: ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ρουτιλίου Λούπου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου . . . Λ' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ . . . παχὼν λ'; the date corresponds to the 24th May A.D. 116).

(2) In order to quell the rebellion in Cyrene and Egypt, Trajan sent Marcius Turbo (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2). That this man is to be regarded as governor of Egypt, is proved from the circumstance that the governor of Cyrene had no army; Turbo, therefore, can have fought against the rebels in those quarters only as governor of Egypt. From Spartian's *Vita Hadriani*, however, we know positively that Hadrian subsequently assigned Dacia to him *titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae*, i.e. with permission to retain the honorary rank of governor of Egypt (Spartian, *Hadrian*, c. 7; compare Letronne, i. 164). Turbo was therefore the successor of Lupus, and that during the time of Trajan, A.D. 117.

(3) Eight months and a half after Trajan's death, i.e. in April A.D. 118, Rammius Martialis is described on an inscription as governor of Egypt (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions*, i. 153, n. xvi. = *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4713 f.: ἐπὶ Ῥαμμίῳ Μαρτιάλῃ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου . . . β' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ . . . Φαρμουθὶ κη'; the date corresponds to 23rd April A.D. 118).—Marcius Turbo had therefore been recalled at the

in the capital, the Greeks had decidedly the upper hand, and the Jews residing there were seized and slain.⁴⁴

Still more furiously did the Jews in Cyrene conduct themselves. Of the cruelties which the Jews there perpetrated upon their non-Jewish fellow-inhabitants a dreadful picture is presented by Dio Cassius. They ate their flesh, besmeared themselves with their blood, sawed them through from above downward, or gave them for food to the wild beasts. The number of the murdered is said to have been as many as 220,000.⁴⁵ Though here, certainly, the pen has been directed by the most extravagant fancy, the extent and importance of latest in the beginning of A.D. 118 (compare also Spartian, *Hadrian*, 5. "Marcio Turbone Judaeis compressis ad deprimentum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato"). But since he had quelled the rebellion *πολλαῖς μάχαις ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ* (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2), his period of office must have filled up the year 117. This is also confirmation of the view that the decided victory of the rebels over Lupus is to be put down to the year 116, and the first beginning of the revolt to the year 115.

⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (at the eighteenth year of Trajan, 2131 Abr.); Orosius, vii. 12: "In Alexandria autem commisso proelio victi et adriti sunt." Compare also Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald.* col. 99, s.v. אֲלֶכְסַנְדְּרִיָּא; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, pp. 410–412; Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud* (1880), p. 125 f.—In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is remarked on the first year of Hadrian that this emperor restored Alexandria that had been destroyed by the Jews (or Romans?). See Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq., according to the Armenian: "Adrianus Alexandriam ■ Judaeis subversam restauravit;" according to Jerome: "Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis [sic] subversam publicis instauravit expensis." The city must therefore have suffered severely, even though it might not have been, strictly speaking, "destroyed." See, on the other side, Münter, pp. 19–23. The conjecture of Mommsen, that the statement did not originally stand in the text of Eusebius, and was only introduced by a misunderstanding of the Armenian and Latin translators (*Römische Geschichte*, v. 543) in presence of the agreement of the two, is not tenable.

⁴⁵ Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 32. Compare Orosius, vii. 12: "Incredibili deinde motu sub uno tempore Judaei, quasi rabie efferati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt: quae adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est, ut nisi postea Hadrianus imperator collectas illuc aliunde colonias deduxisset, vacua penitus terra, abraso habitatore, mansisset. Aegyptum vero totam et Cyrenen et Thebaidam cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt."

the revolt are beyond all dispute. The leader of the Jewish population of Cyrene, whom they proclaimed as their king, is called by Eusebius, Lukuas, by Dio Cassius, Andrew.⁴⁶

To suppress this revolt Trajan sent one of his best generals, Marcius Turbo.⁴⁷ By means of long-continued and persistent fighting (*πολλαῖς μάχαις ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ*) he brought the war to an end, and slew many thousands of the Jews, not only of Cyrene, but also those of Egypt, who had attached themselves to their "king" Lukuas.⁴⁸

The outbreak had also spread to the island of Cyprus. Under the leadership of a certain Artemio, the Jews there imitated the example of their co-religionists of Cyrene, and murdered 24,000 non-Jewish inhabitants of the island.⁴⁹ The very capital, Salamis, was laid waste by them.⁵⁰ In regard to the suppression of the revolt we have no information. The consequence of it was that henceforth no Jew was

⁴⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

⁴⁷ According to an inscription at Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, his full name was Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus (Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 831 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1462). The same, but incomplete, occurs in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 4243. — After the suppression of the Jewish revolt by Hadrian, Marcius Turbo became successively governor of Mauretania, Pannonia, Dacia (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 5 *fin.* 6 *fin.* 7), was appointed *praefectus praetorio* (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 9; Dio Cassius, lxix. 18; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1462), and is described as one of the most active men of Hadrian's time (Dio Cassius, lxix. 18; *Frontonis epistulae*, ed. Naber, p. 165), but who, as many of his like had done, fell under the suspicion and awakened the dislike of Hadrian (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 15).

⁴⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2.—According to Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq.; Orosius, vii. 12, the revolt had also extended into the Thebaid.

⁴⁹ Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

⁵⁰ Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (on the nineteenth year of Trajan, 2132 Abr.). According to the Armenian: "Salamina Cypri insulae urbem Iudaei adorti sunt et Graecos, quos ibi nacti sunt, trucidarunt, urbemque a fundamentis subverterunt." According to the Greek in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 657: *Τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῆς Κύπρου Ἕλληνας Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν.*—Orosius, vii. 12: "Sane Salaminam, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt."

allowed to appear upon the island; and if through stress of weather any Jew should happen to be cast upon its coasts, he was put to death.⁵¹

Finally, when Trajan had pressed on as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire, the Jews of Mesopotamia in his rear had become disturbed. Such a disturbance there upon the very frontier of the empire was a most serious affair. Trajan gave orders to the Moorish prince Lusius Quietus, who was at the same time a Roman general, to sweep the rebels out of the province (*ἐκκαθάραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτούς*). With barbarous cruelty Quietus executed his commission. Thousands of Jews were put to death. Thus was order restored, and Quietus, in recognition of his services, was appointed governor of Palestine.⁵²

The Jewish revolt was not, it would seem, finally suppressed until the beginning of Hadrian's reign in A.D. 117. At least Eusebius speaks of disturbances in Alexandria which Hadrian had to quell;⁵³ and the biographer of Hadrian states that Palestine also had taken its share in the rebellion.⁵⁴ In any case, however, perfect quiet seems to have been restored in the first year of Hadrian.

⁵¹ Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

⁵² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (on the eighteenth year of Trajan, 2131 Abr.); Orosius, vii. 12; Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32 (who also gives many personal details about Quietus).—On Lusius Quietus compare also what is said above at p. 262. His name seems at an early date to have been corrupted in the text of the Chronicle of Eusebius, for Jerome has Lysias Quietus, and Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, i. 657), *Λυσίας Κύρτος*. The correct form is given in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ed. Heini-chen, Dio Cassius, ed. Dindorf, and Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 5.

⁵³ Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (on the 1st year of Hadrian, 2133 Abr.). According to the Armenian: "Adrianus Judaeos subegit ter [tertio] contra Romanos rebellantes." According to Jerome: "Hadrianus Judaeos capit secundo contra Romanos rebellantes." According to Syn-cellus: "Ἀδριανὸς Ἰουδαίους κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρίαν στασιάζοντας ἐκόλασεν,

⁵⁴ Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 5: "Lycia denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant.

It is very doubtful indeed whether Palestine generally had any share in the rebellion. This is maintained by Volkmar and Grätz in the interest of their conception of the Book of Judith, which they place in this period; but it has been rightly contested by Lipsius and others.⁵⁵ Rabbinical tradition makes mention distinctly of a "war of Quietus," פּוֹלְמוֹם שֶׁל קִיטוֹס;⁵⁶ but there is nothing to oblige us to understand by this any other than the well-known war of Quietus in Mesopotamia. In *Megillath, Taanith* § 29, the 12th Adar is designated the "day of Trajan," יוֹם טוֹרְיָנוֹס,⁵⁷ and the commentary upon this passage remarks that this day was celebrated in commemoration of the following incident:⁵⁸ Two brothers, Julianus and Pappus,

⁵⁵ Volkmar, *Theolog. Jahrbücher*, 1857, pp. 441–498, and especially, *Das Buch Judith* (1860), pp. 56 ff., 64 ff., 83 ff., 90 ff. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 439 ff. On the other side, see Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 81–111. On the subject generally, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1858, p. 270 ff., and 1861, p. 338 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 405; Fritzsche in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iii. 448 ff.; Renan, *Les évangiles*, p. 509; Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, (3 Aufl. 1884), pp. 27, 35–38.

⁵⁶ Mishna, *Sota* ix. 14, and *Seder Olam. sub fin.* In both passages, instead of the common reading of the text, פּוֹלְמוֹם שֶׁל מִיטוֹם, we should read: פּוֹלְמוֹם שֶׁל קִיטוֹס. See Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 439 ff.; Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 83–90; Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 97–104. Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 404 f.; Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 1877, pp. 141–144.—In the Mishna passages קִיטוֹם is the reading in: (1) a manuscript of the Royal Library at Berlin (*MSS. Or. fol.* 567, previously in private hands; it is the same to which Grätz had referred). (2) The Cambridge Manuscript, edited by Lowe in 1883 (*University Additional*, 470. 1). In the passage from the *Seder Olam*, this same reading is found in an old manuscript collated by Azariah de Rossi. See Grätz in the work above quoted. In the latter passage this reading is also required by the context; for there are, according to it, fifty-two years to be reckoned between the war of Vespasian and the war of the קִיטוֹם, and from that to the war of Ben-Cosiba (Bar-Cochba), 16 years. Also in the Mishna passage the war of the קִיטוֹם follows upon the war of Vespasian, and then after that "the last war," i.e. that of Bar-Cochba.

⁵⁷ Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 443, 446. On the forms of the name טוֹרְיָנוֹס, טִירְיוֹן, etc., see Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 408.

⁵⁸ See Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 406 f.; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. p. 445 ff.; Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 90–100; Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1859, pp. 104–110.

were arrested by Trajan at Laodicea, when the emperor called out to them in mockery: Let your God now save you as he saved Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. The two brothers replied that neither he nor they were worthy of having such a miracle wrought, but that God would indeed require their blood of him if he slew them. But before Trajan left that place, an order came from Rome, in consequence of which he was put to death. This fable, which deserves no attention whatever, as it proceeds on the assumption that Trajan was only a subordinate officer, is now forsooth offered as the principal evidence regarding the war of Trajan in Palestine! But it should be observed that even in it there is no mention either of a war or of Judea, but expressly of Laodicea.⁵⁹—The one thing that seems to favour Volkmar's view is the statement of Spartian above referred to, according to which, in the beginning of Hadrian's reign, Palestine *rebelles animos efferebat*. From this statement, indeed, it would seem to have been not altogether in a quiet condition. But it can hardly have gone the length of an actual war. Otherwise our original authorities would have given a more circumstantial account of it.

3. THE GREAT REBELLION UNDER HADRIAN, A.D. 132-135.

SOURCES.

DIO CASSIUS, lxi. 12-14.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6; *Chronicon*, ed Schoene, ii. 166-169.

On Aristo of Pella, see vol. i. of this work, pp. 69-72.

Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 412-438. A collection of the rabbinical texts which refer to the history of Beth-ther is given in Lebrecht, *Bether*, pp. 43-50; comp. also p. 20 f.

On the coins, see Appendix IV.

⁵⁹ At the basis of the legend there may lie probably an obscure reminiscence of the fact that Lusius Quietus, the oppressor of the Jews, was recalled by Hadrian, and subsequently executed (Spartian, *Hadrian*. ■ and 7).

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- GREGOROVIVS, "Die Gründung der römischen Colonie Aelia Capitolina" (*Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, pp. 477-508).
- SCHWARZ, *Der Bar-Kochbaische Aufstand*, Brünn 1885 (worthless ; see Bursian's *Jahresber. der class. Alterthumswissensch.* pp. 48, 282 f.).

A late Jewish legend tells how in the days of Joshua ben Chananiah, that is, in the time of Hadrian, the pagan government had granted authority to proceed with the building of the temple. But the Samaritans had made representations against the enterprise. And in consequence of these the emperor had not indeed withdrawn the permission, but issued a decree that the new building should not be erected precisely on the site of the old temple, which came to the same thing as an actual prohibition. Then the Jews gathered together in factions in the valley of Beth-Rimmon. But R. Joshua, in order to quiet them, told them the story of the lion and the stork: as the stork ought to be glad to have got its head uninjured out of the jaws of the lion, so also ought they to be glad if they were allowed to live in peace under a heathen government.⁶⁰ The historical value of this legend is simply *nil*, and yet it forms the chief ground for the view insisted upon by many modern scholars, that Hadrian had given permission for the rebuilding of the temple, and that the withdrawal of this permission was the real cause of the great Jewish rebellion.⁶¹ In confirmation of this view reference is made to statements by Christian writers. But even these are little calculated to support such a theory. Chrysostom, Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Callistus only say that the Jews in the time of Hadrian had rebelled and made an attempt to rebuild the temple, and that Hadrian put a stop to that undertaking. The *Chronicon Paschale* speaks of a destruction by

⁶⁰ *Bereshith rabba* c. 64. See the passage in the original text, and in a French translation in Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 416 sq. Text and Latin translation in Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 108–111. German in Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Bereschit Rabba* (1881), p. 307 f.

⁶¹ So Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 108 ff., 131 ff.; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 138 ff., 442 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 412 sq.; Neubürger, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1873, p. 433 ff.; Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, iv. 328 f.; Salzer, *Magazin*, iii. 127 ff.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Hadrian."

Hadrian of the temple that had actually been built.⁶² Of a permission to build the temple that had first been given by Hadrian and afterwards withdrawn, there is no mention whatever. The attempt to rebuild the temple was really itself one of the acts of the rebellion. An apparent support for this theory is to be found only in one passage in the Epistle of Barnabas, of which, however, the explanation is uncertain. Barnabas seeks to show that it is not according to God's will that the Jews should continue to observe the law. Their Sabbath is not the true one. "And almost like the heathens have they honoured God in a temple." In order to prove the heathenish character of the Jewish temple, Barnabas, in chap. xvi., quotes the prophecy of Isa. xlix. 17 (LXX.): "Behold, they who have cast down this temple, even they shall build it up again;" and then proceeds, in chap. xvi. 4: "It has so happened. For through their going to war it was destroyed by their enemies; and now they [together with] the servants of their enemies shall rebuild it" (γίνεται διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ [καὶ] οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρεῖται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν). Only if the bracketed καὶ be retained, is the expectation there set forth that now the Jews and the heathens together were to build in common the Jewish temple. By striking out the καὶ the meaning of the sentence becomes this: the heathens themselves build the temple, that is, for heathenish purposes. But on external grounds also the latter reading deserves the preference. Barnabas seems therefore to allude to Hadrian's intention to erect a building for heathen worship.⁶³—Of the

⁶² The passages are collected in Münter, p. 64 f., and Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 131–134. Compare also under note 93.

⁶³ The καὶ is given only in the *Sinaiticus*; in all other texts it is wanting. The explanation given above, that the building was for heathen worship, is supported, for example, by Lipsius in Schenkel's *Bibellektion*, i. 371 f. The words have been understood of the aid given to the Jewish building by the heathens, especially by Volkmar, and that indeed even before

alleged permission given by Hadrian for the rebuilding of the Jewish temple, therefore, we do not meet with any trace when we investigate the causes of the rebellion.⁶⁴ Such permission, at least in the form of active encouragement, is also improbable on internal grounds. For while Hadrian zealously patronized the Greek-Roman religious rites, he looked with contempt upon all foreign superstitions.⁶⁵

Only two accounts of the causes of the great rebellion are worthy of consideration. Spartian says:⁶⁶ "moverunt ea tempestate et Judaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia." Dio Cassius, on the contrary, gives his account thus:⁶⁷ "When Hadrian had founded at Jerusalem a city of his own in place of the one destroyed, which he called Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of their God erected another temple to Jupiter, the great and long-continued war broke out. For the Jews regarded it as a horrible outrage that foreigners should settle in their city, and that temples for strange gods should be built in it." Since Spartian men-

the discovery of the *Sinaiticus*, resting upon the common reading without the *καί* (*Theolog. Jahrbücher*, 1856, pp. 351-361, and elsewhere). He was followed by J. G. Müller, *Erklärung des Barnabasbriefes* (1869), pp. 334-340; Harnack, *Patrum apostolorum, Opera*, i. 2, ed. 2 (1878), pp. lxx.-lxxii., and I myself adopted this view in the first edition of this work. Others explain the words metaphorically of the building of the spiritual temple by the Gentile Christians. So, e.g., Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, 1870, pp. 116-121; *Barnabae epistula*, ed. 2, 1877, pp. 119-123; Wieseler, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1870, pp. 612-614; Riggenbach, *Der sogenannte Brief des Barnabas* (1873), pp. 41-45. But according to the language of the passage it evidently treats of the rebuilding of the actual temple. Barnabas wishes to say: this temple was not better than a heathen temple, as even then it actually was rebuilt by the heathen. Special emphasis should be laid on the *αἰὶον* at the close. Against Weizsäcker's reference to the building of Zerubbabel (*Zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefes*, 1863, p. 21 ff.), the *νῦν* and the future are decisive.

⁶⁴ Compare Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 24; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 613; Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, 2nd Aufl. p. 38 f.

⁶⁵ Spartian, *vita Hadriani*, c. 22 (in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. Peter): *sacra Romana diligentissime curavit. peregrina contempsit.*

⁶⁶ Spartian, *Hadrian*. 14.

⁶⁷ Dio Cassius, *lxi.* 12.

tions only the one and Dio Cassius only the other, it is doubtful whether without more ado we are entitled to combine the two. Gregorovius rejects the statement of Spartian, and regards that of Dio Cassius as alone worthy of credence. In fact, a prohibition of circumcision, without any special occasion, seems little in accordance with the mild character of Hadrian, although it might quite conceivably be used for the purpose of securing the extinction of the Jews after the suppression of the revolt.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the statement of Spartian is to be defended. For, according to all that we know, the prohibition of circumcision was not limited to the Jews, and was not immediately directed against them. When, under Antoninus Pius, the Jews were again allowed to circumcise their children, the prohibition still stood good against the non-Jewish peoples. It was therefore originally a general order.^{68a} The special feature of this legislation was

⁶⁸ Compare Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, p. 499 ff.; *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, p. 188 ff. In favour of Gregorovius' view one might refer to the state of the original documents. Dio Cassius, as well as Spartian, founds partly on the autobiography of Hadrian (see Dio Cassius, lxi. 11, ὡς Ἀδριανὸς γράφει; Spartian, 1. 1, "in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemorat;" 7. 2, "ut ipse vita sua dicit;" comp. also 3. 3, and 3. 5). In Dio Cassius, however, the history of the Jewish war follows immediately upon the quotation from the autobiography, and may probably have been derived from it. So thinks Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, p. 14. On the other hand, it seems probable that Spartian derives his short notice of the Jewish war from some other source (Dürr, *Reisen*, p. 82).

^{68a} Modestinus, *Digest*. xlviii. 8. 11, pr.: "Circumcidere Judaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur: in non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur." This statement of fact is also corroborated by other witnesses. In the Syrian Dialogue on Fate, which is ascribed to Bardesanes, as a historical instance of the fact that oftentimes kings when they conquer foreign countries have abolished the native laws and introduced their own without the stars putting any hindrance in the way, this is advanced as pre-eminently applicable, that only shortly before the Romans, after the conquest of Arabia, had abolished the laws of that country, especially the law regarding circumcision (Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, 1855, p. 30; in the somewhat abbreviated text in Eusebius,

not that it aimed at the rooting out of Judaism, but that it placed circumcision on the same level with castration, and punished its practice accordingly.^{68b} The prohibition was not, therefore, first of all directed against Judaism, but it is at the same time quite evident that Judaism would receive from it a deadly wound. In addition to this it was now made known that Hadrian designed the erection of a new heathen city upon the ruins of Jerusalem. In this also the ruling motive was not hostility to Judaism. The rearing of magnificent buildings and the founding of cities was the work to which Hadrian devoted the energies of his life. But this proposal must also have been regarded as a blow in the face to Judaism. So long as Jerusalem lay in ruins, the Jews could cherish the hope of its restoration. The founding of a heathen city, the erection of a heathen temple on the holy place, put an end to these hopes in terrible manner. It was an outrage

Praeparatio evangel. vi. 10. 41, ed. Gaisford, the prohibition of circumcision is not mentioned). But the same author speaks immediately after of circumcision as an existing institution among the Jews. He witnesses, therefore, precisely to the condition of matters as determined by Antoninus Pius. A further witness for this is Origen, who distinctly says that only the Jews were allowed to practise circumcision, but that it was forbidden to all others on the pain of death (*Contra Cels.* ii. 13). The jurist Paulus, a contemporary of Origen, says, *Sent.* v. 22. 3-4 (in Huschke's *Jurisprudentiae antejustinianae quae supersunt*, ed. 5, Lips. 1886): "Cives Romani, qui se Judaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidi patiuntur bonis adeptis in insulam perpetuo relegantur; medici capite puniuntur. Judaei si alienae nationis comparatos servos circumciderunt, aut deportantur aut capite puniuntur." The prohibition, therefore, by no means applied especially to the Jews, but they rather were by Hadrian's immediate successor expressly excluded from its application. Compare also Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft*, Bd. 39, 1885, p. 343 (who has also paid attention to the above passage in the Dialogue on Fate). Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 119.

^{68b} Compare Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 549.—Hadrian strictly forbade castration; it was to be punished under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*, i.e. it was treated as murder (*Digest.* xlviii. 8. 4. 2). That circumcision was treated in the same category as castration, is seen from the passage quoted above from Modestinus.

as great as that which Antiochus Epiphanes had formerly committed, and was answered, as that had been, by a general uprising of the excited people.—Both reasons, therefore, are not in themselves improbable. A combination of the two is a suggestion which has much to commend it, if the two enactments of Hadrian were not too far separated in time from one another.

In regard to the date at which the building of the Aelia Capitolina was begun, various statements are given in the original authorities. Epiphanius had been informed that Hadrian, forty-seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem, when he arrived there on his second journey, gave orders to rebuild the city (not the temple), and commissioned Aquila to see the work done.⁶⁹ This indication of date gives us A.D. 117, immediately after Hadrian's accession to the throne. He was then certainly in the East, but Epiphanius expressly refers to his later journey taken from Rome, and thus his statement regarding the time is deprived of all its value.⁷⁰ The *Chronicon Paschale* places the founding of Aelia Capitolina in A.D. 119; but it does so only because it has also placed the great Jewish rebellion in that year, after the quelling of which Aelia was founded.⁷¹ With the date fixed for the Jewish rebellion, which is demonstrably false, falls also that fixed for the founding of Aelia.⁷² Eusebius also regards the founding of the city as a consequence of the rebellion.⁷³ This is correct, inasmuch as only thereafter was the plan carried out. But, according to Dio Cassius, it is not to be doubted

⁶⁹ Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, § 14.

⁷⁰ It has been turned to account as serviceable by Dürr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 16. Against it: Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1883, p. 489.

⁷¹ *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474.

⁷² See also Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1883, p. 493 f.—Renan's assertion, that the founding took place about A.D. 122 (*L'église chrétienne*, p. 26), has no support from the original authorities.

⁷³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6.

that the building had already been begun before the outbreak of the rebellion, and indeed not very long before, for he says that the Jews, who were irritated about the building, remained quiet so long as Hadrian stayed in Egypt and Syria, but that they broke out so soon as he had left those regions.⁷⁴ In accordance with this, it must be assumed that the founding of the city took place during the period of Hadrian's visit to Syria, which occurred in A.D. 130.

Hadrian at that time—it was during his last great journey in the East—arrived in Syria from Greece, and thence went to Egypt, and then back again to Syria.⁷⁵ It is made certain from inscriptions and coins that he was in Syria in A.D. 130, in Egypt in November A.D. 130, and so again in Syria in A.D. 131.⁷⁶ Generally, wherever he went he furthered the

⁷⁴ Dio Cassius, lxix. 12.

⁷⁵ This route is particularly described in Dio Cassius, lxix. 11–12.

⁷⁶ That Hadrian's visit to Egypt occurred in A.D. 130, upon which all the other dates turn, has been proved by Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vi. 489–491. He is followed by: Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, iii. 1035, article "Hadrianus;" Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, t. i. 1885, *ad ann.* 129–131, p. Chr.; Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, t. ii. 1848, pp. 364–367; Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, pp. 62–65. For a further list of the literature, see Dürr, pp. 7, 8.—The principal proofs are: (1) An inscription at Palmyra of the year [4]42 *aer. Seleuc.* = A.D. 130–131, assumes a previous visit of Hadrian to Palmyra (De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions de Palmyre*, n. 16; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2585). (2) The coins of Gaza of the time of Hadrian have an era beginning with A.D. 129 or 130, the occasion of which was certainly Hadrian's residence in Gaza, and the benefits that had been thereby conferred upon the city. On this see the literature mentioned in Div. II. vol. i. p. 72. The year 1 of the new era is the year 190–191 of the old era of Gaza; and as this earlier era began in B.C. 60 or 61, is equivalent to A.D. 129 or 130. But even if one should assume A.D. 129 with Stark, *Gaza*, p. 550, Hadrian's visit may still be put down as A.D. 130, since the commencement of the era may not be exactly synchronous with Hadrian's visit. (3) In Alexandria coins of Hadrian were minted in the fifteenth year of the emperor, that is, according to the reckoning commonly used in Egypt, A.D. 130–131. According to all analogies, it must be assumed that this must have occurred at the celebration of Hadrian's visit (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 489 sq.). (4) The most

interests of culture: artistic and useful buildings were erected. games were celebrated: he was a *restitutor* in all the provinces.⁷⁷ In the cities of Palestine also we come upon traces of his presence. Tiberias had obtained an *'Αδριάνειον*; Gaza, a *πανήγυρις 'Αδριανή*; Petra, in grateful remembrance of the benefactions of the emperor, took the name of *'Αδριανή Πέτρα*.⁷⁸ His residence in Judea was commemorated by coins bearing the inscription, *adventui Aug(usti) Judaeae*.⁷⁹

The founding of Aelia also, without doubt, belongs to the period of the emperor's activity. Pliny calls Jerusalem

precise information is supplied by an inscription on the Memnon statue at Thebes, from which it appears that Hadrian was there in the fifteenth year of his reign, in the month Athyr. This date corresponds to November A.D. 130. For the words of the inscription, see Eckhel and Clinton; more correctly given in Letronne, ii. 365, and Dürr, p. 123; also in *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4727. An exact facsimile is given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Bd. xii. bl. 78; *Inscr. Graec.* n. 91. On the reckoning of the years of the emperor's prevailing in Egypt, especially the years of Hadrian, see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 117 ff.

⁷⁷ Compare generally: Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 4 f.; Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. p. 468 ff.—On numerous inscriptions Hadrian is called *σωτήρ, οικιστής, εὐεργέτης, κτίστης*. See the texts in Dürr, p. 104 ff. On coins of Hadrian are found the following inscriptions: *restitutori Achaiae, restitutori Africae, restitutori Arabiae, restitutori Asiae, restitutori Bithyniae, restitutori Galliae, restitutori Hispaniae, restitutori Italiae, restitutori Libyae, restitutori Macedoniae, restitutori Nicomediae, restitutori orbis terrarum, restitutori Phrygiae, restitutori Siciliae*." See Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 486–500; Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. ii. 1882, pp. 209–214.

⁷⁸ On Tiberias, see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30. 12: *ναὸς δὲ μέγιστος ἐν τῇ πόλει προϋπήρχε τάχα, οἶμαι, 'Αδριάνειον τοῦτο ἐκάλουν*.—On Gaza, *Chronicon*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474: *καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστῆσεν πανήγυρις . . . καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἡ πανήγυρις ἐκείνη λέγεται 'Αδριανή*.—The coins of Petra with the superscription: *'Αδριανὴ Πέτρα*, in Mionnet, *Description de Médailles*, v. 587–589; *Suppl.* viii. 387 sq.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 351–353.

⁷⁹ Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 495 sq.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 231; Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. ii. p. 110 sq. The coins were minted in Rome (S. C.).—There were similar coins for almost all the provinces. See Eckhel, vi. 486–501; Cohen, ii. 107–112.

*longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Judaeae modo.*⁸⁰ This celebrated city now lay in ruins, or was still merely a Roman camp. What then could be more attractive to the emperor than the restoring of such a city to its former magnificence? It was, however, manifestly intended that this new magnificence should be of a heathen character. A temple of the Capitoline Jupiter was to be erected on the spot where formerly the temple of the God of the Jews had stood. This was the fatal proposal. The Jews had been roused to a most violent degree by means of the order, issued probably not long before, against the practice of circumcision. And now to that was added a new outrage. By means of this proposed profanation of their city matters were brought to a crisis. The people remained quiet so long as the emperor remained in Egypt, and during his second visit to Syria. But when he was no longer in the neighbourhood, that is, in A.D. 132, they broke out into revolt: an uprising that, in its extent and violence, and its unhappy consequences, was at least as serious as that of the time of Vespasian. If it does not bulk so largely in our records, it is only because of the meagreness of the original sources of information that have come down to us.⁸¹

The leader of the revolt is called in the works of Christian writers Cochba or Bar-Cochba, and by the rabbinical authorities Barcosiba or Bencosiba.⁸² The one as well as the other

⁸⁰ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70.

⁸¹ From Dio Cassius, lxi. 12, it appears that the founding of Aelia occurred in the time of Hadrian's first visit to Syria, A.D. 130, but the outbreak of the rebellion after his second visit in A.D. 131, and so probably in A.D. 132. In fact, the Chronicle of Eusebius places the beginning of the rebellion in the sixteenth year of Hadrian, i.e. A.D. 132-133 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 166 sq.).

⁸² Χοχβας and Chochebas are the forms of the name in the Chronicle of Eusebius, and in Jerome, *ad ann. Abr.* 2149 (ed. Schoene, ii. 168 sq.; the Greek form in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 660); so too in Orosius, vii. 13 (ed. Zangemeister). Βαρκαχέβας in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 31 (ed. Otto), and Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6 (ed. Heinichen); the passage from Justin also in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 8. Barcohabas in Jerome, *Adv.*

is only a designation; the former distinguishes him as the star, or the son of the star, with reference to Num. xxiv. 18, which passage R. Akiba applied to him;⁸³ the latter is a name derived either from his father (the son of Cosiba) or from his home (the man of Cosiba), and not until a comparatively late period, and only by a few individual writers, in view of his miserable collapse, was it taken to mean liar or deceiver.⁸⁴ The designation Cochba or Bar-Cochba was apparently chosen on account of its similarity in sound to Barcosiba, but seems to have become pretty generally current, since the Christian authorities are acquainted with it alone. The coins have

Rufin. iii. 31 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, ii. 559).—In the rabbinical sources, on the other hand, we have בר כזיבא or בן כזיבא (Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 423; Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 13).—Compare in regard to him generally: Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald.* col. 1028 (*s.v.* כזב); Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 423 sqq.; Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iii. 184 ff.; Lebrecht, *Bether* (1877), pp. 12–20; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie*, article “Barkochba;” Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 312.

⁸³ *Jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 68^d (Cracow ed.): “R. Simon ben Jochai said: R. Akiba my teacher expounded the passage: There shall go a star (כזב) out of Jacob” (Num. xxiv. 17), as follows: ‘There goes כזב out from Jacob.’ When R. Akiba saw Barcosiba he said, This is the king Messiah. Then said to him R. Jochanan ben Torta: Akiba, the grass will grow out of thy jaw-bone, and yet the Son of David will not have come.” See the text in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 44; German in Wünsche, *Der Jerusalemische Talmud*, 1880, p. 157.—The correct explanation of Cochba as meaning a star (ἀστήρ) is also given in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6, and Syncellus, i. 660. According to Eusebius, Barcoshba also gave himself out for a φαστήρ ἱξ οὐρανοῦ.

⁸⁴ Since Barcosiba or Bencosiba is the prevailing form, even in the mouths of such as esteemed him highly, like Akiba, it cannot have had a disrespectful meaning. Cosiba is either the name of his father (so in earlier days, Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 423, note 3) or of his home, כזבא, 1 Chron. iv. 22 = כזיב, Gen. xxxviii. 5 = אכזיב, in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 44; Micah i. 14 (hardly to be identified with אכזיב in the tribe of Asher = Ekdippa, between Tyre and Ptolemais, as conjectured by Derenbourg, *Mélanges publiés par l'école des hautes études*, 1878, p. 157 sq.).—The rendering of it כזב, “Liar,” makes its appearance first in the Midrash, *Echa rabbathi*, see Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 312; the text is given in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 46; in German in Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Echa rabbati*, 1881, p. 100.

preserved for us the proper name of two men. For it is a fact scarcely admitting of question that the Simon-coins, some of which certainly, and others most probably, were stamped during the period of this outbreak, were issued by the leader of this outbreak, who was certainly Bar-Cochba. Those minted in the first year have the inscription, "Simon, Prince of Israel," שִׁמְעוֹן נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל; those minted in the second year have only the name "Simon" שִׁמְעוֹן. On some the figure of a star appears over that of a temple. Besides the Simon-coins there are also coins of the first year with the inscription, "Eleasar the Priest," אֱלִיעֶזֶר הַכֹּהֵן. There thus seem to have been two men at the head of the rebellion, besides the Prince Simon, the Priest Eleasar. After the second year there are no more Eleasar-coins.⁸⁵ Since in late rabbinical documents the R. Eleasar of Modein, who is also known from other sources, is described as the uncle of Barcosiba,⁸⁶ some have ventured to conjecture that this man is the same as the one named "Eleasar the Priest" on the coins.⁸⁷ But there is nothing anywhere to indicate that Eleasar of Modein was a priest.

The application of the designation of the "Star," which should come out of Jacob, to Barcosiba, shows that he was regarded as the Messiah. R. Akiba, the most celebrated doctor of the law in his time, is said to have distinctly announced him as such.⁸⁸ And though, indeed, all the colleagues of Akiba did not recognise him, he had the mass

⁸⁵ See on the coins generally, Appendix IV.—The coins with the star are given, *e.g.*, in Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 239, 244.

⁸⁶ Midrash on *Echa* ii. 2; *Gittin* 57^a (in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, pp. 424, 433. See on Eleasar of Modein: Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten* (1884), pp. 194–219. אֱלִיעֶזֶר הַקּוֹדֶרֶץ ר' is frequently referred to in the *Mechilta*. See above, vol. i. p. 209 f.

⁸⁷ Ewald, *History of Israel*, viii. 291; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 44.

⁸⁸ See the passage quoted in note 83; also Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, p. 291 f. On Akiba generally: Div. II. vol. i. p. 375 f., and the literature there referred to.

of the people on his side. As in the days of Vespasian, so also at this time there was a widespread idea that the day had come when the old prophecy of the prophets would be fulfilled, and Israel would cast off the yoke of the Gentiles. The Christian legends also declare that Barcosiba bewitched the people by deceitful miracles.^{88a}—Just by reason of the Messianic character of the movement it was quite impossible for Christians to take part in it. They could not deny their own Messiah by recognising the leader of the political revolution as such. Hence they were persecuted with peculiar violence by the new Messiah, as Justin Martyr and Eusebius testify.⁸⁹

The rebellion spread rapidly over all Palestine. Wherever strongholds, castles, caverns, subterranean passages afforded hiding-places, there were those who struggled for native customs and freedom gathered together. An open conflict they avoided; but from their dens in the mountains they made devastating raids upon the country, and fought with all who did not attach themselves to their party.⁹⁰ Jerusalem also was certainly beset by the rebels. The doubt which many, on the other hand, have raised is mainly supported by

^{88a} Jerome, *adv. Rufin.* iii. 21 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, ii. 559). Jerome says there to his opponent Rufinus that he spits fire "ut ille Barchochabas, auctor seditionis Judaicae, stipulam in ore succensam anhelitu ventilabat, ut flammam evomere putaretur."

⁸⁹ Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 31: Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ νῦν γεγενημένῃ Ἰουδαϊκῇ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχέβας, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγῆτος, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας θειάς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι. Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 168 sq. *ad. ann. Abr.* 2149. According to the Armenian: "Qui dux rebellionis Judaeorum erat Chochebas, multos e Christianis diversis suppliciis affecit, quia nolebant procedere cum illo ad pugnam contra Romanos." So, too, the Latin reproduction of Jerome in Schoene, and Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 660. Compare also Orosius, vii. 13.

⁹⁰ Dio Cassius, lxix. 12. Compare Jerome, *Chronicon*, *ad ann. Abr.* 2148 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 167): "Judaei in arma versi Palestinam depopulati sunt." The Armenian text of Eusebius has: "Judaei rebellaverunt et Palaestinae terram invaserunt."

this, that in the more trustworthy sources (Dio Cassius and Eusebius' *Church History*) there is no mention of a war at Jerusalem. But how unspeakably meagre are these sources generally! Even upon internal grounds it is probable that the rebels, who were at the beginning victorious, should have made themselves masters of Jerusalem, which was not then a strongly fortified city, but only a Roman camp. But this conjecture is confirmed by twofold testimony. In the first place by the coins.⁹¹ The coins that with the greatest confidence can be set down to this period, bear on the one side the name of Simon, שמעון, and on the other side the superscription, לחרות ירושלם, *lechéruth Jeruschaalem*, "the freedom of Jerusalem." Therefore, the freeing of Jerusalem was commemorated by Simon on the coins. But there are among the coins belonging to this period also examples which, besides the date "First Year of the freeing of Israel" or "Second Year of the freedom of Israel," bear only the name Jerusalem, ירושלם. These, therefore, have been minted by the city itself in its own name, and hence we see that this city in the first year as well as in the second was in the hands of the rebels. In addition to this witness from the coins, we have the contemporary Appian, by whom, as will be told farther on, the fact of the reconquest of Jerusalem by the Romans is declared as a fact.⁹²—Whether during these troubled years of

⁹¹ In regard to these see Appendix IV.

⁹² The besieging of Jerusalem by the rebels has been contested, without any sufficient ground, by Cassel in his article "Juden" in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, sec. ii. Bd. 27, p. 14, and by Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, ii. 79, note. Also Renan declares that it is very improbable, in the treatise: "Jérusalem a-t-elle été assiégée et détruite une troisième fois sous Adrien?" in *Revue historique*, t. ii. 1876, pp. 112–120 = *L'église chrétienne*, 1879, pp. 541–553. His final judgment is: "que l'occupation de Jérusalem ait été un épisode court de ladite guerre, cela est strictement possible; c'est peu probable cependant;" see *Revue*, ii. 119 = *L'église chrétienne*, p. 551. Gregorovius, founding upon the coins, holds it as probable that the rebels gained at least a temporary possession of Jerusalem, but denies that it had been the scene of any regular fighting (*Der Kaiser Hadrian*,

war the rebuilding of the Jewish temple may actually have been begun must be left undecided. Late Christians declare that this was so, and the intention to carry on this work was certainly entertained.⁹³

In regard to the progress of the war we know almost nothing. When it broke out Tineius Rufus was governor of Judea.⁹⁴ When he was unable with his troops to crush the rebels, the revolt not only increased in dimension and importance throughout all Palestine, but also spread itself far out beyond the limits of that country. Unstable and restless elements indeed of another sort attached themselves to the Jewish rebellion, so that at last "the whole world, so to speak, was in commotion."⁹⁵ The severest measures were necessary

3 Aufl. pp. 194, 200 f.; *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, pp. 502-505). Similarly Selzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 22 f. Upon the whole the besieging of Jerusalem by the rebels is admitted by most, e.g. Deyling, *Observationes sacrae*, t. v. Lips. 1748, pp. 455-460 (in the dissertation: "Aeliae Capitolinae origines et historia"); Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg*, pp. 56 ff., 69 ff.; also Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 612, note; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 545.

⁹³ Chrysostom, *Orat. adv. Judaeos*, v. 10, speaks of an attempt at the rebuilding of the temple in the time of Hadrian. He endeavours there to show that the destruction of the temple had been brought about by the will of God. If the Jews had not made the attempt to build again the temple, then they might say: If we had chosen we might have built it again. *Νυνὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς δείκνυμι, ὅτι οὐχ ἄπαξ, οὐδὲ δις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίς ἐπιχειρήσαντας καὶ βραγύντας*, namely, under Hadrian, Constantine, and Julian.—Georgius Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, i. 437, relates: *ἐφ' οὗ στασιασάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι βουλευθέντων ὀργίζεται κατ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα καὶ πόλεμος γενομένου μεταξὺ ἀνείλεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μυριάδας νηΐ*. In the details of his statement this Cedrenus agrees so exactly with the statement of Chrysostom that it is apparent that he must have drawn his information either directly from Chrysostom, or else from the sources which Chrysostom had used. Nicephorus Callistus also, in his *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 24 (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* t. cxlv.), reproduces this report. The *Chronicon Paschale* asserts that Hadrian at the building of Aelia, after the suppression of the revolt, destroyed the Jewish temple (ed. Dindorf, i. 474: *καθελὼν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις*).—Much weight cannot be laid upon any of these witnesses.

⁹⁴ On the correct form of his name see above, p. 263.

⁹⁵ Dio Cassius, lxi. 13: *πάσης ὥς εἰπεῖν κινουμένης ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης*

in order to put an end to the uproar. Large bodies of troops from other provinces were called in to strengthen the resident garrison. The best generals were commissioned for Palestine.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ On the increasing of the strength of the troops: Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1; *Chronicon*, ad ann. Abr. 2148.—Generals: Dio Cassius, lxxix. 13: τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν.—By inscriptions it can be proved that the following troops took part in the war (see Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, t. i. 1880, pp. 42–49; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 614, note; the facts are very incorrectly stated by Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, p. 199: (1) The *leg. III. Cyrenaica*, which from the time of Augustus to that of Trajan had remained in Egypt, and since the time of Trajan had formed the garrison of the new province of Arabia (Pfitzner, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen*, 1881, p. 227 f.). A tribune belonging to the legion was presented “donis militaribus a divo Hadriano ob Judaicam expeditionem” (Orelli-Henzen, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 6501 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 3610); a centurion of this same legion received “ab imp. Hadriano corona aurea torquibus armillis phaleris ob bellum Judeicum” (Orelli, n. 832 = *Inscr. Regni Neap.* n. 3542 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. x. n. 3733).—(2) The *leg. III. Gallica*, which probably from the time of Augustus belonged to the garrison of Syria (see above, p. 50; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 432 ff.; Pfitzner, p. 228 ff.). An *emeritus* of this legion was presented “ex voluntate imp. Hadriani Aug. torquibus et armillis aureis,” undoubtedly in connection with the Jewish war (Orelli, n. 3571).—(3) It is also self-evident that the *leg. X. Fretensis*, as the resident garrison troops of Judea, would take part in the war. A centurion of that legion was presented “ab divo Hadriano ob bellum Judaicum corona aurea torquibus armillis phaleris” (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1888, p. 424 sqq. = *Revue des études juives*, t. xvii. 1888, p. 299 sq.).—(4) Presumably also the *legio VI. Ferrata* took part in the war, for it had previously formed part of the garrison of Syria, and formed from the time of Hadrian, along with the *leg. X. Fretensis*, the garrison of Judea (see above, pp. 50, 257 f.). On the other hand, the co-operation of the *leg. IV. Scythica* in this war is highly improbable, although insisted upon by Darmesteter. See on this point the next note.—(5) Of auxiliary cohorts, of which undoubtedly a great number took part in the war, the inscriptions refer to the *coh. IV. Lingonum*, the commander of which was presented “vexillo mil(itari) a divo Hadriano in expeditione Judaica” (Orelli-Henzen, n. 5480 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 1523).—(6) A detachment, which took part in the Jewish war, is also mentioned in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 3505: “Sex. Attius Senecio praef. alae I. FL. Gaetulorum, trib. *leg. X. Geminae*, missus a Divo Hadriano in expeditione Judaica ad vexilla(tiones) deducendas?” It would appear as if this detachment had been taken from the *leg. X. Gemina*, which was stationed

Even the governor of Syria, Publicius Marcellus, hastened to the aid of his endangered colleague.⁹⁷ But it seems that Rufus for the most of the time retained the supreme command; for Eusebius names no other Roman commander, and speaks as if the suppression of the revolt was accomplished by Rufus.⁹⁸ In rabbinical authorities also, "Rufus the Tyrant," מורנס רופוס, appears the chief enemy of the Jews at that time.⁹⁹ But

in Pannonia.—(7) Also the Syrian fleet had been called to give assistance (*classis Syriaca*), for its commander was presented "donis militaribus a divo Hadriano ob bellum Judaicum" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 6924 = Renier, *Inscriptions de l'Algérie*, n. 3518 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 8934). That the fleet did actually engage in a *bellum Judaicum* is also stated in a fragmentary inscription, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 1565. Here too the reference clearly is to the war of Hadrian (so Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, iii. p. 331). On an inscription in honour of a certain P. Lucilius Gamala at Ostia, near Rome, mention is made of a *bellum navale*, to which Ostia had contributed a large contingent. Since this Lucilius Gamala, according to another inscription, lived in the times of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, it might indeed have been the Jewish war of Hadrian that he was engaged in. But it is probably the Marcomanian war of Marcus Aurelius that is intended. See the two inscriptions in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1857, p. 323 sqq.; and for their explanation, especially Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. iii. 1877, pp. 319–332.

⁹⁷ *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4033 and 4034 (the former = *Archäolog.-epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, ix. 118). In both inscriptions, which are almost literal copies of each other, it is told that Ti. (or P.?) Severus was commander of the *leg. IV. Scythica*, and administered Syria as commissary when Publicius Marcellus had left Syria on account of the outbreak of the Jewish revolt (Σιούηρον . . . ἡγεμόνα λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς καὶ διοκῆσαντα τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ πράγματα, ἡνίκα Πουβλίκιος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκει ἀπὸ Συρίας). Publicius Marcellus led a portion of the Syrian garrison, which consisted of three legions (Pfitzner, p. 187), against Judea, while Severus undertook as commissary the administration of Syria, presumably still retaining the command of his legion. The *leg. IV. Scythica* therefore probably remained in Syria.

⁹⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1: πολέμου τε νόμῳ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἱξάνδραποδιζόμενος.

⁹⁹ *Bab. Taanith* 29^a in Derenbourg, *Historie*, p. 422. Generally. Schoettgen, *Horae hebraicae*, ii. 953–957; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 916 (s.v. מורן); Levy, *Neuhebraisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 149, s.v. מורנס; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, 1884, pp. 294–300 = *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1883, pp. 303 ff. 347 ff.—The form מורנס רופוס is indeed only a corruption of Tineius

from Dio Cassius, whose statements on this point are corroborated by the testimony of inscriptions, we know that during the last period of the war Julius Severus, one of the most distinguished of Hadrian's generals, had the supreme command, and that it was he who succeeded in bringing the rebellion to an end. He was summoned from Britain to conduct this war, and took a considerable time in crushing the revolt. In an open engagement no decisive result was gained. The rebels had to be hunted out of their hiding-places one by one; and, where they kept concealed in mountain caverns, they were exhausted by having their supplies cut off. Only after long continued conflicts with individuals, in which there was great expenditure of life, did he at last succeed in harrying, exterminating, and rooting them out of the whole country (κατατρίψαι καὶ ἐκτρυχῶσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι).¹⁰⁰

Where Hadrian was residing during the war cannot be determined with certainty. Probably during the critical year he was himself personally present at the seat of war. He had left Syria before the rebellion broke out. The evil tidings seem to have led him to return to Judea; for his presence at the seat of war is not only presupposed in the rabbinical legends,¹⁰¹ but is also made probable by some particulars derived from inscriptions.¹⁰² There is no reference to

Rufus. In the Jerusalem Talmud the older editions (e.g. that of Cracow) have in several places, *Berachoth* ix. fol. 14^b from below, *Sota* v. fol. 20^c from below, מונוסטרופוס, Tunustrufus, where the *t* between the *s* and *r* seems to have been introduced as a modification in pronunciation, as in *Itrahel*, *Esdras*, and such like forms.

¹⁰⁰ Dio Cassius, lxi. 13.—That Julius Severus was recalled from Britain is shown by an inscription, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830, which gives his entire *cursus honorum* (see above, p. 263 f.).

¹⁰¹ *Gittin* 57a, in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 433 sq.

¹⁰² Hadrian's presence at the seat of war was denied, e.g. by Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. p. 197; but is, on the contrary, maintained without any detailed proof by Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, p. 65; Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 545; and, on the ground of the rabbinical documents, is assumed by Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 37, and

his presence in Rome again till May of A.D. 134.¹⁰⁰ He would return so soon as he had been assured of a successful issue to the war, without waiting for the completion of the operations.

Dio Cassius as well as Eusebius is silent regarding the fate of Jerusalem. It certainly did not form the middle point of the conflict, as it had done in the Vespasian war. Its fortifications were quite unimportant. Even although the rebels had succeeded in driving out the Roman garrison, the recapture of the city would have been no very serious undertaking for a sufficiently strong Roman military force. But that it had been actually taken after a violent assault is plainly stated by Appian, a contemporary witness.¹⁰⁴ When Appian speaks of a destruction (*κατασκάπτειν*), he is undoubtedly right, inasmuch as violent seizure is not conceivable without destruction to a certain extent. But after all, as following the thoroughgoing work of Titus, the object arrived at was others. Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, i. 49-53, and Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 613, note, attempt to prove it from the inscriptions. Both seek support for their view from the following data: (1) One Q. Lollius was "legatus imp. Hadriani in expeditione Judaica, qua donatus est hasta pura corona aurea" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 6500 = Renier, *Inscriptions de l'Algérie*, n. 2319 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 6706). The expression "legatus imp.," without any particularizing addition, can only be understood as designating a personal adjutant, who occupied the position of an immediate attendant upon the emperor. (2) On an inscription, certainly in a very fragmentary condition, but undoubtedly belonging to the later period of Hadrian's reign, very probably to A.D. 134 or 135, it is said that he "(lab)oribus max(imis rempublicam ab ho)ste liberaverit" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 5457 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 974). Since the only event occurring in this later period is the Jewish war, the inscription would seem to refer to Hadrian's active participation in it. See Henzen's remarks. According to Schiller, Hadrian's presence at the seat of war is made certain from the fact that to Julius Severus were awarded only "ornamenta triumphalia," not "supplicationes" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830), "he was not therefore commander-in-chief."

¹⁰³ *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 5906. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁴ Appian, *Syr.* 50: τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα—, ἣν δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθήρκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὐθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.

comparatively limited. And, on the other hand, the Romans after once they had made themselves masters of the city, would not go further in the work of destruction. This was necessary in view of their purposed new building of Aelia. A siege of the city is assumed by Eusebius in his *Demonstratio evangelica*.¹⁰⁵ Many Church Fathers (Chrysostom, Jerome, and others) maintain that Hadrian completely destroyed the remnants of the old city which were still left standing after the destruction by Titus. By this they really only mean that Hadrian made an utter end of the old Jewish city, and erected a new heathen city in its place.¹⁰⁶ In the Mishna it is related that Jerusalem was run over on the 9th Ab by the

¹⁰⁵ Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangel.* vi. 18. 10, ed. Gaisford: the prophecy of Zech. xiv. 2, ἐξελεύσεται τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, was fulfilled in the time of Vespasian; the other half of the city, i.e. of the inhabitants, was besieged in Hadrian's time and driven out, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἥμισυ πολιορκηθὲν αὐθις ἐξελαύνεται, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πᾶμπαν ἄβατον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον. Eusebius therefore does not speak of the destruction of the city, but only of the driving forth of the Jewish population after a siege had been conducted against the city.

¹⁰⁶ Chrysostom, *Adv. Judaeos*, v. 11: τὰ λείψανα ἀφανίσας πάντα.—Cedren. ed. Bekker, i. 437: καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατερειπώσας κτίξει νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ.—Nicephorus, *Callist. Eccl. hist.* iii. 24: ὅσα γε μὲν τῇ πόλει περιλείφθη τῆς ἐκ πάλαι οἰκοδομῆς λείψανα ἐρειπῶσαι καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφανίσαι.—Hieronimus, *Comm. in Jes.* i. 5 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, iv. 15): "post Titum et Vespasianum et ultimam eversionem Jerusalem sub Aelio Hadriano usque ad praesens tempus nullum remedium est." *Idem*, in Jer. xxxi. 15 (Vallarsi, iv. 1065): "sub Hadriano, quando et urbs Jerusalem subversa est." *Idem*, in Ezek. c. 5 (Vallarsi, v. 49): "post quinquaginta annos sub Aelio Hadriano usque ad solum incensa civitas atque deleta est ita ut pristinum quoque nomen amiserit." *Idem*, in Ezek. c. 24 (Vallarsi, v. 277): "post quinquaginta annos sub Hadriano civitas aeterno igne consumta est." *Idem*, in Dan. c. 9 *fin.* (Vallarsi, v. 696). *Idem*, in Joel. i. 4 (Vallarsi, vi. 171): "Aelii quoque Hadriani contra Judaeos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerusalem murosque subvertit, ut de urbis reliquiis ac favillis sui nominis Aeliam conderet civitatem." *Idem*, in Hab. ii. 14 (Vallarsi, vi. 622): "usque ad extremas ruinas Hadriani eos perduxit obsidio." *Idem*, in Zech. viii. 19 (Vallarsi, vi. 852). *Idem*, in Zech. xi. 4, 5 (Vallarsi, vi. 885).—Passages from other writers on Church history are given in Münter, pp. 69–71.

plough. By this, as the context shows, the time of Hadrian is meant. In the Babylonian Talmud and by Jerome this deed is ascribed to Rufus; only they both speak, not of a ploughing of the city, but of the site of the temple.¹⁰⁷ The short statement in the Mishna is specially deserving of notice. What this ceremony would signify, however, would be, not the destruction, but the new founding; and the incident must therefore be placed before the outbreak of the revolt.¹⁰⁸ The story of the conquest of Jerusalem by Hadrian as told in the Samaritan chronicle is wholly fabulous.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, enumerates five unfortunate events as happening on 17th Tammuz, and five unfortunate events as happening on 9th Ab. In reference to the latter it is said: "On 9th Ab sentence was pronounced upon our forefathers that they should enter into the country, and the temple was on the first occasion and on the second occasion destroyed, and Beth-ther was conquered and Jerusalem levelled down with the plough" (נחרשה העיר). The Babylonian Talmud, *bab. Taanith* 29a (Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 422), relates more particularly that it was the "turannus Rufus" (טורנס רופוס) who caused the plough to pass over the site of the temple (it is there called ההיכל, not העיר).—The whole passage is to be found quoted almost literally in Jerome, who expressly refers for authority to the Jewish tradition ("cogimur igitur ad Habraeos recurrere"), ad Zechar. viii. 19, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 852: "In quinto mense, qui apud Latinos appellatur Augustus, quum propter exploratores terrae sanctae seditio orta esset in populo, jussi sunt montem non ascendere, sed per quadraginta annos longis ad terram sanctam circuire dispendiis, ut exceptis duobus, Caleb et Josue, omnes in solitudine caderent. In hoc mense et a Nabuchodonosor et multa post saecula a Tito et Vespasiano templum Jerosolymis incensum est atque destructum; capta urbs Bethel [l. Bether], ad quam multa millia confugerant Judaeorum; aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressae a T. Annio [l. Tinnio] Rufo."

¹⁰⁸ That the plough should have been driven over Jerusalem as a sign of devastation and utter ruin is not probable, since, indeed, the building of a new city was contemplated. But this act may indeed have been performed at the beginning of the founding of the new city as a ceremony of initiation. The ceremonial act would be in either case the same; see Servius on Virgil. *Aeneid*, iv. 212: "cum conderetur nova civitas, aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu quo condita subvertatur." An exact description of the ceremony is given in a passage from Varro quoted by Servius on Virgil. *Aeneid*, v. 755.

¹⁰⁹ *Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber*

The last hiding-place of Bar-Cochba and his followers was the strong mountain fastness of Beth-ther,¹¹⁰ according to Eusebius not very far from Jerusalem, probably on the site of the modern Bettir, three hours south-west of Jerusalem.¹¹¹

Josuae, ed. Juynboll (Lugd. Bat. 1848), p. 47.—The hopes which Münter entertained from the publication of this chronicle have not been realized.

¹¹⁰ The name of the city is given by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6, as Βίθηθρ (accus. Βίθηθρα), or according to some manuscripts, Βέθηθρ, Βήθηθρ; in Rufinus, *Bethar*. In the Jerusalem Talmud, *Taanith* iv. fol. 68^d-69^a, where the name occurs frequently, it is almost constantly ביתתר, only very rarely ביתר. In the Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, the Cambridge and Hamburg manuscripts have ביתתר; the *editio princeps* and *cod. de Rossi*, 138, ביתר; a Berlin manuscript, בתר. The correct form is undoubtedly ביתתר, Beth-ther.—On the ground of the common printed text of the Mishna it is generally assumed that our Beth-ther is also referred to in *Challa* iv. 10. But, according to the context, the place there intended lies beyond the borders of the land of Israel, and the correct reading there is בִּיתְתוֹר, Bê-jittur.—In other passages also, where it has been thought that our place was referred to, this is found to be extremely questionable. Thus in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1, where a village, Βήταρις, is mentioned as “in the midst of Idumea.” We may also compare Βαιθήρ, which, according to some manuscripts of the Septuagint text of Josh. xv. 59, is named among the cities of Judah in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (*cod. Vaticanus* has Θεθήρ, but *Alexandrinus*, Βαιθήρ; so also read Jerome, *Comm. in Micham*, v. 2, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 490). Also Βαιθθήρ, which the text of the *cod. Alex.* 1 Chron. vi. 59 (vi. 44), names besides Beth-shemesh. In the passage in the Song of Songs ii. 17, בֵּיתֵר is not *Nomen proprium* but *appellativum*. On Bethar, south of Caesarea, see the next note.

¹¹¹ In determining the site many have allowed themselves to be led astray by adopting a wrong point of view. In the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, a Bethar is spoken about south of Caesarea on the road to Lydda; and the rabbinical legends tell how that the blood of those slain in Beth-ther rolled away with it great masses of rock until it flowed into the sea (*jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 69^a from above, text in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 45; French in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 434; German in Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud*, 1880, p. 159). On the basis of these statements many have assumed that it lay in the neighbourhood of the coast, and was identical with that Bethar. But whoever will follow the rabbinical legend must follow it out fully. Now it expressly states that the blood flowed from Beth-ther into the sea, although Beth-ther was forty *mil. pass.* from the coast. See Derenbourg's and Wünsche's translations of the *jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 69^a. Only by later writers, who found the statement too absurd, has the distance been reduced to four or

After a long and stubborn defence this stronghold was also conquered in the eighteenth year of Hadrian = A.D. 134–135,¹¹² according to rabbinical calculation on the 9th Ab.¹¹³ In the

one *mil. pass.* (see Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 434, note 4). That Bethar of the *Itineraries* cannot therefore be identified with our Beth-ther, because it lay in a predominantly heathen district, and on the plain, and was therefore certainly not an important military post in the Jewish war. The only certain point of view for determining the site is that offered by the statement of Eusebius, that it was not far from Jerusalem (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 6: τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα). It is accordingly scarcely to be doubted that it is identical with the modern Bettir, some three hours south-west of Jerusalem. A steep ridge, which only in the south joins the mountain range, there breaks into the valley. The place is therefore admirably fitted for a stronghold, and indeed traces of an early fortress are still to be found there. Finally, from this to the sea the distance is just about forty *mil. pass.*, as mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud; as the crow flies, thirty-one. The identity of this locality with Beth-ther has therefore been rightly accepted by: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 428 f.; Williams, *The Holy City*, i. 209–213; Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina* (1859), pp. 101–105; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 387–395; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. i. 647–650; Renan, *Les évangiles*, 1877, pp. 26–29; *L'église chrétienne*, 1879, p. 202 sq.; Derenbourg, *Mélanges publiés par l'école des hautes études*, 1878, pp. 160–165; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 20, and with it Sheet xvii. of the large English Map.—The identity with Bethar south of Caesarea is maintained by: Cassel in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, sec. ii. Bd. 27, p. 14; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 156; Ewald, *History of Israel*, viii. 290; *Göttingen gel. Anzeiger*, 1868, p. 2030 ff.; Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, pp. 191, 202 f.—Yet otherwise: Herzfeld in Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1856, pp. 105–107 (= Betaris in Idumea); Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 270 (identifies it with Bethel); Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 103–114 (= Beth-shemesh, but as he identifies this with the modern Bettir he is so far correct); Lebrecht, *Bether, die fragliche Stadt im hadrianisch-jüdischen Kriege*, 1877 (Bether = vetera !!, by which title the old castle of Sepphoris is said to have been designated !!!); Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, article "Bethar" (in general correct but indefinite: "on the mountains of Judea").—Material on Beth-ther is also to be found in Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, s.v. בתר; Lightfoot, *Centuria Matthaeo praemissa*, c. 52 (*Opp.* ii. 208 sq.).

¹¹² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6.

¹¹³ Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, and Jerome, *Comm. in Zech.* viii. 19, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 852 (see the passage quoted in note 107).—If we could give any credence still to this tradition it might be understood of Ab of the

sack of the city they found Bar-Cochba, "the originator of all the mad fanaticism which had called down the punishment."¹¹⁴ We have absolutely no information about the siege and conquest. The rabbinical legends tell all manner of stories about this struggle; but these productions of the wildest fancy do not deserve even once to be mentioned. This one point alone may perhaps deserve to be repeated, that before the fall of the city R. Eleasar, the uncle of Bar-Cochba, is said to have been slain by his nephew because he falsely suspected him of having come to an understanding with the Romans.¹¹⁵

With the fall of Beth-ther the war was brought to a close, after having continued for somewhere about three years and a half, A.D. 132–135.¹¹⁶ During the course of it also many

year 135; for the war was probably carried on into that year. The years of Hadrian's reign run from 11th August to 11th August (Spartian, *Hadrian*. c. 4). The 9th Ab would correspond to the end of July.

¹¹⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6.

¹¹⁵ The legends about the fall of Beth-ther are found principally in *jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 68^a–69^a (German in Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud*, 1880, pp. 157–160), and Midrash, *Echa rabbathi* c. ii. (German in Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Echa rabbathi* 1881, pp. 100–102). The texts are collected by Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 44 ff. On their relation to one another, see Lebrecht, p. 20 f.—The story of the death of Eleasar is given also in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 433 sq.—In the description of the fearful massacre which the Romans perpetrated, the rabbinical legends use the same hyperbole which the author of the Book of Revelation also employs: that the blood reached up on the horses as far as the nostrils (Apoc. xiv. 20: up to the horses' bridles, ἀχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων). Even Lightfoot and Wetstein have called attention, in their notes on Rev. xiv. 20, to the parallel between that passage and *jer. Taanith* 69^a and Midrash, *Echa rabbathi*; c. ii.

¹¹⁶ That "the government of Barcosiba" lasted three and a half years is stated in *Seder Olam* (in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 413: מלכות בן כוזיבא שלש שנים ומחצה; the reading three and a half is certainly the correct one; see Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 1877, pp. 141–144). Jerome also mentions it as the opinion of some *Hebraei* that the last week year of Daniel (Dan. ix. 27) covers the period of Vespasian and of Hadrian (*Comm. in Daniel* 9 fin. = *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 696: "tres autem anni et sex menses sub Hadriano supputantur, quando Jerusalem omnino subversa est et Judaeorum gens catervatim caesa"). In the Jerusalem Talmud the three and a half years are mentioned

Rabbis died a martyr's death. The later legends have glorified by poetic amplification and exaggeration especially the death of ten such martyrs, among them that of R. Akiba.¹¹⁷

as the period of the siege of Beth-ther (*jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 68^a in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 44; Wünsche, p. 158); in the Midrash, *Echa rabbathi*, three and a half years are assigned to Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem and three and a half years to Hadrian's siege of Beth-ther (Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 431).—Although these witnesses do not carry any great weight, they are correct in saying that the war lasted about three and a half years. Later documents confound the continuance of the siege of Beth-ther with the continuance of the war. That the beginning is to be placed in A.D. 132 has been shown above in p. 297. The end is to be placed, according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6, in the eighteenth year of Hadrian = A.D. 134–135, and, indeed, in 135 rather than 134. For on inscriptions of the year 134 Hadrian does not yet bear the title (*Imp*)*erator II.*, which was given him in consequence of the Jewish war. The war was therefore then not yet ended (comp. note 118).—It is singularly perverse on the part of Jewish scholars like Cassel (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, art. "Juden," p. 14 f.), Herzfeld (*Monatsschrift*, 1856, pp. 107–111), and Bodek (*M. Aurelius Antoninus*, 1868, pp. 50–54), in opposition to all certain data, to set the fall of Beth-ther some ten years earlier; Cassel and Herzfeld in A.D. 122, and Bodek in A.D. 125. In this they follow the Jerusalem Talmud, which places the conquest of Beth-ther fifty-two years after the destruction of Jerusalem (*jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 69^a: ר' יוסי אומר; המשים ושתים שנה עשת ביתהר לאחר חרבן בית המקדש; on עשת = "to spend, continue in existence," as in Eccles. vi. 12, see Salzer, *Magazin*, iii. 175 f.). This statement has arisen out of a confusion between the war of Hadrian and that of Vespasian (see above, note 56). The error here is improved in the course of being repeated by Jerome in *epist. ad Dardanum*, c. 7 (Vallarsi, i. 974): "deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos mansere reliquiae." *Idem*, *Comm. in Jes.* c. 6 s. *fin.* (Vallarsi, iv. 100): "quando post annos ferme quinquaginta Hadrianus venerit et terram Judaeam penitus fuerit depraedatus." *Idem*, *Comm. in Ezech.* c. 5 (Vallarsi, v. 49). *Idem*, *Comm. in Ezech.* c. 24 (Vallarsi, v. 277); the last two passages are quoted above in note 106.—The authority also of the *Chronicon Paschale*, which places the war of Hadrian in the year 119 (ed. Dindorf, i. 474), is not of such a kind that its statement can override all other witnesses.—Essentially correct is the statement of the *Seder Olam*, that the war of Bencosiba occurred sixteen years after the war of Quietus. On the correct reading see Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 141–144.

¹¹⁷ According to the *bab. Berachoth* 61^b, R. Akiba was put to a martyr's death by torture, his flesh being torn from his body with iron combs. But during his sufferings he prayed the *Shema*, and while he, proceeding

In honour of the victory Hadrian was greeted for the second time as *Imperator*.¹¹⁸ Julius Severus received the *ornamenta triumphalia*; to officers and men were given the

with the repetition of it, lingered long over the word Echad (Deut. vi. 4), he breathed out his spirit. Then there sounded forth a *Bath Kol*, a voice from heaven, saying: "Blessed art thou, R. Akiba, that thy soul departed with 'Echad.'"—Elsewhere also in the older Midrash literature, and in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, casual reference is made to the martyr death of this and that rabbi. The gathering together of ten martyrs, on the other hand, makes its appearance first in the Midrashim of the post-Talmudic period. Jellinek, *Midrasch Ele Eskera*, edited for the first time, according to a manuscript of the Hamburg City Library, with dissertations, 1853, and in *Bet ha-Midrasch*, Bd. ii. 64-72 and vi. 19-35, gives some texts. Compare further: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 142; Grätz in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1851-1852, pp. 307-322; *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 175 ff.; Möbius, *Midrasch Ele Eskera, die Sage von den zehn Märtyrern, metrisch übersetzt*, 1854; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 436; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud, Supplementband*, i. (1886) pp. 155-158, art. "Zehn Märtyrer" (this last the relatively best statement).—Bibliographical hints are also given in Steinschneider, *Catalog. librorum hebr. in Biblioth. Bodl.* col. 585, n. 3730-3733.

¹¹⁸ In this designation of Hadrian the title *Imp(erator) II.* is wanting in two military diplomas which are dated 2nd April and 15th September A.D. 134 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. iii.* pp. 877 and 878, *Dipl. xxxiv.* and *xxxv.*; the latter also, *Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. x.* n. 7855). Also, it is wanting on other inscriptions of A.D. 134 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. vi.* n. 973, *Inscr. Regni Neapol.* n. 5771 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. ix.* n. 4359). Particularly decisive is the witness of the military diplomas, which in the designatory clauses are usually most precise.—Even from A.D. 135 (*Had. trib. pot. xix.*) up to a very recent period the title had not been proved. But perhaps certain inscription-fragments, on which the number xix. and the letters *teru* are found, should be expanded into *Had. trib. pot. xix. imp. iterum* (so Hübner, *Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. ii.* n. 478).—The title *Imp. II.* is certainly demonstrable for A.D. 136 (*Had. trib. pot. xx.*); see Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 813 and 2286 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. vi.* n. 975 and 976; also on an inscription which bears this date (*Had. trib. pot. xx.*), but belongs probably to the very beginning of that year, namely, December A.D. 135, *Corp. Inscr. Lat. t. xiv.* n. 3577 = 4235 (the tribunicial year began then in December).—Hadrian therefore received the title *Imp. II.* in A.D. 135, undoubtedly in consequence of the successful ending of the Jewish war. Compare Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, i. 53; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 614, note 4.

customary rewards.¹¹⁹ The victory was won indeed at a very heavy cost. So great were the losses that Hadrian in his letter to the Senate omitted the usual introductory formula, that "he and the army were well."¹²⁰ Still more grievous than this direct loss of men was the desolation of the fruitful and populous province. "All Judea was well-nigh a desert." Fifty fortresses, 985 villages were destroyed, 580,000 Jews (?) fell in battle, while the number of those who succumbed to their wounds and to famine was never reckoned.¹²¹ Innumerable was the multitude of those who were sold away as slaves. At the annual market at the Terebinth of Hebron they were offered for sale in such numbers that a Jewish slave was of no more value than a horse. What could not be disposed of there was brought to Gaza and there sold or sent to Egypt, on the way to which many died of hunger or by shipwreck.¹²²

¹¹⁹ On Julius Severus, see *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830: "Huic senatus auctore imperatore Trajano Hadriano Augusto ornamenta triumphalia decrevit ob res in Judea prospere gestas." Julius Severus was probably the last upon whom this honour was bestowed. See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, i. 378.—On the rewards of officers and men, see above, notes 96 and 102.—The coin with the inscription *exercitus Judaeicus* is not as, e.g., Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 164, supposes, a memorial coin, by which it was intended to recognise the services rendered by the army in the war. For there are many similar coins in provinces in which during the time of Hadrian no war had been carried on (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 486 sqq.; Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. ii. 1882, p. 153 sqq.). Besides, its very existence is questionable. It is given by Eckhel after older authorities, but is now no longer demonstrable (Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 209, note). Cohen therefore has not reckoned it.

¹²⁰ Dio Cassius, lxi. 14. Comp. Fronto, *De bello Parthico*, s. init. (ed. Mai, 1823, p. 200 = *Frontonis epistulae*, ed. Naber, 1867, p. 217 sq.): "Quid? avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Judaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum?"

¹²¹ Dio Cassius, lxi. 14.

¹²² Jerome, *ad Zechar.* xi. 5 (Vallarsi, vi. 885); *ad Jerem.* xxxi. 15 (Vallarsi, iv. 1065); *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474. See the passage in Münter, pp. 85 f., 113. On the terebinth at Hebron: Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 7.

With respect to the capital Jerusalem, that was now proceeded with which had been projected before the war: it was converted into a Roman colony with the name *Aelia Capitolina*.¹²³ In order to make permanent the purely heathen character of the city, the Jews still residing there were driven out, and heathen colonists settled in their stead.¹²⁴ No Jew was allowed thereafter to enter the territory of the city; if any one should be discovered there he was put to death.¹²⁵ The official name of the newly-founded city is given on the coins as *Col(onia) Ael(ia) Cap(itolina)*; writers designate it in their works, as a rule,

¹²³ Compare on the founding of Aelia generally: Deyling, "*Aeliae Capitolinae origines et historia*" (*Observationes sacrae P. V.*, Lips. 1748, pp. 433-490); Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg*, p. 87 ff.; Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 27; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 357 ff.; Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, pp. 21-30, 223-226; Gregorovius, "Die Gründung der römischen Colonie Aelia Capitolina" (*Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, pp. 477-508); *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. 1884 pp. 209-216.

¹²⁴ Dio Cassius, lxi. 12; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6; *Demonstratio evangelica*, vi. 18. 10, ed. Gaisford. The latter passage is quoted above in note 105. Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 279.

¹²⁵ Justin, *Apologia*, i. 47: ὅτι δὲ φυλάσσεται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ θάνατος κατὰ τοῦ καταλαμβανομένου Ἰουδαίου εἰσιόντος ὤρισταί, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε. *Dialog. c. Trypho*, c. 16; 92. Aristo of Pella in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6: ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος (comp. on Aristo, vol. i. pp. 69-72). Tertullian, *Adv. Judaeos*, c. 13 *init.*: "de longinquo eam oculis tantum videre permissum est," seems to be a conscious modification of the words of Aristo for the purpose of harmonizing them with Isa. xxxiii. 17. See Grabe, *Spicilegium patr.* ii. 131 sq.: Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, i. 104 sq.: "saltim vestigio salutare conceditur;" Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangel.* vi. 18. 10, ed. Gaisford; Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 168, *ad. ann. Abr.* 2151; according to the Armenian: "ex hoc inde tempore etiam ascendere Hierosolymam omnino prohibiti sunt primum Dei voluntate, deinde Romanorum mandato;" Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* vi. 11 sqq., ed. Vallarsi, iv. 100; *in Jerem.* xviii. 15, ed. Vallarsi, iv. 971: "nullus Judaeorum terram quondam et urbem sanctam ingredi lege permittitur;" *in Dan.* ix. *fin.*, ed. Vallarsi, v. 696: "ut Judaeae quoque finibus pellerentur." Other passages are given by Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 221, note 1.

only Aelia.¹²⁶ Its constitution was that of a Roman colony, but it had not the *jus Italicum*.¹²⁷ It may readily be supposed that it did not want beautiful and useful buildings. The *Chronicon Paschale* mentions: τὰ δύο δημόσια καὶ τὸ θέατρον καὶ τὸ τρικάμαρον καὶ τὸ τετράνυμφον καὶ τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀναβαθμοὶ καὶ τὴν κόδραν.¹²⁸ At the south gate of the city toward Bethlehem the figure of a swine is said to have been engraved.¹²⁹ The

¹²⁶ Dio Cassius, lxi. 12; Ulpian, *Digest*. l. 15. l. 6, and *Tabula Peutinger*. (*Helya Capitolina*) gives the name in full, Aelia Capitolina. In Ptolemy, v. 16. 8 and viii. 20. 18, the common printed text has in both cases Αἰλία Καπιτωλιάς.—It was called Aelia after the family name of Hadrian: Capitolina after the Capitoline Jupiter.—The coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 441–443; Mionnet, *Description de Médailles antiques*, v. 516–522, *Supplem.* viii. 360, 363; De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque*, pp. 171–187; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 68–73; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 211–231; Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, Jahrg. i. 1869, pp. 79–88; Kenner, *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-Oesterreich*, 1871; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, pp. 83–109; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, pp. 55–68; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 247–275, where the material is given most fully.

¹²⁷ Ulpian, *Digest*. l. 15. l. 6: “In Palestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra jus Italicum habet.”—Paulus, *Digest*. l. 15. 8. 7: *similes his* (namely, like the Caesariens who had not the full *jus Italicum*) *Capitulenses esse videntur*.—A memorial inscription which the courts of the colony set up in honour of Antoninus Pius is given by De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, ii. 204, with atlas, pl. xxiv. n. 6=Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, iii. 2, n. 1895=*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 116: “Tito Ael(io) Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio P. pontif(ici) Augur(i) d(ecreto) d(eurionum). Compare also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 428. The coins of the colony extend down to Valerian (A.D. 253–260).—According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474, the city was divided into seven districts: καὶ ἐμέρισεν τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑπτὰ ἀμφοδὰ καὶ ἔστησεν ἀνθρώπους ἰδίους ἀμφοδάρχας καὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀμφοδάρχει ἀπένευμεν ἀμφοδόν.

¹²⁸ *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474.

¹²⁹ Jerome, *Chronicon*, ad. ann. Abr. 2152 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 169): “Aelia ab Aelio Hadriano condita, et in fronte ejus portae qua Bethleem egredimur sus sculptus in marmore significans Romanae potestati subjacere Judaeos.”—The figure of the swine was found also upon a coin of the *leg. X. Fratensis* discovered in Jerusalem, which De Saulcy has published (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xx. 1869, pp.

chief religious worship in the city was that of the Capitoline Jupiter, to whom a temple was erected on the site of the former Jewish temple.¹⁸⁰ It would also seem that in it there was the statue of Hadrian of which Christian writers speak.¹⁸¹ On the coins, as deities of the city, besides Jupiter are mentioned: Bacchus, Serapis, Astarte, the Dioscuri. A sanctuary of Aphrodite (Astarte) stood on the place where, according to the Christian tradition, the sepulchre of Christ had been;¹⁸² or, according to another version, a sanctuary of Jupiter on the site of the sepulchre, and a sanctuary of Venus on the site of the cross of Christ.¹⁸³

251-260, and De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 83 sq., pl. v. n. 3). Compare generally on figures of animals on the coins of the legions: Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*, 1885, pp. 54-56.

¹⁸⁰ Dio Cassius, lxi. 12.—The figure of Jupiter often occurs on the coins of Aelia.

¹⁸¹ Jerome, *Comm. in Jes.* ii. 9 (Vallarsi, iv. 37): "ubi quondam erat templum et religio dei, ibi Hadriana statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est."—*Idem*, *Comm. in Matt.* xxiv. 15 (Vallarsi, vii. 194): "potest autem simpliciter aut de Antichristo accipi aut de imagine Caesaris, quam Pilatus posuit in templo, aut de Hadriana equestri statua quae in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit."—Since, according to this, the statue of Hadrian stood on the site of the Jewish temple, where, according to Dio Cassius, the temple to Jupiter was erected, and since it is mentioned by Jerome in the former passage along with the figure of Jupiter, it must have stood in the temple of Jupiter. Compare also, Chrysostom, *Orat. adv. Judaeos*, v. 11; Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, i. 438 (στήσας τὸ εαυτοῦ εἶδωλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ); Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 24.—The Pilgrim of Bordeaux speaks of two statues of Hadrian (*Palaestinae descriptiones*, ed. Tobler, p. 4: "sunt ibi et statuae duae Hadriani").

¹⁸² Eusebius, *vita Constantini*, iii. 26. Constantine, it is well known, caused a church to be built on that site. According to the later legend, which to Eusebius was still unknown, the cross of Christ was found upon the excavation of the sepulchre in its neighbourhood (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* i. 17; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 1, and others. Compare Holder, *Inventio sanctae crucis*, 1889; Nestle, *De sancta cruce*, 1889).

¹⁸³ Jerome, *Epist.* 58 ad Paulinum, c. 3 (Vallarsi, i. 321): "Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini per annos circiter centum octoginta in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Jovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur."—The difference of

The complete ethnicizing of Jerusalem was the actual accomplishment of a scheme which previously Antiochus Epiphanes had in vain attempted. In another respect also the enactments of Hadrian were similar to those of the former attempt. The prohibition of circumcision, which had been issued probably even before the war, and was directed not specially against the Jews (see above, p. 292), was now without doubt continued in force. It was only under Antoninus Pius that the Jews were again allowed to circumcise their children (see above, p. 292). The Jewish tradition, which certainly refers to this prohibition, affirms that even the observance of the Sabbath and the study of the law had been forbidden.¹³⁴ Whether this statement be reliable or not, the prohibition of circumcision was, according to Jewish notions, equivalent to a prohibition of the Jewish religion generally. So long as this prohibition was maintained and acted on, there was no use speaking of a pacification of the Jewish people. In fact we hear again, even in the time of Antoninus Pius, of an attempted rebellion which had to be put down by strong measures.¹³⁵ To the Roman authorities there was here only the choice: either to tolerate the religious ceremonies, or to completely exterminate the people. We may indeed assume that the knowledge which the emperor Antoninus had of this alternative, led him to allow again and grant toleration to the practice of circumcision.

statement between Jerome and Eusebius has its origin evidently in the legend of the finding of the cross. Socrates and Sozomen still speak, like Eusebius, only of a sanctuary of Aphrodite. On account of the story of the finding of the cross, however, they assumed that this was the site of the sepulchre as well as of the crucifixion. Jerome, on the other hand, endows each of the two holy places with an idol of its own.

¹³⁴ Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 430; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, 2 Abth. pp. 328-332 (art. "Hadri-anische Verfolgungsedikte").

¹³⁵ *Capitolin. Antoninus Pius*, c. 5 (in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* ed. Peter): "Judaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos."

Under Hadrian's successor, therefore, essentially the same state of matters is seen still to exist as had existed since the time of Vespasian. He did not by any means answer the political ideals of the Jews. But in regard to religious matters they could be satisfied with him. The extinction of their political existence just led to this, that those tendencies obtained the supremacy which represented undiluted Judaism: Pharisaism and Rabbinism.

The development now proceeded forth upon those lines which became prominent in consequence of the great revolution of sentiment that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Without a political home, grouped together into a unity only by the ideal power of the common law, the Jews continued all the more persistently to hold by and cherish this birth-right in which they all shared. In this way the separation between them and the rest of the world was more and more sharply defined. While, during the period in which Hellenistic Judaism flourished, the boundaries between the Jewish and Graeco-Roman view of the world threatened to melt away, the Jews and their opponents now gave attention with all their combined strength to deepen the cleft even more and more. Jewish Hellenism, which proclaimed the common brotherhood of man, disappeared, and Pharisaic Judaism, which sharply repudiated all communion with the Gentile world, won universal acceptance. But paganism also had become more intolerant: the rush of the masses to the worship of the Jewish God had ceased, partly because of other powerful spiritual forces, pre-eminently that of Christianity, which exercised a more potent influence, but partly also because of the civil legislation which, without abrogating the guaranteed toleration of the Jewish religion, imposed legal limitations to the further encroachments of Judaism.

And thus the Jews became more and more what they properly and essentially were: strangers in the pagan world

The restoration of a Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land was, and continued even to be, a subject of religious hope, which they held by with unconquerable tenacity. The difference between the ideal and the actual, however, was at first, and even after centuries had passed, so marked and severe, that they could enter even their own capital only as strangers. Even in the fourth century it was permitted them only once in the year to enter the city on the 9th Ab, the day of the destruction of Jerusalem, in order that they might be able, on the site of the temple, to pour forth their lamentations. In graphic terms Jerome describes how the Jews on that day were wont to gather in mournful companies, to utter forth their grievous complaints, and by gold to purchase from the Roman watch permission to linger longer in the place of mourning:¹³⁶ “Usque ad praesentem diem perfidi coloni post interfectionem servorum et ad extremum filii dei excepto planctu prohibentur ingredi Jerusalem, et ut ruinam suae eis flere liceat civitatis pretio redimunt, ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi emant lacrymas suas et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit. Videas in die, quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum lugubrem, confluere decrepitas mulierculas et senes pannis annisque obsitos, in corporibus et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes. Congregatur turba miserorum; et patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante ἀναστάσει ejus, de oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo, plangere ruinas templi sui populum miserum et tamen non esse miserabilem: adhuc fletus in genis et livida brachia et sparsi crines, et miles mercedem postulat, ut illis flere plus liceat. Et dubitat aliquis, quum haec videat, de die tribulationis et angustiae, de die calamitatis et miseriae, de die tenebrarum et caliginis, de die nebulae et turbinis, de die tubae et clangoris? Habent enim et in luctu tubas, et juxta prophetiam vox sollennitatis

¹³⁶ Jerome, *ad Zephan.* i. 15 sq. (Vallarsi, vi. 692).

versa est in planctum. Ululant super cineres sanctuarii et super altare destructum et super civitates quondam munitas et super excelsos angulos templi, de quibus quondam Jacobum fratrem Domini praecipitaverunt.”¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Compare also Origen, in *Josua* homil. xvii. 1 (ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 152 sq.): “Si ergo veniens ad Jerusalem civitatem terrenam, o Judaeae, invenes eam subversam et in cineres ac favillas redactam, noli flere sicut nunc facitis tanquam pueri sensibus; noli lamentari, sed pro terrena require coelestem.” — *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (*Palaestinae descriptiones*, ed. Tobler, p. 4): “est non longe de statuis [Hadriani] lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judaei singulis annis, et unguent eum et lamentant se cum gemitu, et vestimenta sua scindunt et sic recedunt.” — Some other passages are given by Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 221, note 3.

APPENDIX I.



HISTORY OF CHALCIS, ITUREA, AND ABILENE.

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- MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 2 Aufl. i. 1881, pp. 400–403 (on the dynasties of Chalcis and Abilene).
- WIESELER, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien* (1869), pp. 169–204 (Lysanias of Abilene).
- DE SAULCY, "Recherches sur les monnaies des tétrarques héréditaires de la Chalcidène et de l'Abilène." (*Wiener numismatische Monatshefte von Egger*, 5 Bd. 1 Abth. (1869) pp. 1–34).
- REICHARDT, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, edited by Huber and Karabacek, ii. 1870, pp. 247–250 (Review of the treatise of De Saulcy).
- RENAN, "Mémoire sur la dynastie des Lysanias d'Abilène" (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. 2, 1870, pp. 49–84).

Among the sons of Ishmael there is mentioned in the Old Testament one יִטְרָי (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 31, v. 19). It is without doubt the same tribe that is referred to in the later history under the name *Ἰτουραῖοι* or *Ἰτυραῖοι*. The earliest mention of this people, so far as I know, is to be found in the writings of the Jewish Hellenist Eupolemus (in the middle of the second century before Christ), who mentions the Itureans among the tribes fought against by David.¹ Then we know from Josephus and his authorities, Strabo and Timagenes, that the Jewish king Aristobulus I., B.C. 105–104, fought against the Itureans and took from them a portion of their territory (*Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3). And from this time onward they are frequently mentioned. They were designated sometimes as Syrians, sometimes as Arabians.² The proper names of Iturean soldiers, which are mentioned on Latin inscriptions, are Syrian.³—At the time of the Roman conquest they were still an uncivilised robber tribe,⁴ but greatly celebrated for their skill as bowmen. Even Caesar made use of Iturean bowmen in the African war.⁵ The triumvir

¹ Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* ix. 30: *Στρατεύσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀρμανίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας καὶ Ἰτουραίους καὶ Ναβαταίους καὶ Ναβδαίους.*

² Appian, *Civ.* v. 7: *τὴν Ἰτουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων.*—Vibius Sequester, ed. Hessel, p. 155: "Ithyrei vel Itharei Syrii."—Also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 23. 81, names the *Ituraeorum gentes* among the tribes of Syria.—Dio Cassius, lix. 12: *τὴν τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀράβων.* Strabo, p. 735, joins *Ἰτουραῖοι τε καὶ Ἀραβες*. So, too, at p. 756.—Epiphanius, *Haer.* xix. 1: *ἀπὸ τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας.* Compare Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* ix. 30.

³ We have, e.g. Bargathes, Baramna, Beliabus, Bricbelus (all four on one inscription, Münter, *de rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 40 sq., more correctly in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 4371), Monimus, Jerombal (Münter, p. 42 = *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.* ed. Brambach, n. 1234), Hanel, Jamlicus (Münter, p. 42 sq. = Brambach, n. 1233 = Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Lat.* n. 1530).—Compare besides, Münter, pp. 8–10.

⁴ Strabo, pp. 755, 756; Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 112.

⁵ *Bell. Africanum*, 20: "sagittariisque ex omnibus navibus Ityreis Syris et cujusque generis ductis in castra compluribus frequentabat sua scopias."

Marc Antony had some of them as his bodyguard, and with them he terrorized the Senate to the great scandal of Cicero.⁶ Poets and historians speak of the Iturean bowmen down to the later days of the empire.⁷

The districts inhabited by them may not always have been the same. But during the period of which we have fullest and most accurate information about them, they are never spoken of as resident elsewhere than in Mount Lebanon. Christian theologians indeed endeavour to place it as near as possible to Trachonitis on account of Luke iii. 1. Even Eusebius has for this reason identified Trachonitis and Iturea.⁸ But all historical authorities point most distinctly to Lebanon. So pre-eminently Strabo, who repeatedly designates the Itureans mountaineers and inhabitants of that particular mountain which rises upon the plain of Massyas, and says that they had Chalcis as their capital.⁹ The plain of Massyas or Marsyas

⁶ Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 19 : "confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ituraeis circumsederi."—*Philipp.* ii. 112 : "cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros Ituraeos cum sagittis deducis in forum?"—*Philipp.* xiii. 18 : "haec subsellia ab Ituraeis occupabantur."

⁷ Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 448 : "Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus."—Lucan, *Pharsal.* vii. 230 : "Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis." *Ibid.* vii. 514 : "tunc et Ituraei Medique Arabesque soluto arcu turba minax."—A military diploma of A.D. 110 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868 : "cohors I. Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum."—Arrian, *Alan.* 18 : οἱ πεζοὶ τοξόται, οἱ τῶν Νομάδων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Βοσπορανῶν τε καὶ Ἰτουραίων.—Vopisc. *vita Aureliani*, c. 11 (in the *Scriptores historiae Augustae*) : "habes sagittarios Ityraeos trecentos."—Vibius Sequester, ed. Hessel, p. 155 : "Ithyrei vel Itharei Syrii usu sagittae periti."

⁸ Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 268 : Ἰτουραία ἢ καὶ Τραχωνίτις. *Ibid.* p. 298 : Τραχωνίτις χώρα ἢ καὶ Ἰτουραία.

⁹ Strabo, xvi. 2. 10, p. 753 : οὐ πόρρω δ' οὐδ' Ἠλιούπολις καὶ Χαλκίς ἢ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Μενναίου τῷ τὸν Μασσῶαν κατέχοντι καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίων ὀρεινὴν. *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 18, p. 755 : μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μάκραν ἐστὶν ὁ Μασσῶας ἔχων τινα καὶ ὀρεινά, ἐν οἷς ἢ Χαλκίς ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Μασσῶου ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτοῦ Λαοδίκεια ἢ πρὸς Λιβάνω. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀρεινὰ ἔχουσι πάντα Ἰτουραῖοί τε καὶ Ἀραβεῖς. *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 20, p. 756 : ἔπειτα πρὸς τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἀναμιγξέῃ δὲ δύσβατα (in regard to this see note 16).—Christian lexicographers also explain "Iturea" by

is the plain between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon,¹⁰ beginning in the north at Laodicea of the Lebanon and stretching south as far as Chalcis.¹¹ Since the Itureans are often named together with the Arabians,¹² they are to be looked for in the mountain range that bounds the Massyas plain on the east, that is, in the Anti-Lebanon. They appear also in later accounts as inhabitants of the Lebanon. Dio Cassius (xlix. 32) plainly names the older Lysanias king of the Itureans. But he was son and successor of Ptolemy Mennäus, whose kingdom just embraced the Lebanon and the plain of Massyas with the capital Chalcis (see below, p. 329 f.). On the well-known inscription of the time of Quirinius his subordinate general Q. Aemilius Secundus says of himself: "missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi."¹³ During the time of the Vespasian war, Josephus in his *Life*, xi., mentions ■ Οὐᾶρος βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Δίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. But this Soemus was probably the same as is designated by Dio Cassius and Tacitus the ruler of the Itureans.¹⁴ We never find anywhere any indication that the Itureans had dwelt in any other region than in the Lebanon. The opinion of Wetzstein, that they are to be looked for on the eastern borders of the Hauran,¹⁵ is therefore just as erroneous as the older view that the valley of Dschedur, south of Damascus, had received its "mountain land" (*montenae, ὄρεινῆ*). See *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, pp. 64, 176, 193; Apuleius, *Florida*, i. 6, styles the Itureans *frugum pauperes*, which precisely represents the condition of dwellers in mountainous regions.

¹⁰ Polybius, v. 45. 8 f.

¹¹ This may be inferred from the passages quoted from Strabo. On the position of both cities, see below, notes 17 and 18.

¹² Strabo, xvi. 2. 18. p. 755. Compare also above, note 2.

¹³ *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. iv. 1881, p. 538.—On the genuineness of the inscription, see vol. i. of present work, p. 357.

¹⁴ Dio Cassius, lix. 12; Tacitus, *Annales*, xii. 23.

¹⁵ Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860, pp. 90-92.

name from them. The latter theory is now found on philological grounds to be impossible.¹⁶

In the last decades before the arrival of Pompey, the Itureans belonged to an important confederacy, which recognised as its head Ptolemy the son of Mennäus (*Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναῖος*); for his kingdom, according to the first passage quoted from Strabo (xvi. 2. 10, p. 753), embraced "the mountain lands of the Itureans" and the plain of "Massyas" with the capital Chalcis.¹⁷ The plain of Massyas

¹⁶ It would seem that Wetzstein's view is favoured only by the third passage of Strabo (xvi. 2. 20, p. 756), where Strabo mentions the Trachones in connection with Damascus and "those inaccessible mountains in the territories of the Arabians and Itureans." The order of succession in the enumeration seems to point to the Hauran. In fact, it must be intended at least that this district should be included. But how the matter is to be understood is seen by a comparison of the words of Strabo that follow with Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1-3. Strabo proceeds to say that in these mountains there are enormous caverns, which robbers used as hiding-places. But the robber bands led by Zenodorus were now destroyed by the Romans. This undoubtedly is the same state of matters as is described by Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1-3. From this particular and detailed report we see that the proper domain of Zenodorus was the district of Panias (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3), but that he made common cause with robbers haunting Trachonitis and Auranitis (xv. 10. 1). The territory of Zenodorus (on the southern spaces of this Lebanon) is now, as our sketch will show, a portion of the once important Iturean kingdom. When, therefore, Strabo says that this mountain range, full of caverns, lay "in the territories of the Arabians and Itureans" (*πρὸς τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τῶν Ἰτουραίων*), he means by the *μέρη Ἰτουραίων* evidently the country of Zenodorus. It cannot therefore from his words be concluded that the Itureans themselves dwelt in the Hauran.

¹⁷ Josephus also names Chalcis on the Lebanon as the capital of Ptolemy (*Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4: *δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει*; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 2: *ὃς ἐκράτει τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ Χαλκίδος*). It lay on the route of Pompey's march, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2, south of Heliopolis. Compare also: Robinson, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, v. 90; *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 500; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1, p. 186 ff.; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 1885, p. 35.—There is one other Chalcis not to be confounded with this one, from which the province of Chalcidice has its name. This Chalcis lay much farther north, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* only 18 mil. pass. south of Beröa (*Vetera Romanorum itineraria*, ed. Wesseling, p. 193 sq.). Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 23

runs north as far as Laodicea of Lebanon.¹⁸ But it would seem from the other passages that Ptolemy, like Alexander Jannäus, pushed his conquests beyond this limit. His territory (for to him applies what Strabo, xvi. 2. 18, p. 755, says of the inhabitants of the Lebanon) extended westward to the sea. Botrys and Theuprosopon (Θεοῦ πρόσωπον) belonged to him. Byblus and Berytus were threatened by him. In the east the Damascenes suffered at his hands.¹⁹ In the south the district of Panias, as may be inferred from the history of Zenodorus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1–3, compare with this passage also below, p. 333), belonged to him. Indeed in the time of the Jewish king Aristobulus I., the kingdom of the Itureans seems to have embraced even Galilee (see vol. i. of present work, pp. 293, 294). In any case the Itureans were in that direction immediate neighbours of the Jews. We have therefore before us a State constructed precisely in the same fashion as was the Jewish State of that time, only that Ptolemy, son of Mennäus, was in point of civilisation a good way in advance of Alexander Jannäus.

Ptolemy, son of Mennäus, reigned from about B.C. 85 to about B.C. 40. About B.C. 85, from fear of him, the Damascenes called in the aid of Aretas, king of the Arabians (*Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8). About B.C. 78, Aristobulus, son of Queen Alexandra, made a journey to Damascus, avowedly with the object of protecting it against Ptolemy (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3). When Pompey arrived, 81, calls it *Chalcidem cognominatam ad Belum*. Compare also v. 26. 89. Generally: Ritter, *Erkunde*, xvii. 2, 1592 ff.—On both cities, Noris, *Annus et epochae*, p. 316 sqq.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 400.

¹⁸ Strabo, xvi. 2, 18, p. 755.—Laodicea on the Lebanon (not to be confounded with Laodicea by the sea) lay, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* (ed. Wesseling, p. 198), 18 *mil. pass.* south of Emesa. Compare Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie*, iv. 763 f.; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* viii. 31.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3: ὃς βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γαίτων.

Ptolemy purchased immunity from him by the payment of ■ thousand talents (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2). Pompey, however, destroyed the fortified places in the Lebanon (Strabo, xvi. 2. 18. p. 755), and undoubtedly also curtailed the territory of Ptolemy in a way similar to that in which he dealt with the Jewish territory.²⁰ In B.C. 49, Ptolemy took under his personal care the sons and daughters of the Jewish king Aristobulus II., who had been deposed and quite recently murdered by the party of Pompey (*Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 2). In B.C. 42, when Cassius had left Syria, Ptolemy supported Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, in his endeavour to secure to himself the government of Judea (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 1). Ptolemy died during the progress of the Parthian war, B.C. 40 (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 1). As he is never designated "king" (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4: *δυναστεύων*), it is possible that the coins, which for the most part have the incomplete superscription *Πτολεμαίου τετράρχου ἀρχ(ιερέως)*, belong to him.²¹

Ptolemy was succeeded by his son Lysanias (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 1), who therefore obtained the kingdom with the same extent of territory as had been left to his father by Pompey. Dio Cassius styles him "King of the Itureans" (Dio Cassius, xlix. 32). His

²⁰ Reference is made to the subjugation of Ptolemy in the accounts given of the subjugation of the Itureans by Pompey in Appian, *Mithridat.* 106; Eutropius, vi. 14; Orosius, vi. 6.

²¹ Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 263 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 145, *Suppl.* viii. 119; Münter, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 37; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 116, pl. lvi. n. 14; Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr.* xxvi. 2, p. 62; De Saulcy, *Wiener numismat. Monatshefte*, v. 1, pp. 26–28; *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, p. 198 sq. (on the coins there given is to be read . . . *λεμαι . . . τεραρχο αρχι*).—Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen*, 1885, p. 44, contends that the word *Χαλκιδ* is to be found on the coins. All the more then, in consequence of our defective knowledge of these matters, it still remains a possibility that the coins belong to some unknown Ptolemy. Head, *Historia Numorum* (1887), p. 655.

reign falls in the time of Antony, who also laid the Itureans under a heavy tribute (Appian, *Civ.* v. 7). At the instigation of Cleopatra, Antony caused Lysanias to be executed in B.C. 36 (on the reckoning of the date, see vol. i. p. 402), on the pretence that he had been conspiring with the Parthians, and gifted a large portion of his territory to Cleopatra (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 3; Dio Cassius, xlix. 32).²² Since Dio Cassius and Porphyry call him "king," it is doubtful whether the coins bearing the superscription *Λυσανίου τετράρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως* belong to him, for there were one or more younger princes of this name.²³ At the same time writers were accustomed to apply the title of βασιλεύς in a loose way even to tetrarchs.

The further history of the country cannot be followed out in more detail. But it is certain that the once important kingdom of Ptolemy and Lysanias was gradually cut up more and more into smaller districts. We can quite definitely distinguish four different districts, all of which originally belonged to the one kingdom of Chalcis.

1. About the year 23 B.C. (with regard to the chronology, see vol. i. p. 409) Josephus tells of a certain Zenodorus who had taken on lease the possessions that previously belonged to Lysanias (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1: ἐμεμίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4: ὁ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισ-

²² To this also refers the statement of Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 170: Τὸ δ' ἐκκαιδέκατον (scil. "year of Cleopatra") ἀνομάσθη τὸ καὶ πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τελευτήσαντος Λυσιμάχου τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ Χαλκίδος βασιλέως Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν τε Χαλκίδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τόπους παρέδωκε τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ. Instead of Λυσιμάχου it is now generally admitted that we should read Λυσανίου.

²³ See the coins in Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii. 119 f.; Münter, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 38; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 116 sq. pl. lvi. n. 15, 16; Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr.* xxvi. 2, p. 62 sq.; De Saulcy, *Wiener numismat. Monatshefte*, v. 1, p. 29; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, p. 44, table vi. 18; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 655.—In settling the question as to whether our Lysanias bore the title of Tetrarch the inscription given in note 26 has to be taken into account.

θωμένος οἶκον). This Zenodorus took part in the robberies in Trachonitis, on account of which Trachonitis was separated from the dominions under the sway of Zenodorus, and was conferred upon Herod (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1-2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4).²⁴ Three years later, in B.C. 20, Zenodorus died, and then Augustus conferred upon Herod also the territories over which he had ruled, namely, Ulatha and Panias (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3: τὴν τούτου μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν . . . Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανιάδα καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν; compare *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4; Dio Cassius, liv. 9: Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τετραρχίαν).²⁵ A difficulty arises here inasmuch as Zenodorus is mentioned at first only as lessee or farmer of the οἶκος *Λυσανίου*, whereas mention is afterwards made of his own country, Dio Cassius speaking of his tetrarchy, which was obtained by Herod. The difficulty might be explained by regarding the two as different territories. But against this may be alleged the circumstance that Josephus most decidedly, at least in his first reference to him, would have designated him by his own territory, if that territory had been different from the one which he had farmed out. We are therefore constrained to regard the two as identical. That the district of Ulatha and Panias had formerly belonged to the dominion of Lysanias, *i.e.* to the Iturean kingdom, is highly probable, since the latter extended as far as the borders of the Jewish country (see above, p. 330). It seems therefore that Zenodorus, after the death of Lysanias, had received on rent a portion of his territory from Cleopatra, and that after Cleopatra's death this "rented" domain, subject to tribute, was continued to him with the title of tetrarch.

²⁴ Compare Strabo, xvi. 2. 20, p. 756: καταλυθέντων νυνὶ τῶν περὶ Ζηνοθωρον λεγόντων.

²⁵ Ulatha is the district on the Merom or Semechonitis Lake which is now called Beer-el-Huloh, and is clearly identical with the תְּחֻלָּתָא mentioned in the rabbinical literature (Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, 1868, pp. 24, 27 sq.).

On a monument to the dynasty of Lysanias at Heliopolis of the inscription on which we have indeed only fragments mention is made of a "Zenodorus, son of the tetrarch Lysanias."²⁶ The reference has almost universally been supposed to apply to our Zenodorus, and he has therefore been regarded as a son of the Lysanias executed by Antony. Although this also is uncertain, because Lysanias is designated as tetrarch (see above, p. 332), yet there is proved from the inscriptions a genealogical connection between the two families, in which the same name may have been often repeated.—It may be taken as certain that the coins with the superscription *Ζηνοδόρου τετράρχου ἀρχιερέως* belong to our Zenodorus.²⁷ They have the year numbers *ΠΣ*, *ΒΠΣ*, *ΖΠ[Σ]*, i.e. 280, 282, 287 *aera Seleuc.* or B.C. 32, 30, and 25, which precisely fit our hypothesis.²⁸

After the death of Herod the Great, a portion of the former

²⁶ See the inscription in *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4523, in De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, atlas (1853), pl. liii. n. 5; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. n. 1880; most correctly in Renan, *Mission de Phenicie*, pp. 317–319, and with a complete commentary in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xxvi. 2, pp. 70–79. The legible portions run, with Renan's filling up of lacunae, as follows:—

. . . θυγάτηρ Ζηνοδόρου Λυσ[ανίου τ]ετράρχου καὶ Λυσ[ανίας]

. . . [καὶ τοῖς] υἱοῖς μ[νήμης] χάριν [εὐσεβῶς] ἀνέθηκεν.

²⁷ See the coins in Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, first series, t. xxviii. 1761, pp. 545–556; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 496 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 576, *Suppl.* viii. 381; Münter, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 38 sq.; Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, xxvi. 2, p. 63; De Saulcy, *Wiener numismat. Monatshefte*, v. 1 [1869], pp. 29–32; *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. v. (=second series, t. 1), fasc. 3, 1879, p. 182 sq. [coins with the date *ΖΠ*]; Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 124; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen*, 1885, p. 44, table vi. 19; Head, *Historia Numorum* (1887), p. 663.

²⁸ The year number *ΠΣ*=280, *aera Seleuc.*, or B.C. 32, is indeed incomplete (Mionnet, v. 576: "cette date ne paroît pas entière"). It would be strange indeed if Zenodorus should have received the title of Tetrarch so long as Cleopatra continued to rule.

tetrarchy of Zenodorus went to Herod's son, Philip (*Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3).²⁹ This is the portion referred to by the evangelist Luke (Luke iii. 1), when he says that Philip was governor of Iturea (τῆς Ἰτουραίας).—The tetrarchy of Philip was subsequently obtained by Agrippa I. and Agrippa II.

2. Another tetrarchy was sliced off from the earlier Iturean empire in the East between Chalcis and Damascus to form the district of Abila in the Lebanon. This Abila, according to the *Itinerarium Antonii*³⁰ and the Peutinger tables, lay 18 *mil. pass.* from Damascus on the road from that city to Heliopolis, consequently on the site of the present village of Suk on the Barada, where are still to be seen the ruins of an old city. In the neighbourhood on the wall of rock is engraved an inscription, on which it is said that the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus *viam fluminis vi abruptam interciso monte restituerunt . . . impendiis Abilenorum*.³¹ In the same neighbourhood, too, they point out the so-called grave of Abel (*Nebi Abil*), evidently a legendary creation, which had its origin in the name of the place Abel. The identity of Abila and Suk, therefore, is placed beyond all doubt.³² Much more uncertain is this identification with our

²⁹ In the passage, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3, instead of Ἰάμνεια we should read Πανεϊάδα, according to *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3.

³⁰ *Vetera Romanorum itinera*, ed. Wesseling, p. 198.

³¹ See the inscription, e.g. in De Sauley, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, atlas (1853), pl. li.; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 480; De Sauley, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 20; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. n. 1874; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 199; Facsimile in Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Bd. xii. Blatt 101; *Inscr. Lat.* n. 64.—The inscription, from its reference to the two emperors in its formula, belongs to A.D. 163–165. See Waddington on n. 1874, and Mommsen in the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*

³² See on Abila generally: Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 527 sqq.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 2, p. 1278 ff.; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus* (1855), i. 261 ff.; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, pp. 479–484; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. ii. 393 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, 1 Aufl. p. 511; Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, i. 456–460; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 1885, p. 40.

Abila of a city Leucas, urged by many numismatists, of which several coins are still extant. In support of this, reference is made to a coin on which, besides the words [Λευκ]αδιων Κλαν[διων], is to be read also the name of the river *Χρυσorroas*. In ancient times, certainly, the Barada was called *Chrysorrhoas*, and it had upon its banks, besides Damascus, no other city than Abila. But the name *Chrysorrhoas* is also met with elsewhere, *e.g.* on the inscription of the *Gerasenes*, Div. II. vol. i. p. 118; and it should be particularly observed that on the coin in question the designation of the city is restored only by means of filling up the lacunae.³³

Our Abila was before the time of Caligula the capital of a tetrarchy which is often spoken of by Josephus. When Caligula ascended the throne in A.D. 37, Agrippa I., besides the tetrarchy of Philip, received also "the tetrarchy of Lysanias" (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10: τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν). By this is meant the tetrarchy of Abila. For when Claudius came to the throne in A.D. 41, he confirmed and increased the domain of Agrippa by handing over to him the whole empire of his grandfather Herod as his hereditary possession, and adding thereto: Ἀβίλαν τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει (*Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5: βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου καλουμένην).³⁴ After the death of Agrippa I., in A.D. 44, his territory was administered by Roman procurators. But in A.D. 53, in the thirteenth year of Claudius, Agrippa II. obtained what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, together with Abila, the tetrarchy of Lysanias (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 1:

³³ See on the coins: Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, first series, t. xxxii. 1768, pp. 695-706; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 337 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 308-310, *Suppl.* viii. 214-216; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 20-29.—The identification of Leucas and Abila was first suggested by Belley, and has been specially favoured by De Saulcy. Eckhel expresses himself in a hesitating manner ("quae aliud non sunt quam conjecturae probabiles").

³⁴ There is no word here in reference to Abila about a new donation, but only about a confirmation of the donation of Caligula.

σὺν Ἀβίλᾳ, Λυσανία δὲ αὕτη ἐγεγόνει τετραρχία. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8: τὴν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν).

From these passages we see that the tetrarchy of Abila had belonged previously to A.D. 37 to a certain Lysanias.³⁵ And seeing that Josephus nowhere previously makes any mention of another Lysanias, except the contemporary of Antony and Cleopatra, B.C. 40–36, theological criticism has endeavoured in various ways to show that there had not afterwards been any other, and that the tetrarchy of Abilene had its name from that older Lysanias. But this is impossible. Lysanias I. had possessed the Iturean kingdom with the same boundaries as his father Ptolemy. The capital of his kingdom was Chalcis (compare also especially the passage quoted from Porphyry on p. 332). The domain of Abila did indeed belong to that territory; for the empire of Ptolemy bordered on the territory of Damascus. But it certainly formed only a small portion of that important kingdom which embraced almost all of the Lebanon. It is therefore impossible that the district of Abila could have been characterized as “the tetrarchy of Lysanias.” It must therefore be assumed as certain that at a later date the district of Abilene had been severed from the kingdom of Chalcis, and had been governed by a younger Lysanias as tetrarch.

The existence of a younger Lysanias is also witnessed to by the following inscription found at Abila:—³⁶

Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κυρίων Σε[βαστῶν]
σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ σύμ[παντος]
αὐτῶν οἴκου, Νυμφαῖος
Λυσανίου τετράρχου ἀπέλε[ύθερος]
τὴν ὁδὸν κτίσας κ.τ.λ.

³⁵ The designation βασιλεία, in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5 and 12. 8, is evidently inexact.

³⁶ *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4521 (compare *Addenda*, p. 1174 = Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. 2, p. 67.

Since the correctness of the filling up of the word Σε[βαστῶν] cannot be doubted, the inscription cannot be placed earlier than the time of Tiberius. For the title *Augusti* in the plural was never before given. The first contemporary Σεβαστοί were Tiberius and his mother Livia, who from the death of Augustus, in consequence of the last expressed wish of her husband, took the title of *Augusta*.³⁷ In the time of Tiberius, therefore, at least fifteen years after the death of Lysanias I., it is, indeed, hardly conceivable that a freedman of his would have built a street and erected a temple, as is said on the inscription. Undoubtedly Nymphäus was the freedman of the younger tetrarch Lysanias.—Also the inscription from Heliopolis, quoted on p. 334, makes it probable that there had been several princes of the name of Lysanias.—The evangelist Luke is thoroughly correct when he assumes (Luke iii. 1) that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius there was a Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene.³⁸

The tetrarchy of Lysanias I. remained in possession of Agrippa II. down to his death in A.D. 100; but the name of Lysanias long clung to the place. Also in *Ptolemaeus*, v.

³⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, i. 8: "Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur." Tiberius and Livia (Julia) are named on a Palestinian coin as Σεβαστοί (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 497); its reading, however, is doubtful (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 180).—For further criticism see also *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* t. iii. p. 1174 (*Addenda* to n. 4521); Renan, *Mémoires*, p. 63 sq. (with reference to Renier and Waddington); Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, p. 191, understands the two Σεβαστοί to be Augustus and Tiberius, the latter having only in the last years of Augustus received the title of Σεβαστός. But this is in contradiction to everything else that we know, and, owing to the uncertain date of the coin to which Wieseler himself refers, is incapable of proof. Compare against Wieseler's hypothesis, Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 2 (1 Aufl. 1875), pp. 731–733, 772 f., 1064 ff.

³⁸ On the existence of this younger Lysanias, and generally on Luke iii. 1, see the *pro* and *contra* in the following treatises, in addition to the literature mentioned on p. 325: Frid. Gott. Süsskind, "Symbolae ad illustr. quaedam evangeliorum loca" (in *Sylloge commentt.*, ed. Pott, vol. viii. 1807, pp. 90–99; Schneckenburger, *Ueber Luc.* iii. 1 (*Theol.*

15. 22, Abila is called "Ἀβίλα ἐπικληθεῖσα Λυσανίου, as may be supposed because Lysanias was not only a previous possessor, but the new founder of the city (compare Caesarea Philippi).

3. The domains of Zenodorus and Lysanias lay on the circumference of the earlier Iturean kingdom. In the time of Quirinius, his subordinate general, Q. Aemilius Secundus, undertook a warlike expedition against the Itureans proper, as is told us on an inscription ("missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi").³⁹ Perhaps just at that time a breaking up of the Iturean kingdom took place. At any rate, in the time of Claudius we find a kingdom of Chalcis and a kingdom of Iturea alongside of one another. In A.D. 38, Caligula deprived a certain Soemus of the government of the Itureans (Dio Cassius, lix. 12: Σοαίμω τὴν τῶν Ἰτυραίων τῶν Ἀράβων . . . ἐχαρίσατο).⁴⁰ This Soemus died in A.D. 49, and then his territories were incorporated with the province of Syria. Tacitus, *Annales*, xii. 23: "Ituraeique et Judaei defunctis regibus Sohaemo atque Agrippa provinciae Suriae additi." But at the same time a Herod reigned in Chalcis, so that now the one kingdom of Ptolemy

Stud. und Krit. 1833, p. 1056 ff.); Süskind (son of above-named), "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Worten u. s. w. Luc. iii. 1" (*Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1836, pp. 431-448); Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. (4 Aufl. 1840) p. 341 ff.; Hug, *Gutachten über das Leben Jesu von Strauss*, 1840, pp. 119-123; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 159-167; Ebrard, *Gospel History*, Edin. 1869, § 30, pp. 143-146: "Lysanias of Abilene;" Lichtenstein, *Lebensgeschichte des Herrn Jesu Christi* (1856), pp. 130-136; Winer, *Realwörterb.* art. "Abilenē;" Kneucker in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, i. 26-28, art. "Abilene;" Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* (2 Aufl. 1874), pp. 106-112; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 381-384; *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (1868), pp. 9-13; Bleek, *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, i. 1862, pp. 154-157. See Commentaries on the New Testament by Meyer and others on Luke iii. 1.

³⁹ *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. iv. 1881, p. 538.

⁴⁰ The name Soemus is found also in the dynasty of Emesa. An Iturean Soemus of the time of Herod the Great is spoken of in *Antiq.* xv. 6. 5, 7. 1-4.

and Lysanias was partitioned into, at least, four divisions. The kingdom of Soemus is supposed to have embraced the northern part, from about Heliopolis to Laodicea in the Lebanon.⁴¹

When, upon the death of Soemus, his territory was confiscated, it would seem that his son Varus (or Noarus, as he is called in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6) was portioned off with a small part of his ancestral domains, and even this he held only till A.D. 53. In that year Claudius bestowed upon Agrippa, in addition to the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, *τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν* (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8; in regard to the date, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1). This Varus was, according to Josephus, *Life*, xi., probably the son of that Soemus who died in A.D. 49 (*Οὐάρου βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Δίβανον τετραρχοῦντος*).⁴²

After the Iturean territories had been amalgamated with the province of Syria, regular Roman troops were enlisted there. We meet with Iturean *alae* and *cohortes* from the last decades of the first century in this farthest distant province of the Roman empire.⁴³

⁴¹ The city of Heliopolis cannot have belonged to this kingdom of Soemus, since it was from the time of Augustus a Roman colony (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 428).

⁴² The identity of the Soemus referred to in the latter passage with the one who died in A.D. 49 is not, indeed, quite certain, since there was during the time of Nero and Vespasian a Soemus of Emesa (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 9, iii. 4. 2, vii. 7. 1; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 81, v. 1). The present *τετραρχοῦντος* might be used with reference to the latter. But this grammatical argument is not decisive (comp. Winer's *Grammar*, § 45. 7); and Josephus would scarcely have designated the ruler of Emesa as *τὸν περὶ τὸν Δίβανον τετραρχοῦντα*, especially if, as from Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 7, we must assume to have been the case, he ruled over Sophene that lay far off across the Euphrates to the north of Edessa.

⁴³ The inscriptions in regard to this matter afford us the following data (compare the list of Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. v. 1884, p. 194):—

The *ala I. Augusta Ituraeorum* was stationed during A.D. 98 in Pannonia

4. The history of Chalcis, the centre of the former Iturean kingdom, is unknown to us from the death of Cleopatra down to the date of Claudius' accession. The Emperor Claudius, on his coming to the throne in A.D. 41, gifted it to a grandson of Herod the Great, who was also called Herod.⁴⁴ He was a

(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 862, *Dipl.* xix.), in A.D. 110 in Dacia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868, *Dipl.* xxv.), in A.D. 167 again in Pannonia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 888, *Dipl.* xli.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1382, 3446, 3677, 4367, 4368, 4371; *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 2003.—An inscription of Heliopolis dedicated to Jupiter by a *vexillatio alae Ituraeorum*, therefore by a detachment of this *ala* under a separate command, has been found at Rome (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 421).

The *cohors I. Augusta Ituraeorum* was, in A.D. 80, stationed in Pannonia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 854, *Dipl.* xi.), in A.D. 98 it was still in Pannonia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 862, *Dipl.* xix.), in A.D. 110 in Dacia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868, *Dipl.* xxv.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 1099.

The *cohors I. Ituraeorum*, distinct from the above, was stationed in A.D. 110 in Dacia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868, *Dipl.* xxv.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 1233, 1234, 1289. *Notitia dignitatum Occidentis*, xxvi. 16 (ed. Seeck, p. 178).

The *cohors II. Ituraeorum* was stationed, in A.D. 83, in Upper Egypt (*Ephemeris epigr.* vol. v. p. 1884, p. 612 sq.). Greek inscriptions in the temples at Talmis, Pselchis, and Hiera-Sycaminus (all on the borders of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia) tell, with reference to the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, that these soldiers of this cohort had offered their devotions (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 5050, 5081, 5110).—Subsequently it was stationed in Lower Egypt (*Notitia dignitatum orientis*, xxviii. 44, ed. Seeck, p. 60).

The *cohors III. Ituraeorum* was stationed, in A.D. 83, in Upper Egypt (*Ephemeris epigr.* vol. v. p. 612 sq.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 2394, 2395, t. ix. n. 1619.

A *cohors VII. Ituraeorum* is supposed to be referred to in an inscription on the Memnon statue at Thebes (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 59). But it has been conjectured that there instead of VII. we should read III.

Reference perhaps is made to the sending of Iturean troops to Moesia in the fragmentary inscription in Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. n. 2120 (ed. el-Hit, north of the Hauran):—

.. ηξιλάου τοῦ εἰς Μοισία . . .
.. τουραίων καὶ στρατῆ . . .

⁴⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5.

brother of Agrippa I., and so a son of Aristobulus, the son of Herod the Great.⁴⁵

Herod of Chalcis had the title *βασιλεύς*, and praetorian rank.⁴⁶ He was twice married. His first wife was Mariamme, a granddaughter of Herod the Great. By her he had a son, Aristobulus,⁴⁷ who married Salome, the daughter of Herodias, and widow of the tetrarch Philip, and obtained from Nero the government of Lesser Armenia.⁴⁸ The second wife of Herod was Berenice, the daughter of his brother Agrippa, who gave her to him in marriage after the death of Marcus, son of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria, to whom she was first betrothed.⁴⁹ By her he had two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus.⁵⁰

At the assembly of princes which was once convened by Agrippa I. at Tiberias, but had been so rudely treated by the Roman governor Marsus, we find our Herod also present.⁵¹ After the death of Agrippa I. in A.D. 44, he besought from the emperor—and this is the point that makes him an object of interest in the Jewish history—the oversight of the temple and the temple treasury, as well as the right of nominating the high priest. His prayer was granted, and he exercised his right by frequent appointments and depositions of high priests.⁵²

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 1.

⁴⁶ He is always designated *βασιλεύς* by Josephus. Dio Cassius, lx 8, speaks of his praetorian rank (*στρατηγικὸν ἀξίωμα*).

⁴⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4, xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4, xx. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2; Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 7, xiv. 26.

⁴⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1: Ταύτην μὲν (τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μάρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱός) παρθένον λαβὼν ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππας Ἡρώδῃ διδασι. This is the correct reading, and we should not put marks of parenthesis round *παρθένον λαβὼν*, as Bekker does. Compare Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 197. Berenice therefore was not actually married, but only betrothed to Marcus.

⁵⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.

⁵¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2.

⁵² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 3, 5. 2. Compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 196.

On his coins he is named *Φιλοκλαύδιος*—a natural compliment to the emperor, to whom he owed all his advancement.⁵³ Whether an honorary inscription of the Athenians to a *Ἡρώδης Εὐσεβῆς καὶ Φιλόκαισαρ*, refers to him, seems doubtful.⁵⁴

He died after a reign of about seven years, in the 8th year of Claudius, A.D. 48. His nephew, Agrippa II., obtained his kingdom, but probably only at a somewhat later period.⁵⁵

Agrippa continued in possession of Chalcis only till A.D. 53, when he, in return for the surrender of this country, obtained a larger kingdom.⁵⁶ The history of Chalcis thereafter recedes again into obscurity. In the time of Vespasian there is, indeed, a King Aristobulus of Chalcidice mentioned, who possibly may be identical with the son of Herod of Chalcis and king of Lesser Armenia.⁵⁷ But even if this were so, it is

⁵³ The coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 492; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 569 sq., *Suppl.* viii. 380; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 127, pl. lx. n. 8-10; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen* (1885), p. 44, table vi. 20.—Many numismatists have assigned to one Herod a small copper coin with an eagle, and the superscription *ΒΑΣΙΛ. ΗΡΩΔ.* (so Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 35; Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, p. 82; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 111-113). But the fact that the coins have been found in Jerusalem is in favour of the assigning of them to Herod the Great, and the figure of the eagle is not decisive against this view (De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque*, p. 131; Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, pp. 86-88; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 114, in which he retracts his earlier opinion).

⁵⁴ *Corp. Inscr. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 551, at Athens: [Ο δ]ῆμος [βασιλ]έα Ἡρώδην Εὐσεβῆ καὶ Φιλοκαίσαρα [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας.—Another inscription at Athens (*Corp. Inscr. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 550) honours in a similar manner a βασιλέα Ἡρώδην Φιλοράμαιον.—On account of the diversity in the title, these two references might be applied to two different men; and it seems to be most in accordance with otherwise demonstrable antiquity of the titles to refer n. 550 to Herod the Great, and n. 551 to Herod of Chalcis. But difficulties arise over the fact that the latter on coins calls himself *Φιλοκλαύδιος*.

⁵⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6, 12. 1.

⁵⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8.

⁵⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 7. 1: τῆς μὲν Χαλκιδικῆς λεγομένη,

very doubtful whether by Chalcidice we are to understand the territory of our Chalcis *ad Libanum*, or the territory of Chalcis *ad Belum*. On both see above, p. 329 f.

The city of Chalcis, according to the coins, has an era beginning with A.D. 92, which probably was the year of its incorporation with the province of Syria.⁵⁸

Αριστόβουλος.—A coin with the superscription Βασιλεως Αριστοβουλου ET IZ (year 17), ΤΙΤΩ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΩ Αυτοκρατορι Σεβαστω, is communicated by De Saulcy (*Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, pp. 339–349); Babelon (*Revue Numismatique*, troisième série, t. i. 1883, p. 145, pl. iv. n. 9), and Imhoof-Blumer (*Porträtköpfe*, p. 44, table vi. 21–22, where mention is also made of Aristobulus' wife, Salome).

⁵⁸ Norris, *Annus et ep shae*, iii. 9. 3 (ed. Lips. p. 316 sqq.); Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 264 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 143 sqq., *Suppl.* viii. 115 sqq.

APPENDIX II.

HISTORY OF THE NABATEAN KINGS.

LITERATURE.

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- NÖLDEKE, art. "Nabatäer," in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, Bd. iv. (1872) p. 269 f.
- DE SAULCY, "Numismatique des rois Nabatéens de Pétra" (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. iv. 1, 1873, pp. 1-35). Supplements to this: (1) *Annuaire de la Société française*

- de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. v. (=seconde série, t. i.) fasc. 5. 1881, p. 462 sq. (unreadable coins, perhaps of Aretas and Sekailath).
 (2) *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, pp. 193-197 (a coin of Aretas and two of Sylläus?).
- GRÄTZ, "Die Anfänge der Nabatäerherrschaft" (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1875, pp. 49-67).
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- KAUTZSCH, art. "Nabatäer," in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*.
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- DE VÖGUE, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'année*, 1885 (IV^{me} série, t. xiii.), pp. 45-52.
- DOUGHTY, *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie*, Paris 1884.
- BERGER, "Nouvelles inscriptions nabatéennes de Medain Salih" (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'année* (IV^{me} série, t. xii.), pp. 377-393).
- HALÉVY, "Inscriptions nabatéennes" (*Revue des études juives*, t. ix. 1884, pp. 8-16), known only from quotation in Doughty.
- CLERMONT-GANNEAU, "Les noms royaux nabatéens employés comme noms divins" (*Revue archéologique*, III^e série, t. v. 1885, pp. 170-178).
- NEUBAUER, "On some newly-discovered Temanite and Nabataean Inscriptions" (*Studia Biblica*, Oxford 1885, pp. 209-232).
- MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 1885, p. 476 ff.
- EUTING, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin 1885; in this work at pp. 81-89: GUTSCHMID, *Verzeichniss der nabatäischen Könige*—the most complete collection of materials.—Euting gives the same inscriptions for the most part as Doughty and Berger, but much more correctly.
- SORLIN-DORIGNY and BABELON, "Monnaies Nabatéennes inédites" (*Revue Numismatique*, troisième série, t. v. 1887, pp. 369-377).
- Separate single Nabatean coins have been communicated by Levy, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, pp. 445-448, and Olshausen, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie aus dem Jahre*, 1874, p. 185. A Nabatean inscription from Puteoli is given by Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, pp. 150-154; comp. also, Levy, *Zeitschrift*

der DMG. pp. 652-654; Nöldeke, *Ibid.* 1884, pp. 144, 654. Other examples are given by Renan, *Journal asiatique*, VII^e série, t. ii. 1873, pp. 366-382. One inscription from Sidon is given by Levy, in *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, pp. 435-440.

Greek Aretas coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 330; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 284 sq.; Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, t. ii. (p. 444 sq.=atlas, pl. 48, n. 12; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 117, pl. lvi. n. 17-19. A Latin coin of Scaurus, with reference to the subjugation of Aretas, in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* v. 131; Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, i. 120 sq.

On the Aretas referred to in the New Testament (2 Cor. xi. 32), see especially Joh. Gottlob Heyne, *De ethnarcha Aretae Arabum regis*, 2 vols. Wittemb. 1755; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione* (1833), pp. 173-182; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters* (1848), pp. 167-175, and the articles on Aretas in Winer's *Realwörterbuch* and Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie* (the latter by Wieseler).

Besides the Syrian empire in the north, and the Egyptian empire in the south, Palestine had during the Graeco-Roman period a third powerful neighbour: the Nabatean kingdom in the south and east. The history of this kingdom can now be set forth in a tolerably connected manner only when the scattered references to it in early writers, particularly in Josephus, are filled out by means of the rich materials afforded by coins and inscriptions. Information regarding the coins has been imparted by the Duc de Luynes (1858), De Vogüé (1868), and De Saulcy (1873); information regarding the inscriptions by De Vogüé (1868), Doughty (1884), Berger (who in 1884 published the materials gathered by the scientific traveller Huber, who perished as a victim in the prosecution of his calling), and Euting (1885). The inscriptions of De Vogüé belong to the district of the Hauran, and therefore to the north of the Nabatean kingdom; those published by Doughty, Berger, and Euting were found for the most part at *el-Hegr.* (= Medain Salih), one of the southernmost points of the kingdom of Nabatea. The latter are specially numerous and important, since almost all of them are dated according

to the years of the reigns of the Nabatean kings Aretas and Malchus. The correct reading of them was for the first time made possible by the careful copies of Euting. This scholar has also correctly determined the meaning of some Nabatean number-signs, and has thereby made corrections upon several conjectured dates in the earlier readings of the coins and inscriptions. The whole material from writers, coins, and inscriptions has been collected together by Gutschmid in an excursus to Euting's works. To his full and informing treatise we are largely indebted for the facts in the following sketch.

About the nation of the Nabateans (*Naḡaraîoi*, נבטו) we know so little that we can point to no certain indication of its nationality. The language of the coins and inscriptions, which without exception are in Aramaic, seems to confirm Quatremère's supposition that they were Aramaeans. On the other hand, they are uniformly designated by early writers Arabians, and indeed not only by those writing at a distance, but also by such as Josephus, who must have been quite familiar with the distinction between Aramaeans and Arabians. Besides this, it should be noted also that the names on the inscriptions are distinctly Arabian. The idea therefore has rightly been insisted upon principally by Nöldeke that they were Arabians, but that they had made use for literary purposes of the Aramaic as the language of culture at that time, because the Arabic had not yet been developed into a literary language.¹

Regarding the history of the Nabateans previous to the Hellenic period, we really know next to nothing. Their identity with the נבטו who are mentioned in Gen. xxv. 13, xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3, 1 Chron. i. 29, Isa. lx. 7, as an Arabian tribe, is indeed probable but by no means certain.² Nor do

¹ See Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* Bd. xvii. 1863, p. 703 ff., xxv. 1871, p. 122 ff.

² The identity was, it would seem, assumed even by Josephus, *Antiq.* i.

we obtain much further information from the cuneiform inscriptions.³ The first actually reliable information about the Nabateans comes to us at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. We find them then, where in earlier times the Edomites had been settled, between the Dead Sea and the Aelanitic Gulf in the district of Petra, the ancient פֶּטְרָא of the Edomites. When Antigonos, in B.C. 312, had driven Ptolemy Lagus out of Coele-Syria, he sent his general Athenäus with 4000 foot soldiers and 600 cavalry against the Nabateans. Athenäus threw down their stronghold Petra, and took from it great spoil. But in consequence of his own carelessness his army was soon thereafter almost completely annihilated by a night attack of the Nabateans; only fifteen horsemen, and even these mostly wounded, are said to have escaped. Antigonos thereupon sent his son Demetrius against the Nabateans with a new army. But even Demetrius was not able to win any decisive victory. After a fruitless siege of Petra he began again his homeward march, for he had to content himself with arranging for hostages, and taking pledges from the Nabateans that they would maintain friendship. Diodorus, who reports all this to us,⁴ gives on this occasion also a description of the Nabateans. They were even then uncivilised nomads, practising no agricultural arts, pursuing no cattle rearing and trade, and evidently still without kings. But gradually culture must have made its way more and more amongst them, until they came to have a sort of civil and political order under regal government. Their dominion

12. 4. He was followed by Jerome, *Quaestiones in Genes.* xxv. 13, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, iii. 345, and by most modern commentators. See, besides the literature referred to above, the commentaries on Gen. xxv. 13. The only difficulty arises from the fact that *Nabajoth* is written with ת, Nabatean with נ (on coins and inscriptions it is written constantly נבטך).

³ See Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, 1878, pp. 99–116.

⁴ Diodorus, xix. 94–100. — Compare Plutarch, *Demetr.* 7; Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II Aufl. ii. 2, pp. 55–59.

was now extended toward the north and toward the south. Their capital continued to be that Petra which so early as the time of Antigonus had formed their strongest place of refuge.⁵

The first prince (τύραννος) of the Nabateans of whom we know anything is that Aretas (Aretas I.) with whom the high priest Jason in B.C. 169 in vain sought shelter (2 Macc. v. 8).⁶ Since Aretas is designated as τύραννος it would seem that the Nabatean princes then had not yet assumed the title of king.—After the outbreak of the Maccabean revolution the Nabatean princes assumed a friendly attitude toward the leaders of the Jewish national party (Judas, B.C. 164; Jonathan, B.C. 160). See 1 Macc. v. 25, ix. 35. The country under their rule now extended as far as to the district east of the Jordan.

⁵ Compare on Petra as capital of the Nabateans, especially Strabo, xvi. p. 779; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 28. 144; Josephus, *Antiq.* 1. xiv. 4, 5. 1, 13. 9, xvii. 3. 2, xviii. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2, 8. 1, 13. 8, 29. 3; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, c. 41; *Periplus maris erythraei*, § 19.—Generally: Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 926 sqq.; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 512, 517, 653; Raumer, *Palästina*, pp. 276–278, 451 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 1103–1141; Cless in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, v. 1394 ff.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Sela;" Bertheau in Schenkel's *Bibelscon*, art. "Sela;" Mühlau in Riehm's *Wörterbuch*, art. "Sela;" Dyer in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, art. "Petra," vol. ii. 583; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 503 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 587–589, *Suppl.* viii. 387 sq.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 351, 353, pl. xx. 1–6; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 2 Aufl. i. 1881, p. 431 f.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer morte à Pétra et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, 3 vols. Text and 1 of illustr. Paris, s. a. [1874] especially pl. 44–49; Bäder-Socin, *Palästina*, 1875, pp. 303–309.

⁶ The Second Book of Macc. v. 8 says with reference to this: Jason was imprisoned by Aretas, prince of the Arabians (ἡγκλεισθεὶς πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον), then fled from city to city, etc. Instead of the reading of the common text ἡγκλεισθεὶς, modern expositors have conjectured ἡγκληθεὶς (accused), and interpreted it as meaning that Jason had sought refuge with Aretas, but was not received by him, since, on account of his hostile attitude toward Antiochus Epiphanes, he had been "accused" or denounced before Aretas.

The kingdom of the Nabateans, however, did not rise into greater importance until the end of the second century before Christ, when the fall of the empire of the Ptolemies and the Seleucid dynasty made possible the founding of a powerful independent commonwealth upon their borders. In Justin's abstract from Trogus Pompeius it is said of the period about B.C. 110–100 (Justin, xxxix. 5. 5–6) that this kingdom of Syria and Egypt had become so enfeebled, "ut adsiduis proeliis consumpti in contemptum finitimorum venerint praedaeque Arabum genti, inbelli antea, fuerint: quorum rex Erotimus fiducia septingentorum filiorum, quos ex paelicibus susceperat, divisus exercitibus nunc Aegyptum, nunc Syriam infestabat magnumque nomen Arabum viribus finitimorum exsanguibus fecerat." This Erotimus therefore ought to be regarded as the founder of the royal Nabatean dynasty.⁷

An Aretas II. (*Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς*) is spoken of at the time of the siege of Gaza by Alexander Jannäus in B.C. 96. He had promised help to the Gazites, but the city fell into the hands of Alexander before Aretas could afford assistance (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3).

A couple of years later, about B.C. 90, Alexander Jannäus attacked King Obedas I. (*Ὀβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα*), but suffered at his hands a crushing defeat on the east of the Jordan (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 4). De Saulcy, Gutschmid, and Babelon think that to

⁷ The two "Arabians," referred to about B.C. 146, 145, "Zabdiel," 1 Macc. xi. 17 (called Zabelus in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 8, and perhaps identical with Diocles in Diodorus in: Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* t. ii. p. xvi.), and "Imalkue," 1 Macc. xi. 39 (called Malchus in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 1, and in Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* ii. p. xvii., called Jamblichus, *i.e.* ימלכו, see vol. i. of present work, p. 247), were probably only petty rulers, not princes of the Nabateans (see Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 81). The very existence of the Maliku I., whom Gutschmid, on the strength of the testimony of a coin, places on the list before Erotimus, is extremely doubtful.

this Obedas I. should be ascribed certain coins with the superscription עבדת מלך נבטו.⁸

Again, another couple of years later, Antiochus XII advanced from Coele-Syria against the king of the Arabians, whose name is not mentioned. This time also the Arabians were victorious. Antiochus himself fell in the battle at Cana (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 7). By the unnamed king of the Arabians we are to understand Aretas III., of whom Josephus immediately afterwards tells that he, just in consequence of the death of Antiochus, succeeded in gaining possession of Coele-Syria and Damascus, and then gained a victory over Alexander Jannäus near Adida (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8).⁹ The power of the Nabatean kings was thus now, about B.C. 85, extended as far as Damascus.¹⁰ To our Aretas III. the Numismatists have rightly assigned the coins

⁸ De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. p. 18 sq.; Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 82. An example of this coin is also given by Levy, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, iii. 1871, pp. 445–448. — The specimen published by Babelon (*Revue Numismatique*, 1887, p. 371 sq.) has the superscription עבדת מלכא מלך נבטו, and is of the fifth year (שנת חמש).

⁹ Gutschmid understands by the unnamed king Rabilus, by whom, according to Steph. Byz., "the Macedonian Antigonos was slain" (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μαθώ· κάμη 'Αραβίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔθανεν 'Αντίγονος ὁ Μακεδὼν ὑπὸ 'Ραβίλου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν 'Αραβίων, ὡς Οὐράνιος ἐν πέμπτῳ). Instead of 'Αντίγονος, Gutschmid reads 'Αντίοχος, and understood by it Antiochus XII. It seems to me, however, that this hypothesis is shattered by a careful comparison of Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2 with 15. 1. It would also thus be necessary to assume two kings between Aretas II. in B.C. 96 and Aretas III. in B.C. 85. In the passage from Steph. Byz. we must in any case suppose that some confusion has entered in. But all the less can we build upon it any satisfactory conclusion. Compare also Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iv. 525.

¹⁰ Damascus, however, cannot have continued in unbroken possession of the Arabians down to the Roman conquest, for, according to a coin of the year 243 *Seleuc. aera* = B.C. 70–69 (Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii. 193), it was then autonomous. In agreement with this also is the fact that it was occupied about that time by the Jewish queen Alexandra in order to protect it against Ptolemy Mennäus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3).

with the superscription, *Βασιλέως Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληνος*. These can belong to no other Aretas, for they were minted in Damascus; and not indeed to the younger Aretas IV., since he called himself "the Friend of his People."¹¹ The coins witness therefore to the prevalence of Hellenism at that period in the Nabatean kingdom.—In the time of this Aretas there occurred also the first collision with the Romans. We know from the Jewish history that Aretas, in the conflict between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sided with the party of Hyrcanus, supported him with his troops, and laid siege to Aristobulus in Jerusalem; but then, at the command of the Roman general Scaurus, he withdrew, and on his return march was defeated by Aristobulus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 4–2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2–3). Thereupon Pompey had made a resolve to go himself against Aretas. But during his march to Petra he was obliged by the hostile attitude of Aristobulus to make his way back to Judea (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 3–4). After the conquest of Jerusalem, Pompey made over the province of Syria to Scaurus (*Antiq.* xiv. 4. 5); and this general was the first to lead an expedition against Petra, but obtained from Aretas no more than the payment of a sum of money (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 1). Only to this extent was the subjugation of Aretas carried, of which Pompey had boasted,¹² and which was gloried over

¹¹ See the coins in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iii. 330; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 284 sq.; Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, ii. 444 sq. = atlas, pl. 48, n. 12; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 117, pl. lvi. n. 17, 18; Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, p. 293 sq., pl. xiv. n. 2, 3; De Sauley, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, p. 11 sq., pl. i. n. 4, 5; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe* (1885), p. 47, Illust. vi. 24.—One of these coins has the year number AP = 101, on which compare Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, p. 311 sq. The reference of this coin to Aretas IV., which Rohden favours (*De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 6 sq.), is impossible, since the title on it, *רחם עמה*, cannot be synonymous with *Φιλέλληνος*.

¹² Diodorus, xl. 4 = *Exc. Vatican*, pp. 128–130. Compare also Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 15; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 41; Appian, *Mithridat.* 106; Orosius, vi. 6.

upon a coin struck in memory of the event.¹³ The city of Damascus, on the very first appearance of the Romans in Syria, had been laid siege to by the legates of Pompey (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2), and from that time onward continued under Roman suzerainty.¹⁴

¹³ Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* v. 131; Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, t. i. 1885, p. 120 sq. On the coin Aretas is represented as kneeling, with the superscription: "Rex Aretas, M. Scaur. aed. cur., ex S. C."

¹⁴ Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 405, and Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 476 f., assume from 2 Cor. xi. 32 that Damascus, from the beginning of the Roman period down to A.D. 106, had continued in subjection to the Arabian kings. But, besides the passage from Jerome quoted by us in Div. II. vol. i. p. 97, the following evidence seems to tell against that view: (1) According to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 18. 74, and Ptolemy, v. 15. 22, it belonged to Decapolis, i.e. to the cities which had their freedom given them, and were placed only under the general supervision of the Roman governor of Syria. It cannot therefore, in consequence of the arrangements made by Pompey, have been given over to the king of Arabia. (2) The existence of a "cohors I. Flavia Damasacenorum" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. 2, p. 870, *Dipl.* n. xxvii.; *Ephemeris epigr.* t. v. p. 194 and p. 652 sq., a military diploma of Domitian of A.D. 90 found at Mainz) proves that at latest in the time of the Flavian dynasty, therefore in the first Christian century, regular enlistments of Roman troops were made in Damascus. This, to say the least of it, was very unlikely to occur in a city belonging to the territory of an Arabian king, although, indeed, Mommsen regards such enlistment as possible in the territories of kings who recognised the sovereignty of Rome (Hermes, xix. 48, 49). (3) After the territory of the Arabian king had been converted in A.D. 106 into a Roman province, Damascus belonged not to the Roman province of Arabia, but to the province of Syria. (So, along with others, testifies Justin in the *Dial. c. Trypho*, c. 78 s. fin.: *Δαμασκὸς τῆς ἀρραβικῆς γῆς ἣν καὶ ἔστιν, εἰ καὶ νῦν προσενέμνεται τῇ Συροφονίᾳ λεγομένῃ*.) (4) In the boundary dispute between the Sidonians and the Damascenes in the time of Tiberius (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3), mention is made only of the suzerainty of the Roman governor, not of that of the Arabian king. (5) Also the coins of Damascus, with the images of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, are very unfavourable to the idea of a contemporary subjection to the king of Arabia. Recently Rohden has therefore rightly (*De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, pp. 4-9) decided against the views of Marquardt and Mommsen. - Wandel (*Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissensch. und kirchl. Leben*, 1887, pp. 433-443) thinks he has made a completely new discovery when he declares that Damascus was "neither Arabian nor Roman, but an independent state with certain guaranteed

—The period of the reign of Aretas III. extends, according to the hitherto prevailing view, from somewhere about B.C. 85 to B.C. 60. On account of the similarity between his portrait and that of Aretas Philellen, some of the Nabatean coins with the superscription מלך נבטו have been ascribed to him.¹⁵ On one we meet with the number 17 or 18 (so Euting-Gutschmid, not as was formerly read, 32 or 33).

In B.C. 55 Gabinius undertook an expedition against the Nabateans. Whether at that time Aretas or his successor Malchus occupied the throne is not stated by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 6. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 7).

Malchus I. (Μάλχος or Μάλιχος, see Nöldeke in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 63) reigned from B.C. 50 to B.C. 28. In B.C. 47 he placed cavalry at the service of Caesar for the Alexandrian war (*Bell. Alex.* i.). When the Parthians conquered Palestine in B.C. 40, Herod wished to take refuge with Malchus, but was not received by him (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 14. 1–2). On account of the aid given by him to the Parthians, Ventidius exacted from him a tribute in B.C. 39 (Dio Cassius, xlviii. 41). Antony bestowed a portion of his territory upon Cleopatra (Dio Cassius, xlix. 32; Plutarch, *Anton.* 36; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 4).¹⁶ In B.C. 32 Malchus sent to Antony auxiliary troops for the Actean war (Plutarch, *Anton.* 61). Since he no longer paid the tribute for the portion granted to Cleopatra, war was waged against him by Herod at the instigation of Antony. The war, which at the beginning was favourable to the Arabians, ended in their utter overthrow in

liberties under Roman suzerainty and Roman protectors" (p. 441 f.). This, so far as it is correct, is precisely the view of those who speak of it as "Roman."

¹⁵ De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 157; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, iv. p. 13.

¹⁶ The statement of Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 3, that Malchus was put to death at the instigation of Cleopatra, is erroneous.

B.C. 32-31 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19). The last that we hear of Malchus is that he promised the aged Hyrcanus to support him in the revolt planned against Herod in B.C. 30 (*Antiq.* xv. 6. 2-3).—To our Malchus De Vogüé thinks ■ Nabatean inscription at Bozra should be referred, in which “the eleventh year of King Maliku” is spoken of (שנת 11 למלכו מלכא).¹⁷ Renan finds this same Malchus (מלכו מלך נבטו) on an inscription which has been discovered at Puteoli.¹⁸

Obodas II., about B.C. 28-9, was king during the campaign of Aelius Gallus against the southern Arabians, B.C. 25-24, in which campaign a thousand Nabatean auxiliary troops took part. He made over the concerns of government wholly to his ἐπίτροπος Syllaëus, who gave to Aelius Gallus evil counsel as to the course of march that he should take (Strabo, xvi. pp. 780-782). Obodas is still spoken of as king in the last days of Herod, when Syllaëus went to Jerusalem to treat for the hand of Salome, the sister of Herod (*Antiq.* xvi. 7. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 6), and when Herod undertook an expedition against the Arabians (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 1 and 4). Just about that time, B.C. 9 (?), Obodas died it is supposed by poison administered to him by Syllaëus (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 4). Some coins have been communicated by De Saulcy.¹⁹

Aretas IV., whose original name was Aeneas, from B.C. 9 till A.D. 40, succeeded Obodas immediately in the possession of the throne (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 4).²⁰ Because of his assuming

¹⁷ De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, pp. 103-105. The inscription is, according to De Vogüé (p. 114), written in an older character than the other inscriptions which have come down from the first century after Christ.

¹⁸ Renan, *Journal asiatique*, VII^e série, t. ii. 1873, pp. 366-382.

¹⁹ De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. p. 19. Also Euting-Gutschmid, p. 84.—Two coins of Syllaëus (?) are given by De Saulcy, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, p. 196.

²⁰ The year of the accession to the throne cannot be with certainty determined. Compare the chronology of the last years of Herod in vol. i. p. 414

the government of his own accord, Augustus was at first indignant, but afterwards recognised him as king (*Antiq.* xvi. 10. 9). Aretas repeatedly preferred accusations against Syllaëus before Augustus (*Antiq.* xvii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 3), and in consequence of these complaints Syllaëus was put to death in Rome (Strabo, xvi. p. 782; Nicholas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iii. 351). When, after the death of Herod in B.C. 4, the governor Varus was obliged to fit out a warlike expedition against the Jews, Aretas contributed auxiliary troops to his army (*Antiq.* xvii. 10. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 5. 1).—From the long reign of Aretas only a few incidents belonging to its latest period have come down to us. The tetrarch Herod Antipas had a daughter of Aretas for his wife, and her he subsequently divorced in order to marry Herodias. The enmity occasioned thereby between the two princes was further inflamed by disputes regarding boundaries. An open conflict followed, in which the army of Herod was defeated by the troops of Aretas. Owing to his having proceeded at his own instance, Aretas was to have been chastised by the governor Vitellius at the instigation of the Emperor Tiberius. But when Vitellius, on his march against Petra, received in Jerusalem the tidings of the death of Tiberius he turned back, leaving his task unperformed (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1 and 3). These events therefore belong to the latest years of the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 36–37. At a period not much later occurred Paul's flight from Damascus, at which time Damascus was under a governor (ἐθνάρχης) of King Aretas (2 Cor. xi. 32). We learn from this statement that now again Damascus belonged to the domain of the Arabian king. This is also confirmed by the fact that from the time of Caligula and Claudius no coins of Damascus are known having the image of the Roman emperor. Compare Div. II. vol. i. pp. 97, 98. Probably Caligula, who was induced to the performance of such acts of grace, had restored the city to

Aretas.²¹—Of no other Nabatean king have we so rich materials in coins and inscriptions as of Aretas IV. Among the inscriptions of el-Hegr = Medain-Salih, which Doughty, Huber, and, most correctly of all, Euting have communicated, there are found no fewer than twenty which are dated from the reign of this Aretas, most of which are in a good state of preservation.²² The same Aretas is probably also referred to in an inscription at Sidon,²³ and on the two inscriptions from Puteoli.²⁴ His name also occurs not infrequently on coins.²⁵ On the inscriptions at el-Hegr he is constantly called חרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה, "Charitheth, king of the Nabateans, who loves his people" (*Rachem-ammeh*). It is the same also, as a rule, upon the coins. The title *Rachem-ammeh* is an expression of a national patriotic sentiment, and embraces an indirect

²¹ So also Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 85. The older literature on this question is given by Anger, Wieseler, Winer in the above-named works. Very improbable is the view presented in various forms that Aretas had gained possession of Damascus by force. Such an attack upon Roman territory could not have been left unheeded. The coins of Damascus with the image of Tiberius come down to the year 345 *Seleuc. aera* = A.D. 33–34 (Mionnet, v. 286; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 36); those of Nero begin with the year 374, *Seleuc. aera* = A.D. 62–63 (Mionnet, v. 286; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 36). In the interval Damascus may have been in the possession of the Arabian king.

²² Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 24–61 (Nr. 1–20).

²³ De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 113 = Levy, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, p. 435 ff. With reference to the date, compare also Euting-Gutschmid, p. 85. De Saulcy is inclined to refer it to Aretas III., and by the Zoilus therein spoken about, to understand the person of that name known to us from Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 2 and 4. See *Comptes rendus de la société française de numismatique et d'archéologie*, 1873, which is known to be only by Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, ii. 1246 f.

²⁴ Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, p. 150 ff.; Levy in same journal, p. 652 ff.; Nöldeke in same journal, 1884, pp. 144, 654; Renan, *Journal asiatiques*, VII^e série, t. ii. 1873, p. 366 sqq.—With regard to the dating of both, compare Euting-Gutschmid, p. 85.

²⁵ Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, pp. 294–296; De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 162 sqq.; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, pp. 13–17; Babelon, *Revue Numismatique*, 1887, pp. 374–377.

refusal or repudiation of such titles as *Φιλορώμαιος* or *Φιλόκαισαρ* (Gutschmid, p. 85).²⁶ That this very Aretas, *Rachem-ammeh*, is identical with Aretas IV. may be regarded as certain. For the year of this reign as given on the inscriptions of el-Hegr reach down to the year 48, and indeed the twenty-eighth year is written on both inscriptions (Euting, No. 16 and 17) in words, שנת ארבעין וחמנא לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם, so that a doubt in regard to the number is impossible. The coins (also according to Euting-Gutschmid, p. 85) come down to the year 48; but only Aretas IV. can have reigned for so long a time. And there is thus also a proof supplied that the Aretas mentioned in the last years of Herod the Great is identical with the opponent of Herod Antipas.

Abias, *ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς*, in the time of Claudius undertook a warlike expedition against Izates of Adiabene, in which he was aided by the very subjects of Izates, who were disgusted at his conversion to Judaism. Abias was conquered by Izates, and in order to escape falling into his enemy's hands took his own life (*Antiq.* xx. 4. 1).—In Gutschmid's list this Abias is not inserted (or is overlooked?). But certainly the fact is remarkable that a Nabatean king takes the field against the Adiabene lying on the other side of the Euphrates.—In another place, however, Josephus says expressly that *Ναβατηνή* stretched from the Red Sea to the Euphrates.²⁷

Malchus II., about A.D. 48–71, in A.D. 67 contributed auxiliary troops to the army of Vespasian for the Jewish war (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2), and is mentioned in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, composed about A.D. 70, as

²⁶ He casually remarks that one should expect, according to the Semitic חרתת, naturally Ἀρέθας, as indeed the well-known bishop of Caesarea names himself. The form Ἀρέτας undoubtedly has arisen under the influence of the Greek word ἀρετή.

²⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 12. 4: οὗτοι (scil. the descendants of Ishmael) πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι, Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες.

king of the Nabateans (*Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 19, ed. Fabricius: *Λευκὴ κόμη, διὰ ἧς ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εἰς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν, βασιλέα Ναβαταίων*). An inscription at Salkhat in the Hauran is dated from "the seventeenth year of Maliku, king of the Nabateans, son of Charithath, king of the Nabateans, who loves his people" (*Rachem-ammeh*).²⁸ At *el-Hegr* were found six inscriptions, which are dated according to the years of the reign of Maliku,²⁹ of which the latest (Euting, No. 26) is of "the twenty-first year of King Maliku, king of the Nabateans," בשנת עשרין וחדה למלכו מלכא מלך נבטו. There are coins of the year 9, and of the year 23 (so Euting-Gutschmid, p. 86, not as De Vogüé, who reads 25 and 33).³⁰ Since the king Rabel, according to the inscription of D'mer, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 71, Malchus reigned from about A.D. 48 to 71. During his time also Damascus had been, probably by Nero, again separated from the Nabatean kingdom (see above, p. 357).

Rabel, A.D. 71–106, is known only from inscriptions and coins. His name is, according to Euting, to be pronounced not as formerly Dabel, but Rabel (רבל). An older *Ῥάβιλος βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀραβίων* is mentioned in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μωθῶ* (see above, p. 352). The year of his accession to the throne can be precisely determined according to the inscription at D'mer, which is dated from the month Ijjar "in the year 405 according to the reckoning of the Romans, that is, in the twenty-fourth year of the king Rabel."³¹ By the year 405, "according to the reckoning of the Romans,"

²⁸ De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 107; Schröder, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1884, p. 532 f.

²⁹ Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 61–68 (Nr. 21–26).

³⁰ Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, p. 296 sq.; De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 166 sq.; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, p. 17 sq.—A coin of Malchus and Sekilath without date is given by Sorlin-Dorigny, *Revue Numismatique*, 1887, p. 369 sq.

³¹ So reads Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 86. The first to publish it was Sachau in *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1884, p. 535 ff.; and he read 410.

is to be understood the year of the Seleucid era. Accordingly the date corresponds to May A.D. 94. See Gutschmid, p. 86. The first year of Rabel is A.D. 71. On two inscriptions at *el-Hegr* the second and fourth year of Rabel are mentioned;³² on an inscription at Salkhat in the Hauran the twenty-fifth, שנת עשרין וחמש לרבאל;³³ the coins give no certain date.³⁴ Since on some coins Rabel is mentioned along with his mother, he must have been a minor at the time of his accession. Mention of him on the inscription at D'mer, east of Damascus, on the way to Palmyra, proves that the Nabatean dominion extended to that region.

Rabel was probably the last king of the Nabateans, for in A.D. 106 "Arabia belonging to Petra" was converted by Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, into a Roman province.³⁵ The boundary of the province seems to have approached that of what had been the Nabatean kingdom.³⁶ In any case, Petra in the south and Bostra in the north (in the district of Hauran), both of which reckoned according to the provincial era of A.D. 106, had belonged to that

³² Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 68–70 (Nr. 27, 28).

³³ De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 112.

³⁴ Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1884, p. 297 sq.; De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 167 sq.; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, pp. 19–21. In addition: Euting-Gutschmid, p. 86.

³⁵ Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 14: κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἀρχὼν τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρκοον ἐποίησατο. Compare, Ammianus, xiv. 8. 13. The fact is also celebrated by coins of Trajan, with the superscription *Arab. adquisit* (Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, 2^e ed. vol. ii. 1882, Trajan, n. 26–38).—On Cornelius Palma, see also Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2296, 2297, 2305; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 2186; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Bd. i. 1888, p. 43 f.—On the incorporation of Arabia: Dierauer in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur röm. Kaisergeschichte*, i. 111; De la Berge, *Essai sur la règne de Trajan*, Paris 1877, pp. 71–73; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 2, p. 554.

³⁶ Rohden (*De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, pp. 15, 17) makes an attempt to determine the boundaries more exactly.

kingdom as its most important cities.³⁷ Subsequently in the fourth Christian century Arabia was divided into two provinces: Arabia with Bostra as its capital, and *Palaestina tertia* with Petra as its capital.³⁸

³⁷ *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, i. 472): Περραιοὶ καὶ Βοστρηνοὶ ἐντέθεν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χρόνους ἀριθμοῦσι. The *Chronicon Paschale* makes this remark under the year 105 ("Candido et Quadrato Coss."). But the exact date of the epoch was 22nd March 106. See Waddington, "Les ères employées en Syrie" (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xi. 1865, pp. 263-272); Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 431; Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 87. The inscriptions are given in Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2088, 2462, 2463. See also Waddington's explanations of n. 2463.

³⁸ On the history of the province, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. ■ Aufl. 1881, pp. 431-434, and the literature quoted there; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 373-388; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 471-486; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae*, Diss. Berol. 1885. Rohden gives at pp. 49-57 a list of the governors of the province, and seeks to show at pp. 22-30 that the partition of the province took place between A.D. 357 and A.D. 361. See also, Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Bd. i. 1888, pp. 42, 49, for a list of the governors.

APPENDIX III.

THE JEWISH AND MACEDONIAN MONTHS COMPARED WITH THE JULIAN CALENDAR.

1.	ניסן	Nisan	Ξανθικός	April.
2.	אייר	Ijjar	Ἀρτεμίσιος	May.
3.	סיון	Sivan	Δαίσιος	June.
4.	תמוז	Tammuz	Πάνεμος	July.
5.	אב	Ab	Δῶος	August.
6.	אלול	Elul	Γορπιαῖος	September.
7.	תשרי	Tischri	Ῥεπερεταῖος	October.
8.	מרחשון	Marcheshvan	Δίος	November.
9.	כסלו	Chisleu	Ἀπελλαῖος	December.
10.	טבת	Tebeth	Ἀύδυναῖος	January.
11.	שבט	Shebat	Περίτιος	February.
12.	אדר	Adar	Δύστρος	March.

The Jewish names of the months, as has been now thoroughly established by the cuneiform inscriptions, are of Babylonian-Assyrian origin. On the tablet of months discovered at Nineveh the names are given as follows (see Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, London 1885-1888, vol. ii. p. 69): Nisaannu, Airu, Sivanu, Duuzu, Abu, Ululu, Tasritav, Araah samna, Kisilivu, Tibituv, Sabatu, Addaru.—Within the realm of Judaism the most ancient document which gives the names of the months in regular succession is the *Megillath Taanith*, which was edited sometime during the first Christian century, since it is quoted in the Mishna (see vol. i. of this work, p. 163). Of later

witnesses we need here mention only the little-known Christian Josephus, who, in his *Hypomnesticum*, c. 27, gives the following list (Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.* t. ii. Appendix, also in Gallandi, *Bibl. patr.* t. xiv., and Migne, *Patrolog. graec.* t. cvi.): Νησαν, Εἴαρ, Σιουάν, Θαμούζ, Ἀβ, Ἐλούλ, Ὅσρι [read Θισρί], Μαρσαβάν, Χασελεῦ, Τηβήθ, Σαβάθ, Ἀδάρ. In regard to the several names the oldest proofs and examples, apart from the cuneiform inscriptions, occur in the following passages:—

1. נִסָּן, Neh. ii. 1; Esth. iii. 7; Mishna, *Pesachim* iv. 9; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 1, 3, 4; *Taanith* i. 2, 7, iv. 5; *Nedarim* viii. 5; *Bechoroth* ix. 5. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* (1885), n. ii. 4, v. 3, x. 7, xi. 7, xii. 9, xvi. 3, xx. 8, xxi. 4; De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques* (1868), *Palmyrenische Inschriften*, n. i. 2, 4, 6, 18, 23, 25, 26, 27, 32, 34, and elsewhere.—The Greek Νισάν occurs in *Esra apocr.* v. 6; Additions to Esther i. 1; Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 3. 3, ii. 14. 6, iii. 8. 4, 10. 5, xi. 4. 8.

2. תֵּיָר, *Rosh hashana* i. 3; Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, n. viii. 10, ix. 9, xiii. 8, xxvii. 13; De Vogüé, *Inscript. sémit. Palmyren.* n. 88.—Ἰάε, Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 3. 1.

3. סִיָּן, Esth. viii. 9; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Bechoroth* ix. 5; De Vogüé, *Palmyren.* n. 33^a and 33^b.—Σιουάν, Baruch i. 8.

4. תַּמּוּז, *Taanith* iv. 5, 6.

5. אָב, *Pesachim* iv. 5; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 3; *Taanith* ii. 10, iv. 5, 6; *Megilla* i. 3; *Bechoroth* ix. 5; Euting, n. vii. 5; De Vogüé, n. 5, 28, 29, 73, 84, 103.—In Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 4. 7, we have the reading Ἀββά (more correctly Ἀβά). It is, indeed, only a conjectural reading introduced by Bernard, but it is a well-conceived conjecture. For the Σαβά adopted, in accordance with the manuscripts by Niese, cannot possibly have been written by Josephus.

6. אֱלּוּל, Neh. vi. 15; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 1, 3; *Taanith* iv. 5; *Bechoroth* ix. 5, 6; Euting, n. i. 3; De Vogüé, n. 78, 79, 123^a I.—Ἐλούλ, 1 Macc. xiv. 27.

7. תִּשְׁרִי, *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 1, 3, 4; *Bechoroth* ix. 5, 6; De Vogüé, n. 17, 22, 85, 123^a II.—In Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 4. 1, where editions since Hudson have Θισρί, Niese reads Ἀθύρσι. But Hudson's reading, which is supported by the form used by older Latin writers, is without doubt the correct one.

8. מַרְחֶשֶׁן, *Taanith* i. 3, 4.—Μαρσούνης, Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 3. 3.—On

the Palmyrene inscriptions this month is called *Kanun*, כִּנּוּן, De Vogüé, n. 31, 63, 64.

9. כִּסְלִי, Zech. vii. 1; Neh. i. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 3; *Taanith* i. 5.—

Χασελειῦ, 1 Macc. i. 54, iv. 52; 2 Macc. i. 9, 18, x. 5; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4, 7. 6.—On the Palmyrene inscriptions the name is given in the form כסלול, *Kislul* or *Kaslul* (De Vogüé, n. 24, 75).

10. טִבֵּת, Esth. ii. 16; *Taanith* iv. 5; Euting, n. iii. 2, xiv. 9, xv. 8; De Vogüé, n. 66, 123^a III.—Τεβέθος, Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 5. 4.

11. שֶׁבַט, Zech. i. 7; *Rosh hashana* i. 1; Euting, n. iv. 9; De Vogüé, n. 67, 89.—Σαβάτ, 1 Macc. xvi. 14.

12. אֲדָר, frequently in the Book of Esther, and also in *Additions* to that book; *Shekalim* i. 1, iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 3; *Megilla* i. 4, iii. 4; *Nedarim* viii. 5; *Edujoth* vii. 7; *Bechoroth* ix. 5; Euting, n. xxiv. 6; De Vogüé, n. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 94, 117, 119.—'Αδάρ, 1 Macc. vii. 43, 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36; Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 49, xi. 6. 2, xii. 10. 5.—אֲדָרִי and הָרֵאשִׁון, *Megilla* i. 4; *Nedarim* viii. 5.

The Jewish months continued always to be, what the "months" of all civilised nations originally were, actual lunar months. Since the astronomical length of a month is equivalent to 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 3 seconds (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 43), then it must follow that in actual practice months of 29 and months of 30 days must pretty regularly alternate with one another.—But twelve such lunar months would give only 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 38 seconds (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 66), whereas the solar year embraces 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 48 seconds (Ideler, i. 35, 66). The difference between a lunar year of twelve months and the solar year is 10 days and 21 hours. In order to do away with this difference a month must be intercalated, at least, in every third year, sometimes even in the second. It was observed in very early times that a sufficiently accurate equation would be reached, if three times in every eight years a month were intercalated (the difference in eight years amounting to 87 days). Acquaintance with this cycle of eight years, this "Octaeteris," was possessed by those who

arranged the Greek games for every fourth year; for the cycle of four years is only got by halving that of eight years.¹ But even as early as the fifth century before Christ, the astronomer Meton of Athens proposed a still more exact system of equation, a cycle of nine years, in which a month had to be seven times intercalated.² This was considerably in advance of the eight years' cycle in accuracy, since in this case in 19 years only a difference of somewhere about 2 hours remained (Ideler, i. 47), whereas in the eight years' cycle in 8 years there was a remaining difference of $1\frac{1}{2}$ days.

How far, then, had the Jews in the time of Christ advanced in the knowledge of these matters? They, naturally, had a general sort of acquaintance with them. But, unless all indications are deceitful, they did not in the time of Jesus Christ possess as yet any fixed calendar, but on the basis of a purely empirical observation, on each occasion they began a new month with the appearing of the new moon, and likewise on the basis of each repeated observation intercalated a month in the spring of every third and second year, in accordance with the rule that the Passover under all circumstances must fall after the vernal equinox.³

¹ Compare on the antiquity of the "Octaeteris," Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 304 f., ii. 605; Boeckh, *Zur Geschichte der Mondcyclen der Hellenen* (*Jahrbücher für class. Philol.* 1. Supplementbd. 1855–1856), p. 9 ff.; Adolf Schmidt, *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie*, herausg. von Rühl, Jena 1888, pp. 61–95.

² According to Diodorus, xii. 36, Meton made known his system in B.C. 433–432. Compare also Theophrastus, *de signis tempestatum*, c. 4; Aelian, *Variae historiae*, x. 7.—But the introduction of the system of Meton at Athens did not take place, as Boeckh was the first to prove, until some time later (according to Usener, B.C. 312; according to Unger, between B.C. 346 and B.C. 325, see *Philologus*, xxxix. 1880, p. 475 ff.; Dürr is in favour of the former view in *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, p. 90 ff.). Compare, generally, on the Calendar of the Athenians, Mommsen, *Chronologie, Untersuchungen über des Kalenderwesen der Griechen insonderheit der Athener*, 1883, and Adolf Schmidt, *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie*, 1888.

³ For the view that the Jews had even in the time of Christ a fixed

1. The author of the astronomical pieces in the Book of Enoch was aware that the year has six months of 30 days each and as many of 29 days each;⁴ and Galen, in the second century after Christ, says that "the people of Palestine" divide the period of every two months, embracing 59 days, into two unequal halves, so that they reckon to one month 30 days, and to the other 29 days.⁵ But it would be a mistake if we were from this to draw the conclusion that the duration of the months was *à priori* strictly determined. Even in the age of the Mishna, in the second Christian century, this cannot have been the case; for the whole legislation of the Mishna rests on the presupposition that the new month, without previous reckoning, was begun each time upon the new moon becoming visible. So soon as the appearance of the new moon was proved by credible witnesses before the competent court at Jerusalem and later at Jamnia, the new moon was solemnized, and, after all the rites had been observed, messengers were sent in order to notify the opening of the new month. So, at least, was it done during the six months in which it was of importance on account of the existence of any festival: in Nisan on account of the

calendar, Wieseler has argued with special vigour (*Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, p. 401 ff.; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, p. 296 ff.).—The correct view is given, e.g., by Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 512 ff.; Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalendar*, pp. 117 ff., 137 ff.; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, p. 10 f.

⁴ Book of Enoch, 78. 15–16, in Dillmann's translation: "And for three months he makes 30 days his period, and for three months he makes his period 29 days, in which he performs his waning in the first period and in the first door in 167 days. And in the period of his waxing he appears for three months every thirty days, and for three months every nine and twenty days."

⁵ Galen, *Opp.* ed. Kühn, t. xvii. p. 23: τοὺς δύο μῆνας ἡμερῶν γινομένους θ' καὶ ὁ τέμνουσιν εἰς ἀνίστα μέρη, τὸν μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶν λ' ἡμερῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, τὸν δ' ἕτερον θ' καὶ κ'. See the passage given at length in Greek and English in Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, p. 9.

Passover, in Ab on account of the Fast, in Elul on account of the New Year, in Tizri on account of the arrangement of the feast days of that month, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles; in Chisleu on account of the feast of the Dedication of the Temple, in Adar on account of the feast of Purim, and so long as the temple stood, in Adar also on account of the little Passover.⁶ Since, naturally, it was known pretty accurately when the appearing of the new moon was to be expected, every effort would be made so as to fix the date wherever possible upon the right day. But the duration of the particular months was not fixed. This is confirmed especially by the following two passages from the Mishna: (1) *Arachin* iii. 7: "If one should have any apprehension in regard to the New Year feast, lest the month Elul should be fixed at 30 days, he may," etc.^{6a} (2) *Arachin* ii. 2: "In one year there are, at least, four months of thirty days, and of these there have not hitherto been more than eight." From the former passage it appears that it was by no means established *a priori* whether a month should have 29 or 30 days; and the latter passage shows how uncertain this empirical method left the calendar. Even in the time of the Mishna, the second Christian century, it was still a possible contingency that a year might come in which only four months had each 30 days, and again another in which there might be eight such months. Thus the length of the lunar year might vary from 352 days to 356 days, while in actual fact it can only oscillate between 354 and 355 days.⁷

⁶ Compare, generally, *Rosh hashana* i. 3 ff., ii. throughout, iii. 1, iv. 4. See, further, especially Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwicklung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud* (1882), pp. 1-39.—According to *Sanhedrin* i. ■ (compare *Rosh hashana* ii. 9, iii. 1), for the declaring of the new moon and of the intercalary year a court of three men was sufficient, but it is not said that as a rule it was determined by such a tribunal.

^{6a} That the later rule, according to which Elul must always have 29 days, did not then exist, is also seen from *Shebiith* x. 2.

⁷ In the context of the passage quoted (*Arachin* ii. 2), with reference to

2. The system of intercalation was not fixed even in the second century after Christ. Julius Africanus indeed says that the Jews as well as the Greeks intercalated three months in every eight years;⁸ and we have no reason for doubting this statement in regard to the time of Julius Africanus, in the first half of the third Christian century, although it is uncertain so far as the Greeks are concerned, for the majority of them had long adopted the more exact cycle of nineteen years. Also for the time of Jesus Christ this statement may be regarded as generally valid, since the thrice repeated intercalation in the course of eight years would naturally result from a purely empirical procedure. But the knowledge of this eight years' cycle is certainly even in the astronomical pieces in the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees (which may be approximately regarded as witnesses for the period of Christ) extremely inexact, and it is not there made use of for the constructing of a regular intercalary system. In the astronomical pieces of the Book of Enoch the erroneous idea is taken up that the moon in the eight years is only about eighteen days behind the sun, for the lunar year is set down at 354 days and the solar year at 364 (Book of Enoch, c. 74. 17; see generally cc. 72-82). The very same inexact conceptions are found also in the Book of Jubilees, c. 6 (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* ii. 246). A calendar, built up upon such premises as these, would certainly very soon land

matters of the most diverse description, are laid down what might be the minimum and maximum limits. The variation spoken of in the length of the year has therefore actually been observed and, even in the age of the Mishna, was regarded as a possible occurrence.—To the authorities of the Babylonian Talmud, indeed, the statement did appear so remarkable that attempts were made to explain it away. See *bab. Arachin* 8^b-9^a; Zuckermann, *Materialien*, p. 64 f.

⁸ Jul. Africanus in Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica*, viii. p. 390 = Syncell. ed. Dindorf, i. 611 = Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, ii. 302: "Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐμβολίμους ἔτισιν ὅκτῳ μαρεμβάλλουσιν (Latin also in Jerome, Comment. in Daniel ix. 24 sqq., *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 683 sq.).

in serious error. It was fortunate therefore that in actual practice it was disregarded, and the intercalation carried out without reference to any preconceived theory on the basis of an empirical observation made on each separate occasion. That this was still the case in the times of the Mishna is proved from the two following passages:—(1) *Megillah* i. 4: "If one has read the *Megillah* (the Book of Esther for the celebration of the feast of Purim) in the first Adar, and the year is then declared to be an intercalary year, he must read it again in the second or intercalary Adar." (2) *Edujoth* vii. 7: "R. Joshua and R. Papias testified that the year might be declared an intercalary year at any time during the month Adar, for previously this could be done only to the feast of Purim. These same testified that one might conditionally declare the year an intercalary year. When on one occasion Rabban Gamaliel was on a journey in order to obtain a concession from the governor of Syria, and remained long away, the year was pronounced an intercalary year under the reservation that the decision would stand only if Rabban Gamaliel were satisfied. And when he arrived he was satisfied, and so it was an intercalary year." Both passages are so clear that they need no further commentary. Yet quite at the close of the year, in the month Adar, even after the feast of Purim had been celebrated, the decision might be arrived at whether or not a month was to be intercalated. There is absolutely no trace of any previous calculation.^{8a}

The rule, according to which it was determined whether to intercalate or not, was very simple. It required that care

^{8a} All that is said in *Tosephta Sanhedrin* ii., *bab. Sanhedrin* 11^a–12^a, and elsewhere regarding the grounds for intercalation, and regarding the procedure carried on in connection therewith, goes to confirm what is stated above. It may therefore be accepted as certain that the decision as to whether there should be intercalation or not, was made on each separate occasion in the course of the year according to the principles stated. For the more important details, see below at note 9^a.

should be taken that the Passover festival, to be celebrated at the full moon in Nisan (14th Nisan), should in any case fall after the vernal equinox (μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἐαρινήν), when the sun stood in the sign *Aries*. This explanation is characterized by Anatolius in the fragment of decided importance in relation to the history of the Jewish calendar given in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* vii. 32. 16–19, as the view in which all Jewish authorities are agreed, pre-eminently as that of Aristobulus, the celebrated Jewish philosopher of the time of Ptolemy Philometor (not Philadelphus, as Anatolius erroneously says). With this also agree the statements of Philo and Josephus.⁹ If one therefore toward the close of the year noticed that the Passover would fall before the vernal equinox, the intercalation of a month before Nisan would have to be resorted to.^{9a} The intercalated month was called, like the last month of the year, Adar.

⁹ Philo, *De Septenario*, § 19 (Mangey, ii. 293); *Quaestiones et solut. in Exodum*, i. § 1 (Richter, vii. 262 sq.). Compare also *Vita Mosis*, iii. 29 (Mangey, ii. 169), *de decalogo*, § 30 (Mangey, ii. 206); Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 10. 5: ἐν κριῶ τοῦ ἡλίου καθιστῶτος.

^{9a} For yet other reasons for intercalation see especially *Tosephta Sanhedrin* c. ii., *bab Sanhedrin* 11^a–12^a; with reference to these: Zuckermann, *Materialen zur Entwicklung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud* (1882), pp. 39–45.—The most remarkable passage is the following: “For three reasons a year may be pronounced an intercalary year: Because of the ripeness of the grain [if this has not occurred at the proper season], and on account of the fruit trees [if these have not ripened at the right season], and on account of the course of the sun [if the sun at the Passover has not yet come into the sign *Aries*]. Only if two of these reasons combine may one conclude for intercalation, but not for one of these alone.” —“Intercalation is not dependent on the age of the he-goats or lambs or pigeons. Yet this is to be regarded as a supplementary ground [*i.e.* if only one of the above three chief reasons is forthcoming, all these minor reasons may be read in order to eke it out].” . . . “Thus once Rabban Gamaliel caused it to be written to the communities in Babylon and Media: Since the pigeons are still too feeble and the lambs still too young, and the time of harvest has not yet come, I and my colleagues have found it necessary to add thirty days to the year.”—We cannot be wrong, then, if for the time of Christ we consider the reason that proved decisive to be that drawn from the course of the sun.

They were distinguished respectively as **אָדָר הָרֵאשֹׁן** and **אָדָר הַשֵּׁנִי** (first and second Adar).

And yet, primitive as this calendar was, it had this great advantage, that serious and persistent inaccuracies, such as in the course of the year inevitably crept into a calendar calculated upon an incorrect basis, were avoided.—The very complicated later Jewish calendar, calculated upon the nineteen years' cycle, is said to have been introduced by the patriarch Hillel in the fourth century after Christ. Although this is not witnessed to with absolute certainty, it is not improbable (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 569 ff.).^{9b}

With reference to the various beginnings of years in spring or in harvest, see vol. i. of the present work, p. 37.

The literature on the Jewish calendar, especially in its later form, is very extensive. A systematic exposition was given as early as the twelfth century by Maimonides in the passage treating of "the celebration of the New Moon" in his great work *Jad Ha-chasaka* or *Mishne Thora* (compare: Maimonides *Kiddusch Hachodesch*, translated and explained by Ed. Mahler,

^{9b} On the basis of some coins of the Arsacidae, in which the years 287, 317, and 390 of the *Seleucid. aera* are referred to as intercalary years, Theodor Reinach has proved in a convincing manner that in the kingdom of the Arsacidae, that is, in Babylon, even in the first century before Christ and in the first century after Christ, the Greek calendar, calculated according to the nineteen years' cycle, was in use. But since Julius Africanus in the passage above referred to speaks of the eight years' cycle as that used "by Gentiles and Jews," it would seem that that cycle, even in the third Christian century, prevailed in Palestine and Syria (so far as the solar year had not yet been adopted). From this, too, is confirmed what otherwise is probable, that the later Jewish calendar was constructed, not by the Palestinian, but by the Babylonian Jews. See Theodor Reinach, "Le calendrier des Grecs de Babylonie et les origines du calendrier juif" (*Revue des études juives*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 90–94). As Rabbis who had specially interested themselves in matters connected with the calendar, the Babylonians Mar Samuel in Nehardea and Rabbi Adda bar Ahaba in Sura are specially named, both in the third century after Christ. The latter had an exact acquaintance with the nineteen years' cycle in the improved form given it by Hipparchus in the second century before Christ (Ideler, i. 574 f.). The Palestinian Hillel must therefore have received the incentive to his work from the Babylonians.

Wien 1889). Various monographs are collected by Ugolini in his *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, t. xvii. (Nic. Müller's *Annus Judaeorum luna-solaris et Turc-Arabum mere lunaris*; Selden's *Diss. de anno civili Judaeorum*; Maimonides, *De sanctificatione novilunii, cum versione Latina de Veilii*. Christ. Langhansen, *De mense veterum Hebraeorum lunari*).—Of more recent date, especially: Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Bd. i. pp. 477–583; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 401–436; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien und der evangelischen Geschichte* (1869), pp. 290–321; Seyffarth, *Chronologia sacra* (1846), pp. 26–80 (believes that the Jewish year down to A.D. 200 was a solar year!); De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie*, 4 Aufl. 1864, § 178–179, Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender zunächst in seiner Beziehung zur neutestamentlichen Geschichte*, Brüssel 1848; Saalschütz, *Das mosaische Recht*, Bd. i. 1853, pp. 396–406; Lewisohn, *Geschichte und das System des jüdischen Kalenderwesens*, Leipzig, 1856 (= *Schriften herausgeg. vom Institute zur Förderung der israelit. Literatur, erstes Jahr, 1855–1856*); Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, pp. 2–19; Schwarz, *Der jüdische Kalender historisch und astronomisch untersucht*, 1872; Dillmann, "Ueber das Kalenderwesen der Israeliten vor dem babylonischen Exil" (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1881, pp. 914–935); Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwicklung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud*, 1882 (gathers together the Talmudic deliverances on matters connected with the calendar); Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. 1883, pp. 608–628, art. "Kalender;" Mémain, *La connaissance des temps évangéliques*, Paris 1886, pp. 39–43, 377–445, 481 ff.; Isidore Loeb, *Tables du calendrier juif depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu' au XXX siècle, avec la concordance des dates juives et des dates chrétiennes et une méthode nouvelle pour calculer ces tables*, Paris 1886; Mahler, *Chronologische Vergleichungs-Tabellen, nebst einer Anleitung zu den Grundzügen der Chronologie*, 2 Heft: *Die Ziet- und Festrechnung der Juden*, Wien 1889; also the articles "Jahr" and "Monate" in the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm, and in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. vi. 495–498, article "Jar" by Leyrer.

Since the Jewish year has sometimes twelve, sometimes thirteen months, it is evident that its months can only be made approximately to correspond to those of the Julian

calendar.—The Macedonian names of the months came to be used in Syria from the beginning of the Seleucid domination (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 397). They originally also indicated lunar months. But from the time of Julius Caesar's reform of the calendar they were employed in Syria and Phoenicia to indicate the twelve months of the solar year, which is, speaking generally, identical with the Julian; therefore its several months do not exactly correspond with those of the Julian, since their beginnings are otherwise determined, and indeed were different in different large cities (Ideler, i. 433). It was not till a later period that the Julian months came to be named in Syria by Macedonian names (Ideler, i. 429 ff.).—Besides the Macedonian names, the old native Syrian names (which were for the most part identical with the Jewish) were also used; and it may safely be assumed that their use was in strict conformity with that of the Macedonian names. Thus, *e.g.*, the Syrian date on the inscriptions at Palmyra exactly corresponds to the Macedonian (24 Tebeth = 24 Audynäus, 21 Adar = 21 Dystros; see De Vogüé, *Inscriptions*, n. 123^a, iii. 124 = Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. 2, n. 2571^b, 2627). The same is true of the later Syrian calendar, where the Syrian as well as the Macedonian names indicate simply the months of the Julian calendar.¹⁰

Under these circumstances it may be asked what Josephus means when he makes use of the Macedonian names of the months, as he frequently does in his *History of the Jewish War*. Ordinarily he uses them as perfectly parallel to the Jewish, precisely in the same way as is done in the inscriptions at Palmyra (Nisan = Xanthicus, Ijjar = Artemisius, Ab = Lous, Tizri = Hyperberetaeus, Marcheshwan = Dios, etc.; the

¹⁰ That this was already the case on the inscriptions at Palmyra cannot be proved. The doubts which Nöldeke expresses in this connection (*Zeitschrift der DMG.* xxxix. 1885, p. 339) are very well founded.

proofs for this are given above at p. 364 f.; for the Palmyrene inscriptions see the collection in Le Bas and Waddington, n. 2571^b). But does he mean precisely the Jewish months when he uses the Macedonian names? In many cases undoubtedly he does so. (1) The Jewish Passover was observed on the 14th Xanthicus (*Antiq.* iii. 10. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, v. 3. 1). (2) In the time of Antiochus Epiphanes the temple was desecrated and reconsecrated on 25th Apellaios (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 4, 7. 6; comp. 1 Macc. i. 59, iv. 52. (3) During the siege of Titus the daily morning and evening sacrifice was stopped on 17th Panemos (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1); according to Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, however, this happened on 17th Thammuz. (4) The destruction of the temple of Nebuchadnezzar took place on the 10th Loos (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 5); according to Jer. lii. 12, on the 10th Ab. On the ground of these facts ancient and modern investigators have assumed that Josephus invariably intends when using the Macedonian names of the month to make the dates correspond with the Jewish months.^{10a} But against this view, after the example of Scaliger, Baronius, and Usher, O. A. Hoffmann has recently advanced objections.¹¹ He specially urges the point that Josephus was scarcely in a position (and if he had been, would not certainly have taken the trouble) to reckon the dates which had been transmitted to him according to another calendar, in accordance with the Jewish calendar. He just followed the calendar which his authorities followed. But in regard to the numerous dates in the *Wars of the Jews*, Hoffmann (p. 16) believes that

^{10a} So Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, i. 3rd ed. Lips. p. 44 sqq., Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 400-402; Anger, *De temporum in Actis apostolorum ratione*, p. 16 sq.; Wieseler, *Chronologie Synopse*, p. 448; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 357 sq.; Champagny, *Rome et la Judée*, (2nd ed. 1865), ii. 349 sqq.

¹¹ Otto Adalb. Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi temporibus recte definiendis* (Marburg 1883), pp. 4-17.

Josephus must have used, as sources, the official State Papers which he found in the Roman camp. Hence it may be assumed that in these the dates were given in accordance with the Julian calendar, the months of which were simply indicated by Josephus under Macedonian names. The grounds for this opinion are undoubtedly correct. A writer like Josephus would not take the trouble to change the reckoning, but would simply give the dates as he found them. One should not therefore assume right off that in his works all the dates would be according to the same calendar. Many are given undoubtedly according to the Jewish calendar, others according to the Roman.¹² But whether the dates in the *Wars of the Jews* are for the most part derived from the official Roman State Papers, seems to me more than doubtful. It is not correct to say, as Hoffmann does (p. 15), that Josephus almost exclusively gives precise dates for the enterprise of the Romans, but not for the internal events of Jewish history. A thorough

¹² In accordance with the Roman calendar Josephus apparently gives, e.g., the periods of the reigns of the Emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius. The dates which come into consideration (according to the careful statement of Knaake in *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1871, pp. 230–235) are the following: Nero, † 9 June 68; Galba, † 15 January 69; Otho, † 16 April 69; Vitellius, † 20 December 69. But according to Josephus, Galba reigned 7 months and 7 days (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 2); Otho, 3 months and 2 days (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 9); Vitellius, 8 months and 5 days (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 4). If we count in the day of the accession and the day of death, this agrees exactly with the above dates of the Julian calendar, which therefore Josephus here follows. So also Knaake, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1871, p. 244, unsuccessfully contested by Wieseler, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1872, p. 55 ff.—Josephus seems to give the day of Vitellius' death according to the calendar of Tyre. While according to the Julian calendar it fell upon 20 December, Josephus sets it down upon 3 Apellaios (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 4). But this in the Tyrian calendar corresponds to the 20 December in the Julian. Josephus may therefore be supposed here to follow some Phœnician authority. Compare Noris, *Annus et epochæ Syromacedonum*, i. 3, p. 60 sq. ed. Lips.; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 436; Knaake, *Zeitschrift*, p. 244; O. A. Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi*, p. 6.

examination of the facts communicated in our exposition (§ 20) plainly shows that among the details circumstantially related are many that refer purely to the internal affairs of the Jews, whereas on the other hand the exact statements about the doings of the Romans, especially of that period, become more numerous when Josephus was first a prisoner and subsequently on his parole in the Roman camp. He had therefore personal knowledge of these things. Indeed, in his vindication of the credibility of his exposition he refers simply to his own memoranda of these occurrences which he had made for himself and not to Roman official documents (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9: τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁρῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγραφον). Evidently, therefore, he did not use these official papers. But that he had made his memoranda according to the Jewish calendar is probable, partly from the internal probability of the matter, partly from the circumstance that particular dates are given undoubtedly according to the Jewish calendar; so *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1 (see above, p. 242), and *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 1–5 (see above, p. 243 f.). The oft recurring formula, Πανέμου νομηνία (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 36, v. 13. 7, vi. 1. 3), cannot indeed be used as a proof that the months of Josephus actually began with the new moon. For in later usage νομηνία signifies generally the first day of the month, even when, according to the calendar employed, the months did not begin with the new moon, as e.g. in the Roman. Compare Dio Cassius, lx. 5: τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου νομηνία; Plutarch, *Galba*, 22: ἡ νομηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι; Steph. *Thesaurus*, s.v.

APPENDIX IV.

THE JEWISH SHEKEL AND COINS OF THE REBELLION.

THE extant coins with old Hebrew writing may be arranged in three groups: (1) The coins of the Asmonean high priests and princes which are furnished with names, and therefore are most easily determined; (2) the silver shekel and half-shekel: (3) the "Coins of Freedom," which with manifold variations celebrate the emancipation (*g'ulla* or *cheruth*) of Israel or Jerusalem or Sion. The most perfect agreement prevails among numismatists with reference to the first group. a pretty general agreement also prevails with reference to the second, because they are assigned by the majority of numismatists to the times of Simon the Maccabee. Most diverse are the views entertained with reference to the third group. Since the placing and determining of the first group is relatively easy and certain, it will be found that we have already communicated all that is necessary regarding it in our historical exposition. A more special investigation is required in reference to the coins of the second and third groups. It must be shown by a systematic examination of all the particulars, that with regard to the third group a much higher degree of certainty may be reached than in regard to the second, that therefore the measure of the present consensus stands in inverse ratio to the degree of scientific certainty attainable.

1. THE SHEKEL.

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 LEWIS, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, p. 322 (Shekel of the year V.).
 MERZBACHER in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. iii. 1876, pp. 141 ff., 183 ff., Bd. v. 1878, pp. 151 ff., 292 ff.
 MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 67-71, where the material is most fully given.
 REINACH, "Actes et conférences de la société des études juives," 1877 (Supplement to *Revue des études juives*, 1887), p. cciii sqq. Separate reprint, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris 1887, p. 42 sqq.

The silver shekel and half-shekel are equal in weight to the Greek tetradrachmae and the double drachmae minted in the Phoenician towns, and afford us a point of connection for estimating the values of Phoenician-Hebrew coins.¹ The superscription runs ירושלם הקדושה or ירושלם קדשה, on the other side שקל ישראל (shekel of Israel); on the half-shekels:

¹ Compare on the value of the shekel, especially: Brandis, *Das Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien* (1866), pp. 55 ff., 94 ff., 102 ff.; Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie* (2 Bearbeit. 1882), pp. 456 ff., 602 ff.; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, pp. 151 ff., 171 ff., 173 f.; Révillout, "Note sur les plus anciennes monnaies hébraïques" (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*, t. viii. 1884, pp. 113-146 [revised reprint from the *Revue Égyptologique*]).

חצי השקל (half-shekel). The whole as well as the half-shekels have, besides the indication of the weight, a number, usually accompanied with an ש = שנה, a year; e.g. שב = year II. There are extant examples of both coins from the years א, ב, ג, ד (I, II, III, IV.); of the whole shekel there is also an example of ה, year V. As might be expected, we have no portrait profiles, but only simple symbols, the significance of which is still doubtful (a cup and branch of lilies?).—Since upon those coins of the “holy Jerusalem” there is no trace of any personal name, it is extremely difficult to determine their age. But it should first of all be laid down as certain that they cannot have been minted between B.C. 135 and A.D. 66. For the Asmoneans, since John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135, minted coins bearing their own names, as did also Herod and his sons. It is also clear that these coins could not have been struck under the Roman procurators, for they presuppose the political independence of Jerusalem. They can therefore be assigned only to the time before B.C. 135 or after A.D. 66. Under the latter alternative they can be referred only to the period of the war A.D. 66–70; for from the time of the Hadrian war, A.D. 132–135, we have coins of quite another sort. Ewald was the first (*Göttinger “Nachrichten,”* 1855, p. 109 ff.) to argue in favour of the years 66–70 as the date of the minting of the shekels; and in the first edition of this work, p. 365 f., I adopted his view. Among numismatists, however, this theory is now maintained only by Théod. Reinach (1887) and Imhoof-Blumer (in epistolary correspondence with myself). All the others declare this impossible, in consequence of the antiquated style, and almost unanimously place these shekels in the time of Simon the Maccabee, B.C. 142–135. De Saulcy puts them even farther back, assigning them first of all, in *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, 1854, to the time of Alexander the Great, subsequently, in the *Étude chronologique des livres d’Esdras et*

de Néhémie, 1868 (which has not been accessible to me), and in the *Revue archéologique*, 1872, to the time of Ezra.—In determining this question we must take into account: (1) Palaeographical, (2) Historical, (3) Numismatical arguments.

1. We may set aside, first of all, the palaeographical, because they scarcely yield any result. The character of the writing is the so-called Phœnician or old Hebraic. But this writing for monumental purposes, such as inscriptions and coins, changed so little during the period coming under consideration, that from this nothing can be gained to help in determining our question. The character of the writing on the coins fits equally the assigning of them to the Maccabean age and to a very much later period, as, upon inquiry, Euting also has assured me, one of the highest authorities on Semitic palaeography.

2. On historical grounds the shekel can hardly have been minted in the Persian and Greek age prior to the winning of Jewish independence by Simon the Maccabee. For according to all that we know, the Jews did not, either in the Persian or in the Greek age, possess such a degree of political independence as is assumed in an autonomous minting of money of their own. This would have been distinctly impossible in the age of Alexander, from the fact that under him in Phœnicia only royal money was minted (so, *e.g.*, in Ascalon, Ptolemais, Damascus; see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 74, 91, 97).² All the more perfectly do they now seem to suit the time of Simon the Maccabee. Under him "the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel," and expression was given to this fact by the introduction of a native reckoning of their own, according to the years of Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42; compare also p. 256). May it not be just this era

² Against placing the shekel in the time of Ezra or Alexander the Great, see especially the comprehensive treatise of Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, p. 151 ff.

that is meant on the shekels? This is indeed what is assumed by most numismatists. But on nearer consideration certain not inconsiderable difficulties arise. The era of Simon begins in the year 170 of the Seleucid era = B.C. 143-142 (1 Macc. xiii. 41 f.); but Simon did not die before the year 177 of the Seleucid era = B.C. 136-135 (1 Macc. xvi. 14). One should therefore expect on the shekels the year numbers I.-VII., whereas even of the year V. we have only one example, but no single example for any later years. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v. 292 ff., has therefore made the attempt to place the era of Simon about two years later. That this expedient is quite inadmissible, I think I have succeeded in proving on page 259. It would also involve this further consequence, that the minting of the shekels in a very remarkable manner was suddenly broken off with Simon, and in their place immediately under Simon's successor, John Hyrcanus, a minting of quite another kind was introduced, bearing the name of the reigning high priest. If this be not impossible, it is at least very singular. On the other hand, the hypothesis that the shekels were minted during the period of the rebellion A.D. 66-70, is beset by no kind of historical difficulties. It must therefore have the preference, if no numismatic considerations tell against it.

3. The decision from the numismatic standpoint is difficult for this reason, that the minting is of a rude or at least peculiar description, and therefore hard to classify. This explains the fact that even experienced numismatists differ from one another in their judgments. Theód. Reinach has given no convincing proof for the date of A.D. 66-70 as adopted by him. By his publication Imhoof-Blumer has been driven to an examination of the facts of the case, which has led him to accept the theory of Reinach. The grounds which he has been good enough in correspondence to communicate to me are the following: "The small diameter of the shekel and

half-shekel, and their border, do not correspond to the Syrian and Phœnician mintings of the middle of the second century before Christ nearly so well as to the silver coins minted in those districts bearing the images of Nero, Agrippina, and Vespasian, of which there are many tolerably thick examples of about 14 and 7 grs. in weight. Upon a question of style no result can be drawn from the extremely slovenly and rude types referred to, but merely on a question of technology, and in this respect they have no resemblance to the broad coins of the Syrian kings Antichus VI., Tryphon, Antiochus VII., etc. Against this theory may be quoted the opinions of all other numismatists of the time, who pronounce it impossible, on account of the ancient appearance of the shekels, that they can be assigned to so late an age. Also it has been emphatically declared against the above statement, *e.g.* by Sallet in an admirable communication which he has made to me, that the prevailing view must be maintained. "The antique character of the coins is so clearly stamped, the thickness of the piece of metal so thoroughly in accordance with the antique coins minted long before Christ, the stamp and the writing are of so decidedly antique a character, that the coins must be placed in the time of the Maccabees." They are "distinctly distinguishable" from the coins of the later rebellion. In presence of this diversity of opinion among the best authorities, no one not an expert can do anything but conclude with the confession: *adhuc sub judice lis est.*

2. THE COINS OF THE REBELLION.

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The coins of the rebellion belong to the following varieties. The material is adequately presented by De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique*, 1854; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iv. 1887; most fully in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881.

1. *Ligullath Zion*, the Deliverance of Zion.Obv. לנאלת ציון, *ligullath Zion*.

Rev. שנת ארבע, year IV.

or, שנת ארבע חצי, year IV., a half.

or, שנת ארבע רביע, year IV., a quarter.

All these are copper coins of various sizes, with Jewish emblems.

See De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique*, p. 20; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 11 f.; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1855, p. 114; Levy, *Geschichte*, p. 44; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 47; Garrucci, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 32, 38; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866, pp. 48–63 (very complete in reference to the date, against Garrucci); Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, i. 222, iv. 364; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 71 sq.

2. *Chéruth Zion*, the Emancipation of Zion.Obv. חרות ציון, *chéruth Zion*.

Rev. שנת שחים, year II.

or, שנת שלוש, year III.

Small copper coins with Jewish emblems of which numerous examples are extant (Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110).

See De Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 154; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 53 f.; Ewald, *Gött. Nach.* 1855, p. 114; Levy, *Geschichte*, p. 100; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 180; De Saulcy, *Revue Numismatique*, 1865, p. 29 sq.; Garrucci, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 38; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift*, i. 223, iv. 364 f.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, p. 320 sq.; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 206.

3. Year I. *ligullath Israel*, of the Emancipation of Israel.

Obv. אלעזר הכהן, Eleasar the priest.

Rev. שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל, year I. *ligullath Israel*.

Obv. אלעזר הכהן, Eleasar the priest.

Rev. שמעון, Simon.

Obv. ירושלם, Jerusalem.

Rev. שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל, year I. *ligullath Israel*.

Obv. שִׁמְעוֹן נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל, Simon prince of Israel.

Rev. שְׁנַת אַחַת לְנִאֻלַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל, year I. *ligullath Israel*.

These are some of them silver, some of them copper, coins of various sizes and of various types. That they all belong to the same period is proved from the date "Year I. *ligullath Israel*," which is common to all the three. But the coins bearing the names of Eleasar and Simon cannot be separated from the other Eleasar coins.

See De Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 158–160, 165–168; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 55–59; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachr.* 1855, p. 119 ff.; De Vogüé, *Revue Num.* 1860, p. 280 ff. (Eleasar coins communicated for the first time by De Vogüé); Levy, *Geschichte*, pp. 88–92, 97–99; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 161–166, 174–178; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 29 sq.; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 29 ff.; Garrucci, ii. 37 sq.; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift*, i. 229–232, iv. 350–353; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 313–320; *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 198–206; Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110 ff.; Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, xv. 58 sq. (on the Simon-Eleasar coins).

4. Year II. *lechéruth Israel*, the Freedom of Israel.

Obv. שִׁמְעוֹן, Simon.

Rev. ש"ב לְחֵירוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, year II. *lechéruth Israel*.

Obv. יְרוּשָׁלַם, Jerusalem.

Rev. ש"ב לְחֵירוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, year II. *lechéruth Israel*.

The latter kind are found rarely, the former very frequently, in silver and copper, of various sizes and of various types. In regard to some it is still discernible that they had been made out of Roman coins of Vespasian and Trajan (Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110–114).

See De Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 168–170; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 59 ff.; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachr.* 1855, p. 119 ff.; Levy, *Geschichte*, pp. 93–96, 105–108; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 166–174, 207 sq.; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, 29 sq.; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 30 ff.; Garrucci, ii. 34; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift*, i. 232–236, iv. 353–

856; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 329-333; *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 241-246; Sallet's *Zeitschrift*, v. 110-114.

5. *Lechêruth Jerushalem*, the Freedom of Jerusalem.

Obv. שמעון, Simon.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם, *lechêruth Jerushalem*.

Silver and copper coins of various sizes and with various types. Many are stamped upon Roman coins, especially upon those of Trajan.

See De Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 160-165; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 56-59; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachr.* 1885, p. 119 ff.; Levy, *Geschichte*, pp. 93-96, 105-108; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 166-174, 203-210; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 29 sqq.; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 30 ff.; Garrucci, ii. 33 sq.; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift*, i. 236 f., iv. 357-363; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 321-328; *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 233-241; Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110-114.

The three last-named classes (Year I. *ligullath Israel*, year II. *lechêruth Israel*, *lechêruth Jerushalem* without date) are to be assigned with great probability, the last two indeed with certainty, to the period of the rebellion of Bar-Cochba. In regard to the last class this is admitted by all. The original Roman minting discernible upon many of them, which gives the figure of the Jewish temple, proves that they were struck not earlier than the times of Trajan. But only one period is conceivable in which this minting can have taken place: that of the rebellion under Hadrian. Yet even among the coins of our fourth class, those of the "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*," some examples are met with which are stamped upon coins of Vespasian and Trajan (Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110-114). The same therefore applies to them as to those bearing the device "*lechêruth Jerushalem*." It will, however, be readily admitted that those results hold not only for the copies stamped upon imperial coins, but also for others with similar superscriptions and of similar types,

for the production of which imperial coins were not employed. For it is a singularly arbitrary proceeding to divide among different periods coins of precisely the same impression, only for this reason that on some an original Roman stamp can be traced, while it is not discernible on the others (so Levy, who divides the coins of our fourth as well as of our fifth class between the first and the second revolutions).—While, therefore, these two classes certainly belong to the time of Bar-Cochba, those of “Year I. *ligullath Israel*” may be assigned at least with great probability to the same period. For it is admitted by all competent numismatists that they are in style extremely similar to, quite the same, indeed, as the others.¹ The rabbinical tradition also speaks generally of “coins of Bencosiba,” *מטבע בן כחביא* or *מטעו כחביא*.²

The great variety of mintings within a few years, which has been the principal reason for numismatists dividing the coins between the time of the Vespasian and that of the Hadrianic war, is not on closer examination incapable of explanation. During the first year two leaders of the rebellion, “Eleazar the Priest” and “Simon the Prince,” minted coins. In the second year Simon seems to have secured to himself the sole sovereignty. Thus it can be easily understood that on

¹ See especially, De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 29 sqq., and Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v. 110 ff.: “To me, as a numismatist, it was never doubtful that De Saulcy’s view was right, that, in spite of all arguments to the contrary, all these denarius-like coins, and the tetradrachms as well, must unquestionably have belonged to one period. In the numismatics of antiquity it is without example, and impossible that coins perfectly like one another in style, yea, precisely the same as one another, should be sixty years apart.—Also, Merzbacher says, although he adopts the partition declared by Sallet impossible, *Zeitschrift für Num.* i. 223 f.: “They are little distinguished from one another in style and material, since only a few divergences in type can be pointed out, and therefore should not be too far separated in time from one another.”

² *Tosephta Maaser sheni*, i. 5; *Jer. Maaser sheni*, i. 2; *bab. Baba kamma*, 97^b; in Levy, *Geschichte*, p. 127 ff.; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 329 sq.; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 311 sqq.

the coins of the first year he distinguished himself from the priest by the title of "prince," whereas during the second year he no longer found this necessary.³ Besides Simon and Eleasar the city of Jerusalem also minted coins, and that indeed during the first as well as the second year; but these coins are very rare. Finally, Simon, besides the coins dated according to the era of the freedom of Israel, also stamped some coins without date in commemoration of "the freedom of Jerusalem." Their great variety therefore presents no ground for assigning a portion of them to the time of the war of Vespasian.

In the history of numismatics the classification of our coins has passed through five different stages. 1. The older numismatists, Eckhel, Mionnet, and even Cavedoni, *Biblische Num.* i., put all the kinds together, so far as they were known, along with the shekel coins in the time of Simon the Maccabee. Only one French scholar of the last century, Henrion, recognised the fact that they belonged to the time of Bar-Cochba (see Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 472). But his voice sounded unheard, although even then some copies stamped upon imperial coins were known, which had to be of necessity assigned to the age of Bar-Cochba (Eckhel, iii. 473).—2. De Saulcy in his *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, 1854, not only essentially enriched the material, but also gave expression to the correct view that all three kinds belonged to the time of Bar-Cochba.

³ There is a remarkable coin bearing the inscription, *Obv.* אֱלֶעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן, *Rev.* שִׁמְעוֹן. De Vogüé regarded it as the work of a forger, who combined the fronts of an Eleasar and a Simon coin with one another. According to Friedländer's and Sallet's opinion, however, its genuineness is indisputable (*Zeitschrift für Numismatique*, iv. 350, v. 111, note; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 201). Yet more remarkable is a coin published by Reinach in *Revue des études juives*, xv. 56–61, the inscription of which is indeed defective, but has been restored with tolerable certainty as follows:—

Obv. שָׁנָה אֶחָת לְנִאֲלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Rev. ש"ב לְחֵירוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל.

This coin also Reinach declares to be undoubtedly genuine. According to his subtle explanation we have in both coins to recognise *monnaies hybrides*, i.e. coins on which, in consequence of an error in the minting, the inscriptions of two different coins were combined with one another. Such "bastards" are not seldom found among the Roman consular coins.

He was followed by Cavedoni, *Biblische Num.* ii., and Ewald. The latter also assigned to the same period the Eleasar coins first communicated by De Vogüé in 1860 (*History of Israel*, viii. 291).—3. An unfortunate confusion was caused by Levy in 1862 in consequence of his arbitrary division of the coins between the time of Vespasian and that of Hadrian. He assigned to the earlier period not only all coins of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*," but also the greater part of those of the "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*" and "*lechêruth Jerushalem*." But some individual examples of the last two classes are met with in the time of Hadrian, and thus coins of a precisely similar stamp are separated by a period of sixty years. Those who issued coins during the age of Vespasian were the well-known leader of the Zealots, Eleasar, then Simon bar-Giora, and the scribe Simon, son of Gamaliel, upon whom the later Jewish legends bestowed the title of Nasi. On the baselessness of this legend see Div. II. vol. i. p. 183 ff. Neither could Eleasar nor Simon bar-Giora have struck the coins of years I. and II. of freedom, since they did not become party leaders until the later days of the rebellion; Simon bar-Giora only in the third year (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 12); Eleasar even later, and only for a short time (see above, p. 235). Notwithstanding the more than weak foundation of these hypotheses, Levy obtained at first ardent supporters in Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864, and Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. Madden's work of 1864 is consequently in those parts extremely ill-suited to afford a clear summary of the history. Also Renan was influenced by Levy, inasmuch as he inclines to ascribe only the superimposition of the stamp to the age of Bar-Cochba (*L'église chrétienne*, p. 546 sq.). Levy's and Madden's views were decidedly combated by Ewald, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 841 ff., and De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, who held fast by their earlier judgments. Yet even De Saulcy so far paid tribute to the Jewish legends as to understand by "Simon the Prince" the younger Simon, son of Gamaliel, grandson of the earlier one of that name, whose title of Nasi, however, stands historically on as weak a foundation, as in the case of his grandfather.—4. A change for the better, however, was made by Merzbacher when he, although still influenced by Levy, abandoned his arbitrary separation of the coins of our fourth and fifth classes. He put all coins of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*" and all those of "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*" into the Vespasian age, and all those with "*lechêruth Jerushalem*" into the age of Hadrian. All the Simon coins of the age of Vespasian, whether with or without

the title Nasi, he ascribed to Simon, son of Gamaliel. But even before him Garrucci had come one step nearer the truth when he ascribed to the Hadrianic period both the coins of the "Year II. *lechéruth Israel*," and those with "*lechéruth Jerushalem*," and assigned to the age of Vespasian only those of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*." His arguments also soon made an impression upon Madden (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866, p. 63 sq.), who in his later works (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; *Coins of the Jews*, 1881) actually adopted the arrangement of Garrucci. In consequence of this, Madden's masterpiece of 1881 marks an important advance upon the *History* of 1864, not only in regard to the wealth of material, but also in respect of its incomparably superior arrangement. — 5. The researches of Merzbacher, Garrucci, and Madden gradually unravelled the confusion wrought by Levy, and led step by step back again to the original simple views of De Saulcy. Sallet and Reinach have returned completely to these earlier views, for reasons that have been stated above. Although on other points De Saulcy is not always happy in his historical combinations, his numismatical sense has in this particular guided him aright. — Whether the weight of the arguments by which modern numismatists have been constrained to return step by step to De Saulcy's view will survive all attacks the future alone can show. An attempt to produce embarrassment anew has been made by Grätz (*Monatsschrift*, 1887, p. 145 ff.; *Revue des études juives*, xvi. 161 sqq., xviii. 301 sq.; *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 4 Aufl. 1888, p. 819 ff.). There is scarcely any danger of such an attempt succeeding, for any one who has even a moderate appreciation of scientific method must regard Grätz's speculations as a tissue of groundless surmises. Compare in opposition to him Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, xvii. 42–45, xviii. 304–306.

In regard to the small copper coins communicated under No. 2, with the superscription *חרות ציון*, *chéruth Zion*, years II. and III., a much greater agreement prevails than in regard to the coins of our third, fourth, and fifth classes. With almost perfect unanimity they are ascribed to the period of the war of Vespasian. This is the opinion not only of De Saulcy, who assigns to the Vespasian period only those coins, but also of Ewald, who places the shekels along with them, and of Levy, Garrucci, and Madden, who join with them a

more or less considerable portion of our Bar-Cochba coins. This latter view is indeed indefensible, because these coins differ from the others essentially in style, so that Merzbacher renounces the attempt to fix their age (*Zeitschrift für Numismatique*, i. 223, iv. 364 f.). But if all the coins of our third, fourth, and fifth classes are placed in the time of Bar-Cochba, it will become probable, owing to the diversity of style, that the coins of the years II. and III. *chéruth Zion* belong to the time of Vespasian. In this case also De Sauley has hit upon the right explanation.

It is of the utmost importance to determine the coins of the year IV., לנאלת ציף, *ligullath Zion*, communicated under No. 1. Many, on account of the admitted antiquity of their style, class them along with the shekel coins. So De Sauley, Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatique*, ii.; Ewald, Levy, Madden, 1864. Yet it is just their style which leads Garrucci to separate them from the shekels, and to place them in the time of Vespasian (*Dissertazioni*, ii. 32); and Madden, after he had, in complete contradiction to Garrucci, maintained their contemporariness with the shekels (*Num. Chron.* 1866, pp. 48–63), at last only holds so far to that opinion that their reference to the Seleucidæan period seems to some extent proved (*Coins of the Jews*, p. 73), while even Merzbacher is of opinion that they were not of the same period as the shekels (*Zeitschrift*, i. 222 f.), and are therefore to be reckoned only as ancient coins of an uncertain age (*Zeitschrift*, iv. 364). It is thus difficult to arrive at any decided judgment upon these matters.

APPENDIX V.

PARALLEL YEARS OF THE GREEK, SYRIAN, ROMAN, AND CHRISTIAN ERAS.¹

THE Olympiad era begins in B.C. 776, and is to be reckoned from 1st July.² The Seleucid era begins in B.C. 312, and is to be reckoned from 1st October.³ The Varronian era *at Urbe condita* begins in B.C. 753, and counts from the festival of the *Palilia*, *XI. Cal. Maii* = 21st April.⁴ But since writers reckon by the years of office of the consuls, we have to do, not with the starting-point of the Varronian year, but with the point of time at which the consuls entered upon their office. But this took place from A.U. 601, and so continued during almost the whole of the succeeding period, on 1st January.⁵ — In the following table the respective years of the Greek, Seleucid, and Roman eras are paralleled with the same year of the Christian era in which they begin. Thus:

Ol. 151, 1 = 1st July B.C. 176 down to the same day in
B.C. 175.

Sel. 137 = 1st October B.C. 176 down to the same day
in B.C. 175.

A.U. 578 = 21st April (or 1st January) B.C. 176 down
to the same day in B.C. 175.

¹ According to Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 472 sqq.

² Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 377.

³ *Ibid.* i. 450–453.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 47, 150, 163 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 148 f.

OL.	SEL.	A.U.	B.C.	OL.	SEL.	A.U.	B.C.
1, 1			776	159, 2	170	611	143
6, 4		1	753	3	171	612	142
117, 1	1	442	312	4	172	613	141
151, 1	137	578	176	160, 1	173	614	140
2	138	579	175	2	174	615	139
3	139	580	174	3	175	616	138
4	140	581	173	4	176	617	137
152, 1	141	582	172	161, 1	177	618	136
2	142	583	171	2	178	619	135
3	143	584	170	3	179	620	134
4	144	585	169	4	180	621	133
153, 1	145	586	168	162, 1	181	622	132
2	146	587	167	2	182	623	131
3	147	588	166	3	183	624	130
4	148	589	165	4	184	625	129
154, 1	149	590	164	163, 1	185	626	128
2	150	591	163	2	186	627	127
3	151	592	162	3	187	628	126
4	152	593	161	4	188	629	125
155, 1	153	594	160	164, 1	189	630	124
2	154	595	159	2	190	631	123
3	155	596	158	3	191	632	122
4	156	597	157	4	192	633	121
156, 1	157	598	156	165, 1	193	634	120
2	158	599	155	2	194	635	119
3	159	600	154	3	195	636	118
4	160	601	153	4	196	637	117
157, 1	161	602	152	166, 1	197	638	116
2	162	603	151	2	198	639	115
3	163	604	150	3	199	640	114
4	164	605	149	4	200	641	113
158, 1	165	606	148	167, 1	201	642	112
2	166	607	147	2	202	643	111
3	167	608	146	3	203	644	110
4	168	609	145	4	204	645	109
159, 1	169	610	144	168, 1	205	646	108
				2	206	647	107

OL.	SEL.	A.U.	B.C.
168, 3	207	648	106
4	208	649	105
169, 1	209	650	104
2	210	651	103
3	211	652	102
4	212	653	101
170, 1	213	654	100
2	214	655	99
3	215	656	98
4	216	657	97
171, 1	217	658	96
2	218	659	95
3	219	660	94
4	220	661	93
172, 1	221	662	92
2	222	663	91
3	223	664	90
4	224	665	89
173, 1	225	666	88
2	226	667	87
3	227	668	86
4	228	669	85
174, 1	229	670	84
2	230	671	83
3	231	672	82
4	232	673	81
175, 1	233	674	80
2	234	675	79
3	235	676	78
4	236	677	77
176, 1	237	678	76
2	238	679	75
3	239	680	74
4	240	681	73
177, 1	241	682	72
2	242	683	71
3	243	684	70

OL.	SEL.	A.U.	B.C.
177, 4	244	685	69
178, 1	245	686	68
2	246	687	67
3	247	688	66
4	248	689	65
179, 1	249	690	64
2	250	691	63
3	251	692	62
4	252	693	61
180, 1	253	694	60
2	254	695	59
3	255	696	58
4	256	697	57
181, 1	257	698	56
2	258	699	55
3	259	700	54
4	260	701	53
182, 1	261	702	52
2	262	703	51
3	263	704	50
4	264	705	49
183, 1	265	706	48
2	266	707	47
3	267	708	46
4	268	709	45
184, 1	269	710	44
2	270	711	43
3	271	712	42
4	272	713	41
185, 1	273	714	40
2	274	715	39
3	275	716	38
4	276	717	37
186, 1	277	718	36
2	278	719	35
3	279	720	34
4	280	721	33

OL.	SEL.	A.U.	B.C.	OL.	SEL.	A.U.	A.D.
187, 1	281	722	32	196, 2	318	759	6
2	282	723	31	3	319	760	7
3	283	724	30	4	320	761	8
4	284	725	29	197, 1	321	762	9
188, 1	285	726	28	2	322	763	10
2	286	727	27	3	323	764	11
3	287	728	26	4	324	765	12
4	288	729	25	198, 1	325	766	13
189, 1	289	730	24	2	326	767	14
2	290	731	23	3	327	768	15
3	291	732	22	4	328	769	16
4	292	733	21	199, 1	329	770	17
190, 1	293	734	20	2	330	771	18
2	294	735	19	3	331	772	19
3	295	736	18	4	332	773	20
4	296	737	17	200, 1	333	774	21
191, 1	297	738	16	2	334	775	22
2	298	739	15	3	335	776	23
3	299	740	14	4	336	777	24
4	300	741	13	201, 1	337	778	25
192, 1	301	742	12	2	338	779	26
2	302	743	11	3	339	780	27
3	303	744	10	4	340	781	28
4	304	745	9	202, 1	341	782	29
193, 1	305	746	8	2	342	783	30
2	306	747	7	3	343	784	31
3	307	748	6	4	344	785	32
4	308	749	5	203, 1	345	786	33
194, 1	309	750	4	2	346	787	34
2	310	751	3	3	347	788	35
3	311	752	2	4	348	789	36
4	312	753	1	204, 1	349	790	37
195, 1	313	754	A.D. 1	2	350	791	38
2	314	755	2	3	351	792	39
3	315	756	3	4	352	793	40
4	316	757	4	205, 1	353	794	41
196, 1	317	758	5	2	354	795	42

OL.	SEL.	A.U.	A.D.	OL.	SEL.	A.U.	A.D.		
205,	3	355	796	43	214,	4	392	833	80
	4	356	797	44	215,	1	393	834	81
206,	1	357	798	45		2	394	835	82
	2	358	799	46		3	395	836	83
	3	359	800	47		4	396	837	84
	4	360	801	48	216,	1	397	838	85
207,	1	361	802	49		2	398	839	86
	2	362	803	50		3	399	840	87
	3	363	804	51		4	400	841	88
	4	364	805	52	217,	1	401	842	89
208,	1	365	806	53		2	402	843	90
	2	366	807	54		3	403	844	91
	3	367	808	55		4	404	845	92
	4	368	809	56	218,	1	405	846	93
209,	1	369	810	57		2	406	847	94
	2	370	811	58		3	407	848	95
	3	371	812	59		4	408	849	96
	4	372	813	60	219,	1	409	850	97
210,	1	373	814	61		2	410	851	98
	2	374	815	62		3	411	852	99
	3	375	816	63		4	412	853	100
	4	376	817	64	220,	1	413	854	101
211,	1	377	818	65		2	414	855	102
	2	378	819	66		3	415	856	103
	3	379	820	67		4	416	857	104
	4	380	821	68	221,	1	417	858	105
212,	1	381	822	69		2	418	859	106
	2	382	823	70		3	419	860	107
	3	383	824	71		4	420	861	108
	4	384	825	72	222,	1	421	862	109
213,	1	385	826	73		2	422	863	110
	2	386	827	74		3	423	864	111
	3	387	828	75		4	424	865	112
	4	388	829	76	223,	1	425	866	113
214,	1	389	830	77		2	426	867	114
	2	390	831	78		3	427	868	115
	3	391	832	79		4	428	869	116

OL.	SEL.	A.U.	A.D.	OL.	SEL.	A.U.	A.D.
224, 1	429	870	117	226, 3	439	880	127
2	430	871	118	4	440	881	128
3	431	872	119	227, 1	441	882	129
4	432	873	120	2	442	883	130
225, 1	433	874	121	3	443	884	131
2	434	875	122	4	444	885	132
3	435	876	123	228, 1	445	886	133
4	436	877	124	2	446	887	134
226, 1	437	878	125	3	447	888	135
2	438	879	126	4	448	889	136

Seleucus I. Nicator
† 280.

Antiochus I. Soter
† 261.

Antiochus II. Theos
† 246.

Seleucus II. Callinicos
† 226.

Seleucus III. Ceraunos	Antiochus III. the Great
† 223.	† 187.

Seleucus IV. Philopator	Antiochus IV. Epiphanes
† 175.	† 164.

Demetrius I. Soter	Antiochus V. Eupator
† 150.	† 162.

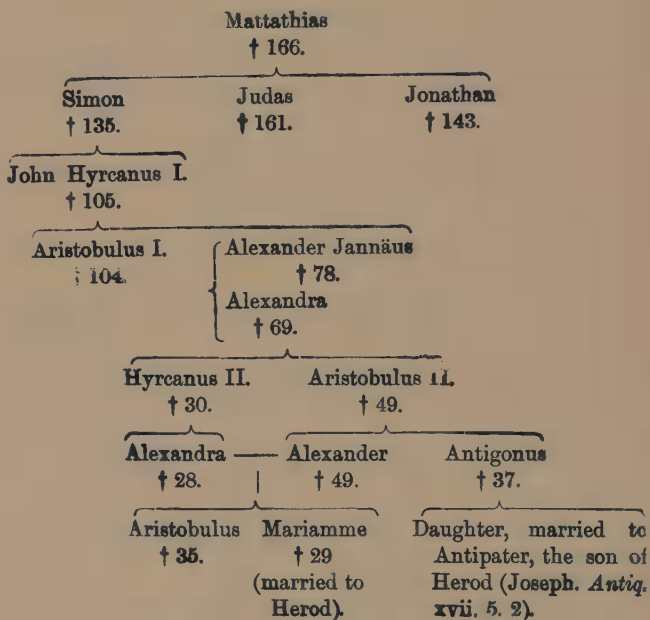
Demetrius II. Nicator Antiochus VII. Sidetes
† 125/24. † 128.

Seleuc. V.	Antioch. VIII. Grypos	Antioch. IX. Cyzicenos
† 125/24.	† 96.	† 95.

Sel. VI. Antioch. XI. Philip, Demetr. III. Antioch. XII. Antioch. X. Eus.
Philip. Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus
deposed B.C. 65.

APPENDIX VII.

GENEALOGY OF THE ASMONEANS.



APPENDIX VIII.

THE HOUSE OF HEROD.*

Antipas.

Antipater † 43
(Cypros). Joseph † 34
(Salome).

Phasaël † 40 B.C.	Herod the Great † 4 B.C.	Joseph † 38.	Phororas † 5 B.C.	Salome † about 10 A.D. (1. Joseph † 34. 2. Costobar † 25. 3. Alexas).
(Doris) Antipater † 4 B.C.	(Mariamme I.) Alexander Aristobulus Salampso Cypros. † 7 B.C. † 7 B.C. (Phasaël).	(Mariamme II.) Herod (Herodias).	(Malthace) Archelaus Antipas (Glaphyra). (Herodias).	(Cleopatra) Philip † 34 A.D. (Salome).
(Daughter of the Asmonean Antigonus).	Herod Agrippa I. of Chalcis † 44 A.D. (Berenice). (Cypros).	Salome (Philip).		(2.) Berenice (Aristobulus).

Agrippa II. Berenice Drusilla
† 100 A.D. (1. Herod von Chalcis. (1. Azizus.
2. Polemon of Cilicia). 2. Felix).

* According to Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vii. 160.—Proofs of the greater number of the details will be found in the following places :—
1. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 9 (parents and brothers and sisters of Herod).
2. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 4 (wives and children of Herod).
3. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4. xix. 9. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6 (the descendants of Mariamme).

ADDENDA TO DIVISION I. VOLS. I. AND II.

VOLUME I.

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6. Prideaux. A new and improved edition of this work, revised by J. Talboys Wheeler, appeared in 2 vols. in 1858.
7. Holtzmann, Oskar, *Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens und die Entstehung des Christenthums*, 1888, forming the second half of the second volume of Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*.
8. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, 1888; greatly enlarged.
8. Sack, *Die altjüdische Religion im Uebergange vom Bibelthume zum Talmudismus*, Berlin 1889 (612 pp.).
9. Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, London 1890 (426 pp.).
10. Weber, *System der altsyn. pal. Theologie*, in a new unaltered edition has appeared under the title: *Die Lehren des Talmud, quellenmässig, systematisch und gemeinverständlich dargestellt*, Leipzig 1886.
18. Guérin, *Jérusalem, son histoire, sa description, ses établissements religieux*, Paris 1889 (409 pp.).
19. Maps of Palestine. The following are important supplements to the English map, which embraces only the country west of the Jordan : (1) The Map of Djaulan by Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des DPV*. ix. 1886; (2) the Map of the Hauran, "after measurements and plans taken by Dr. Alphons Stübel in 1882, compared with other most important sources, and constructed by Dr. Hans Fischer," *Zeitschrift des DPV*. xii. 1889.—A Map of Palestine on a reduced scale after the best authorities, prepared by H. Fischer and H. Guthe, has been issued by Wagner & Debes, Leipzig (1890) for 1 M. 50 Pf. It is given also in vol. xiii. of the *Zeitschrift des DPV*.
28. The following additions to the literature of Numismatics may be noticed : Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, 1888, pp. 819–841; Grätz, *Revue des études juives*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 301–304; Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, t. xvii. 1888, pp. 42–45; Reinach, *Revue*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 304–306.
34. Marucchi, *Di un nuovo cimitero giudaico scoperto sulla Via Labicana*, Roma 1887.

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34. Derenbourg in the *Mélanges Renier*, 1887, pp. 437-441, from communications by De Rossi, has made known five inscriptions from the Jewish cemetery at Porto, four of these being published for the first time.
43. On the Sabbatical year: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, pp. 652-655 (note 8).
53. On Dellius: Fabricius, *Theophilus von Mytilene und Quintus Dellius als Quellen der Geographie des Strabon*, Strassburg 1888.
56. On Strabo: Otto, "Strabonis ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων fragmenta collegit et enarravit adjectis quaestionibus Strabonianis" (*Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, xi. Suppl. vol. 1889).
69. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, pp. 554-557, on Justus of Tiberias.
- 91, note. Against Niese's theory about the way in which Josephus obtained access to the authorities referred to in *Antiq.* xiv. 10, these two facts may be adduced: (1) That the greater part of them refers to that relief from military service (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 11-19) which was not in dispute in the controversy between the municipal communities of Asia Minor and the Jews; and (2) that another part of them refers to Judea (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2-10), the affairs of which were of no importance in the particular conflict then going on.
92. Add to note 15, with regard to Justus of Tiberias: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, p. 555.
102. The text of the so-called Hegesippus is, according to Weber, also printed in: *Sancti Ambrosii opera omnia*, ed. Ballerini, t. vi. (Mediol. 1883) col. 1-276. — The text of Weber's Programm edition, we may here observe in passing, is not quite complete, since in passing from one Programm to another a small part is wanting. Therefore only the edition in book form can be used (Marburg 1864). — On Hegesippus compare also: Bardenhewer in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, 2nd edition, vol. v. 1888, col. 1585 f.; Ihm, *Studia Ambrosiana (Jahrbücher für classischen Philologie*, xvii. Suppl. vol., 1st pt. 1889), pp. 61-68. The latter is again in favour of assigning the authorship to Ambrose.
105. The fifth vol. of Niese's great edition of Josephus, containing the treatise *contra Apionem*, appeared in 1889. — Of the edition by Bekker, issued in Teubner's series, vols. i. and ii. have appeared: *Flavii Josephi opera omnia recognovit Naber*, 1888-1889.
105. As contributions to criticism of the text: Destinon, *De Flavii Josephi bello Judaico recensendo ad Benedictum Nisum epistula critica*, Kiel 1889, Programm.
109. On the State Papers used by Josephus, compare also: Judeich, *Caesar im Orient* (1885), pp. 119-141; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. ed. iv. pp. 655-671 (note 9).
129. Note 22: Fürst, "Antoninus und Rabbi" (*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xvi. 1889, pp. 41-45).

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135. Note 33 : Wünsche, *Der Babylonische Talmud* u. s. w., 2nd half-vol. pts. 3-4, 1889.
137. Schwab's French translation of the Jerusalem Talmud has been brought to a conclusion by the publication of vol. xi. 1889 (Sanhedrin, conclusion, Makkoth, Shebuoth, Aboda sara, Horajoth, Nidda).—Of vol. i., which in the first edition contained the tract Berachoth according to the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, a new edition appeared in 1890, containing the tract Berachoth according to the Jerusalem Talmud only (*Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, etc., t. i. nouvelle edition, *Traité des Beralchoth*, Paris 1890).
138. Wünsche, *Der Babylonische Talmud* u. s. w., 2nd half-vol. pts. 3-4, 1889.
139. Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* has been completed by the issue of the concluding vol. iv. 1889.
139. Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, etc., 2 fasc. אנפולן — ברי, New York 1887.
139. Stein, *Das Verbum der Mischnasprache*, Berlin 1888.—Rosenberg, *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, Marburg 1888.
143. Darmesteter, "Le Talmud" (*Actes et conférences de la Société des études juives* [Appendix to *Revue des études juives*], 1889, pp. CCCLXXI-CDXLII).
147. On Mechilta, Siphra, and Siphre, compare also : D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*. Contributions to the *Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars*, at Berlin 1886-1887 ; Königsberger, *Die Quellen der Halachah*. 1 Part. *Der Midrasch*, Berlin 1890.—I regret that I did not sooner become acquainted with this careful and excellent work of D. Hoffmann. It contains very valuable studies on the history of the origin of the three Midrashim above named. On p. 24, Hoffmann gives a list of the authorities most frequently cited in Siphra ; in pp. 38-40 those most frequently cited in Mechilta, and on p. 54 those most frequently mentioned in Siphre. A complete index of the Tannaim in Mechilta, Siphra, and Siphre is given at pp. 82-90.
147. On Siphre suta, see D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, pp. 59-66.
152. Lévi, "Eléments chrétiens dans le Pirké Rabbi Eliézer" (*Revue des études juives*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 83-89).
164. Grätz, *Geschichte der juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, pp. 559-577 (note 1).
208. Gatt, "Zur Akra-Frage" (*Theol. Quartalschr.* 1889, pp. 77-125).
210. אליעזר המורעי ר' is frequently referred to in Mechilta. See the list of passages in D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (*Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars*, at Berlin 1886-1887), p. 83.
221. On the geography of 1 Macc. v. 26, compare also Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. 1889, pp. 151 ; Buhl, *Zeitschrift*, xiii. 1890, pp. 41-43.

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254. On Bascama, see Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. p. 151.
268. On *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5 : Judeich, *Caesar im Orient* (1885), pp. 129-136 (reaches same conclusion as Mommsen).
271. "Kedron is the modern Katrah in the neighbourhood of Jamnia" (Furrer in correspondence).
302. "Bethome is Betuni on the same mountain ridge as Nebi Samwel" (Furrer in correspondence).
304. On Gaulana, see Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. p. 151.
304. "Ragaba is very likely Ragib which lies in almost the same degree of latitude as Gerasa" (Furrer in correspondence).
328. Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs.* 1 Bd. *Die Legaten in den römischen Provinzen von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Leipzig 1888. At pp. 359-389 a list is given of imperial legates in Syria from Augustus down to the third Christian century.
335. Judeich, *Caesar im Orient. Kritische Uebersicht der Ereignisse vom 9 August 48 bis October 47*, Leipzig 1885.
417. The form *Hpaids* is also found in *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum*, ii. 3 (1888), n. 1672.
449. That the Herodian princes were *σύμμαχοι* is now quite beyond doubt. Compare the Coins of Agrippa above in vol. ii. p. 155.

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27. The custom of celebrating the birthday of a prince is very ancient. Compare Gen. xl. 20, and the commentaries on that passage by Dillmann and others. Seeing that the Herodian princes expressly celebrated the day of their accession to the throne (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 6), it is instructive to learn from the great inscription of Rosetta that, e.g., in Egypt also it was customary to keep both days : *καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν τριακάδα τοῦ Μεσορῆ, ἐν ᾗ τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγεται, ὁμοίως ■ καὶ [τὴν τοῦ Μεχίρ ἑπτακαιδέκτῃν], ἐν ᾗ παρήλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός κ.τ.λ.* (see the text, e.g. in Müller's *Frag. hist. graec.* vol. 1 at close). For the custom of celebrating birthdays, compare also ■ Macc. vi. 7 (Antiochus Epiphanes) and Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 1 (Agrippa I.).—Since in the Bible out of a great number only the celebrations of the birthdays of Pharaoh (Gen. xl. 20) and Herod Antipas are referred to, Origen and Jerome in their observations on Matt. xiv. 6 drew the conclusion that only wicked men acted thus (Origen on Matt. t. x. c. 22 ; Jerome, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vii. 101).
58. A Greek text of the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas has now been discovered which proves to be the original. The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas ; the original Greek text

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now first edited from a MS. in the library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem by J. Rendel Harris and Seth R. Gifford, London 1890. The passage about the Procurator Hilarius here runs as follows: καὶ Ἰλαρίανος ἐπίτροπος ὃς τότε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἀποθανόντος Μινουκίου Ὀππιάνου ἐξουσίαν εἰλήφει μαχαίρας.

87. "Tirathana=Tireh, south of Gerizim" (Furrer in correspondence).
224. Tarichea on the south-western corner of the Lake of Gennezaret. So also Buhl, *Zeitschrift des DPV*, xiii. 1890, p. 38 ff.
225. Against Furrer's identification of Gamala and Jamli I have advanced the consideration that one could not say of a place which is a day's journey from the sea that it lies ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης. With reference to this Furrer writes me: "Jamli stands on a rising ground overlooking the lake, and is indeed the height of the stronghold, seen from the west bank of the lake, occupying a commanding situation, because from it westward the land slopes downward. We may surely say St. Gall overlooks the Lake of Geneva, though it is some five leagues distant from the lake." I am now inclined to agree with Furrer.
249. On the Arch of Titus see also Reinach, "L'arc de Titus" (*Actes et conférences de la Société des études juives* [Appendix to *Revue des études juives*], 1890, pp. lxx-xci).—The inscription of the other now extant Arch of Titus is given according to the manuscript of Einsiedeln by De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, vol. ii. 1 (1888), p. 25, n. 31.
265. An inscription found in the neighbourhood of Caesarea, on which Caesarea is referred to as a colony (Col. I. Fl. Aug. Caesarea), has been published by Zangemeister, *Zeitschrift des DPV*, xiii. 1890, p. 25 ff.

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